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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XII

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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ac

VOLUME XII

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THE TWELFTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Further Peregrinations and Discoveries in the North and East Parts of Asia, called Tartaria and China; with a general collection and historicall representation of the Jesuites entrance into Japan and China, and a Treatise of Russia by Doctor Giles Fletcher, Lord Ambassadour from the late Queene

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Master Anthonie Jenkinson, made from the Citie of Mosco in Russia, to the Citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeare 1558. written by himselfe to the Merchants of London, of the Moscovie Company.

THe three and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1558. (having obtayned the Emperour of Russia his Letters, directed unto sundry Kings and Princes, by whose Dominions I should passe) departed from Mosco by water, having with mee two of your Servants; namely Richard Johnson, and Robert Johnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with divers parcels of Wares, as by the Inventorie appeareth: and the eight and twentieth day wee came to a Towne, called Collom, distant from the Mosco twentie leagues, and passing one league beyond the said Collom, we came unto a River, called Occa, into the which the River Mosco falleth, and loseth his name: and passing downe the said River Occa eight leagues, wee came unto a Castle called Terrevettisko, which we left upon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, wee came unto another Castle, called Peroslave, distant eight leagues, leaving it also on our right hand. The third day we came unto the place where old Rezan was situate, being now most of it ruined and over-growne, and distant from the said Peroslave, sixe leagues: the fourth day we passed by a Castle, called Terrecovia, from Rezan twelve leagues, and the sixt day we came to another

Mosco in 55. *degrees,* 10 *minutes.*

Occa.

Rezan.

Cassim. Castle, called Cassim, under the government of a Tartar Prince, named Utzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy Citie of Cazan, and now subject unto the Emperour of Russia. But leaving Cassim on our left hand, the eight day we came unto a faire Towne *Morom.* called Morom, from Cassim twentie leagues, where wee tooke the Sunne, and found the latitude fiftie sixe degrees: and proceeding forward the eleventh day, wee came unto another faire Towne and Castle, called Nyse Novogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid River Occa, into the worthy River of Volga, distant from the said Moron five and twentie leagues, in the latitude of fiftie sixe degrees eighteene minutes. From Rezan *Nyse Novogrod. Honey and Waxe.* to this Nyse Novogrod, on both sides the said River of Occa, is raysed the greatest store of Waxe and Honey in all the Land of Russia. We tarryed at the foresaid Nyse Novogrod untill the nineteenth day, for the comming of a Captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who being arrived, and having the number of five hundred great Boates under his conduct, some laden with Victuals, Souldiers, and Munition: and other some with Merchandize, departed altogether the said nineteenth day from the said Nyse Novogrod, and the two and twentieth wee came unto a Castle, called Vasiliagorod, distant five and twentie leagues, which wee left upon our right hand. This Towne or Castle, had his name of this Emperours Father, who was called Vasilius, and Gorod in the Russe Tongue *Vasiliagorod.* is as much to say, as a Castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius Castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his Sonne, called Ivan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his Warres, both against the Christians, and also the Mahometists, and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire even to the Caspian Sea, having conquered the famous River of Volga, with all the Countreyes thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey, the

five and twentieth day of May afore-said we came to another Castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod, sixteene leagues. The Countrey hereabout is called Mordovits, and the Habitants did professe the Law of the Gentiles: but now beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lye in the Woods and Wildernesse, without Towne or Habitation. [III. ii. 232.]

The seven and twentieth day we passed by another Castle, called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare afore-said, twentie five leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the nine and twentieth came unto an Iland one league from the Citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a River called Cazankareca, and entreth into the foresaid Volga. Cazan is a faire Towne after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong Castle situated upon a high Hill, and was walled round about with Timber and Earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath given order to plucke downe the olde wals, and to build them againe of free stone. It hath beene a Citie of great Wealth and Riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars, it was a Kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their Warres, then any other Nation: but nine yeares past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the King captive, who being but young is now baptized, and brought up in his Court with two other Princes, which were also Kings of the said Cazan, and being each of them in time of their Raignes in danger of their Subjects through civill discord, came and rendred themselves at severall times unto the said Emperour, so that at this present there are three Princes in the Court of Russia, which had beene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour useth with great honour.

Swyasko.

Cazan stands in 55. degrees 33. minutes.

We remayned at Cazan till the thirteenth day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Iland called the Iland of Merchants, because it was wont to be a place where all Merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and

The Iland of Merchants.

divers other Nations did resort to keepe Mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco unto Mare Caspium.

The River of Cama. Thus proceeding forward, the fourteenth day we passed by a goodly river called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This River falleth out of the Countrey of Permia into the River of Volga, and is from Cazan fifteene leagues: and the Countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan, and the said River Cama on the left hand of Volga is *Vachen.* called Vachen, and the Inhabitants bee Gentiles, and live in the Wildernesse without House or Habitation: and the Countrey on the other side of Volga, over against the said River Cama, is called the Land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the Land on the left hand of the said Volga, from the said River unto Astracan, and so following the North and North-east side of the Caspian Sea, to a Land of the Tartars called Turkemen, *Mangat or Nagay Tartars.* is called the Countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose Inhabitants are of the Law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeare 1558. at my beeing at Astracan, through Civill Warres among them, accompanied with Famine, Pestilence, and such Plagues, in such sort that in the said yeare there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, above one hundred thousand: the like Plague was never seene in those parts, so that the said Countrey of Nagay, being a Countrey of great Pasture, remayneth now unreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who have had cruell Warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they flourished, lived in this manner: they were divided into divers companies called Hords, and every Hord had a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a Murse. Towne or House they had none, but lived in the open fields, *Hords.* every Murse or King having his Hords or people about him, with their Wives, Children, and Cattell, who having consumed the Pasture in one place, removed unto another:

and when they remoove they have Houses like Tents set upon Waggons or Carts, which are drawne from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wives, Children, and all their Riches, which is very little, is carried about, and every man hath at the least foure or five Wives besides Concubines. Use of money they have none, but doe barter their Cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no Art nor Science, except the Warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they bee pasturing people, and have great store of Cattell, which is all their Riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the Horse, and they drinke Mares Milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious and inclined to Theft and Murther. Corne they sow not, neither doe eate any Bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying, wee live by eating the top of a Weed, and drinke a Drinke made of the same, allowing their great devouring of flesh, and drinking of Milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my Journey.

All the Countrey upon our right hand the River Volga, from over against the River Cama unto the Towne of Astracan, is the Land of Crimme, whose Inhabitants bee also of the Law of Mahomet, and live for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, having continuall Warres with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the field, having countenance, and support from the great Turke. *The Crimme Tartars.*

The sixteenth day of June we passed by certayne Fishermens Houses, called Petowse, twentie leagues from the River Cama, where is great fishing for Sturgeon, so continuing our way untill the two and twentieth day, and passing by another great River called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaid Countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the said River of Volga. The eight and twentieth day we came unto a great Hill, where was in times past a Castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the just mid-way betweene the said [III. ii. 233.] *The River of Samar.*

Cazan and Astrachan, which is two hundred leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of one and fiftie degrees, fortie seven minutes. Upon all this shoare groweth abundance of Licoris, whose Root runneth within the ground like a Vine.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward, the sixt day of July we came to a place called Perovolog, so named because in times past the Tartars carried their Boats from Volga, unto the River Tanais, otherwise called Don, by Land, when they would rob such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the River Tanais, to Afou, Caffa, or any other Towne situated upon Mare Euxinum, into which Sea Tanais falleth, who hath his Springs in the Countrey of the Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perovolog from the one River to the other, two leagues by Land, and is a dangerous place for Theeves and Robbers, but now it is not so evill as it hath beene by reason of the Emperour of Russia his Conquests.

Perovolog.

Don or Tanais.

Departing from Perovolog, having the Wildernesse on both sides, wee saw a great Heard of Nagayans pasturing, as is above said, by estimation above a thousand Camels drawing of Carts with Houses upon them like Tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee afarre off a Towne: that Herd was belonging to a great Murse, called Smille, the greatest Prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne Brethren and Children, and having peace with this Emperour of Russia, hee hath what hee needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes live in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to have mortall Warres together.

The fourteenth day of July passing by an old Castle, which was Old Astracan, and leaving it upon our right hand, we arrived at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeares past, in the yeare 1552. It is from the Mosco unto Astracan sixe hundred leagues, or thereabout. The Towne of Astracan is situated in an Iland upon a Hill side, having a Castle within the same,

Astrachan.

walled about with Earth and Timber, neither faire nor strong: The Towne is also walled about with Earth: the Buildings and Houses (except it be the Captaines Lodging, and certaine other Gentlemens) most base & simple. The Iland is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no Corne: the Aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgeon, by which onely the Inhabitants live, having great scarcitie of flesh and bread. They hang up their fish in their streets and Houses to dry for their provision, which causeth such abundance of flyes to increase there, as the like was never seene in any Land, to their great Plague. And at my beeing at the said Astracan, there was a great Famine and Plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars, called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the Russes their Enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their Countrey being destroyed, as I said before; but they were but ill entertayned or releeved, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iland through in heapes dead, and like to beasts unburied, very pittifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Iland. At that time it had beene an easie thing to have converted that wicked Nation to the Christian Faith, if the Russes themselves had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion unto other Nations, when they are not mercifull unto their owne? At my being there I could have bought many goodly Tartars Children, if I would have had a thousand, of their owne Fathers and Mothers, to say, a Boy or a Wench for a Loafe of bread worth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such Merchandize. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian Sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither every yeare provision of men, and victuals, and Timber to build the Castle.

Store of Sturgeons, & flyes.

Miserable Famine.

There is a certayne Trade of Merchandize there used, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come Merchants thither from divers places. The chiefest Commodities that the Russes bring thither are red Hides, red sheeps skinnes, woodden Vessels, Bridles, and Saddles, Knives, and other Trifles, with Corne, Bacon, and other Victuals. The Tartars bring thither divers kinds of Wares made of Cotton Wooll, with divers kinds of wrought Silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely, from Shamacki, doe bring sewing Silke, which is the coursest that they use in Russeland, Crasso, divers kinds of pide Silkes for Girdles, Shirts of Male, Bowes, Swords, and such like things: and some yeares Corne, and Wal-nuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the Merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of Trade in all those parts worth the following.

This foresaid Iland of Astracan is in length twelve leagues, and in breadth three, and lyeth East and West in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, nine minutes: we [III. ii. 234.] tarryed there untill the sixt day of August, and having bought and provided a Boate in company with certayne Tartars and Persians, wee laded our goods and imbarked our selves, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons, having the whole charge of the Navigation downe the said River Volga, beeing very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. Wee entred into the Caspian Sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said River, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesaid, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees, twentie seven minutes.

They enter into the Caspian Sea.

Volga.

Volga hath seventie mouthes or fals into the Sea: and we having a large wind, kept the North-east shoare, and the eleventh day we sayled seven leagues East North-east, and came unto an Iland having an high Hill therein, called Accurgar, a good Marke in the Sea. From thence East ten leagues, we fell with another Iland, called Baw-

hiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Ilands to the Northwards, is a great Bay called the Blue Sea. *The Blue Sea.* From thence wee sayled East and by North ten leagues, and having a contrary wind, wee came to an Anchor in a fathome water, and so rid untill the fifteenth day, having a great storme at South-east, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and wee weighed, and set our course South-east, and that day sayled eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the seventeenth day we lost sight of Land, and the same day sayled thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a Land called Baughleata, being seventie foure leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees fiftie foure minutes, the Coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this Iland lyeth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their Law, where great devotion is used of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way. *Baughleata being 74. leagues from Volga.*

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and wee winding East South-east, we sayled ten leagues, and passed by a great River called Jaic, which hath his spring in the Land of Siberia, nigh unto the foresaid River Cama, and runneth through the Land of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And up this River one dayes journey is a Towne called Serachicke, subject to the foresaid Tartar Prince, called Murse Smille, which is now in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Heere is no trade of merchandise used, for that the people have no use of money, and are all Men of warre, and Pasturers of cattell, and given much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anchor against this River Jaic, and all our men being on Land, saving I, who lay sore sicke, and five Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from Mecca, there came unto us a Boat with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded us, and began to enter into our Barke, and our holy Tartar, called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would have, [III. ii. 235.] *Jaic River.* *Serachick.*

and withall made a prayer: with that these Rovers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their Countrey, and out of living, and came to see if there were any Russes, or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our Barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, avowing the same by great oaths of their Law, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the Rovers beleeved, and upon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my companie and goods were saved, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and South-east, that day being the twentieth of August sailed sixteene leagues.

The one and twentieth day we passed over a Bay of sixe leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of Land, having two Ilands at the South-east part thereof, being a good marke in the Sea: and doubling the Cape the Land trended North-east, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the greater River Yem, springing out of the Land of Colmack. The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth dayes, we were at anchor. The five and twentieth, the winde came faire and we sayled that day twentie leagues, and passed by an Iland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Iland there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course ten leagues, then East South-east, twentie leagues, and fell with the maine Land, being full of copped Hills, and passing along the coast twentie leagues, the further we sayled, the higher was the Land.

The Countrey of Colmack.

The seven and twentieth day we crossed over a Bay, the South shoare being the higher Land, and fell with a high point of Land: and being overthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should have perished: this storme continued three dayes. From this Cape we passed to a Port called Manguslave.

The Port of Manguslave.

The place where we should have arrived at the Southermost part of the Caspian Sea, is twelve leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driven unto another Land on the other side the Bay, overthwart the said Manguslave being very lowe Land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the Haven, as of those brute field people, where never Barke nor Boat had before arrived, not liked of us.

But yet there we sent certaine of our men to Land to talke with the Governour and People, as well for our good usage at their hands, as also for provision of Camels to carrie our goods from the said Sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing five and twentie dayes journey. Our Messengers returned with comfortable words and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the third day of September 1558. we discharged our Barke, and I with my companie were gently entertayned of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to bee a very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, raysing the price of Horse, and Camels, and Victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we drinke: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of Camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other provision, according to their owne demand: So that for every Camels lading, being but foure hundred weight of ours, we agreed to give three Hides of Russia, and foure wooden dishes, and to the Prince or Governour of the said people one ninth, and two seventhes: namely, nine severall things, and twice seven severall things: for money they use none. *They goe on land.*

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand Camels. And having travelled five dayes journey, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way

there came unto us certaine Tartars on horsebacke, being well armed, and servants unto the said Prince called Timor Sultan, Governour of the said Countrey of Manguslave, where wee meant to have arrived and discharged our Barke, if the great storme aforesaid had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our Wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said Prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from mee, which was a ninth (after much dissention) I rode unto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his favour, and Pasport to travell thorow his Countrey, and not to be robbed or spoyled of his people: which request he granted me, and entertayned me very gently, commanding me to be well feasted with flesh and Mares milke: for Bread they use none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give me for such things as he tooke of me, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene Rubbles, but hee gave mee his Letter, and a Horse worth seven Rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understood his commandement was, that I should have beene robbed and destroyed.

The Countrey of Manguslave. It stands in 45.

[III. ii. 236.]

This Sultan lived in the fields without Castle or Towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a little round house made of reeds covered without with Felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with divers other of his chiefe men. The Sultan with this Metropolitan demanded of mee many questions, as well touching our Kingdomes, Lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as unto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So having leave I departed, and overtooke our Caravan, and proceeding on our journey, and travelled twentie dayes

in the Wildernesse from the Sea side without seeing Town or habitation, carrying provision of victuals with us for the same time, and were driven by necessitie to eate one of my Camels and a Horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said twentie dayes we found no water, but such as we drew out of the old deepe Wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the fift day of October ensuing, we came unto a Gulfe of the Caspian Sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweet: at this Gulfe the Customers of the King of Turkeman met us, who tooke custome of every five and twentie one, and seven ninths for the said King and his brethren, which being received they departed, and we remayned there a day after to refresh our selves.

Twentie dayes travell in the Wildernesse, with scarcitie of water.

Another Gulfe of the Caspian Sea.

Note, that in times past there did fall into this Gulfe the great River Oxus, which hath his springs in the Mountaines of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another River, called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, and consumeth himselfe in the ground, passing under the ground above five hundred miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the Lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis describeth this River of Ardok, cap. 4.

We having refreshed our selves at the foresaid Gulfe, departed thence the fourth day of October, and the seventh day arrived at a Castle, called Sellizure, where the King, called Azim Can, remayned with three other of his brethren, and the ninth day I was commanded to come before his presence, to whom I delivered the Emperours Letters of Russia: and I also gave him a Present of a ninth, who entertayned me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde Horse, and Mares milke without Bread. And the next day he sent for me againe, and asked of me divers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our Countrey and Lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gave mee his Letters of safe conduct.

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

Letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated upon an high Hill, where the King called the Can lieth, whose Palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and have little trade of merchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is low land, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruits, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse, and full of moisture, which the people doe eate after meate in stead of drinke. Also there growes another fruit, called a Carbuse, of the bignesse of a great Cucumber, yellow, and sweet as Sugar: also a certaine Corne, called Jegur, whose stalke is much like a Sugar cane, and as high, and the Graine like Rice, which groweth at the top of the cane like a cluster of Grapes; the water that serveth all that Countrey is drawne by ditches out of the River Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said River, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian Sea, as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that Land is like to be destroyed, and to become a Wildernesse for want of water, when the River of Oxus shall faile.

Urgence, in 42. degr. 18. min.

The fourteenth day of the moneth wee departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the sixteenth of the same wee arrived at a Citie called Urgence, where we payed Custome as well for our owne heads, as for our Camels and Horses. And having there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further travell, the King of that Countrey called Aly Sultan, brother to the fore-named Azym Can, returned from a Towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom hee and the rest of the Kings of Tartaria have continuall warres. Before this King also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperours Letters of Russia, and he entertayned me well, and demanded of me divers questions, and at my departure gave me his Letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or Towne of Urgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walls of the earth, by estimation foure miles

about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their Market. It hath beene wonne and lost foure times within seven yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few [III. ii. 237.] Merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that Towne I could not sell above foure Kerseys. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the Land from the Caspian Sea to this Citie of Urgence, is called the Land of Turkeman, and is subject to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which bee five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe King called Can, but he is little obeyed saving in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for every one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwaies to destroy another, having no naturall love among them, by reason that they are begotten of divers women, and commonly they are the children of slaves, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doth keepe as Concubines, and every Can or Sultan hath at the least foure or five wives, besides young maidens and boyes, living most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is overcome if hee be not slaine, fleeth to the field with such companie of men as will follow him, and there liveth in the Wildernesse, resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoyleth as many Caravans of Merchants and others, as they be able to overcome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, untill such time as he may get power and aide to invade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian Sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countries about the said Sea, the people live without Towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remooving from one place to another in great companies with their Cattell, whereof they have great store, as Camels, Horses, and Sheepe both tame and wilde. Their

The Countrey of Turkeman.

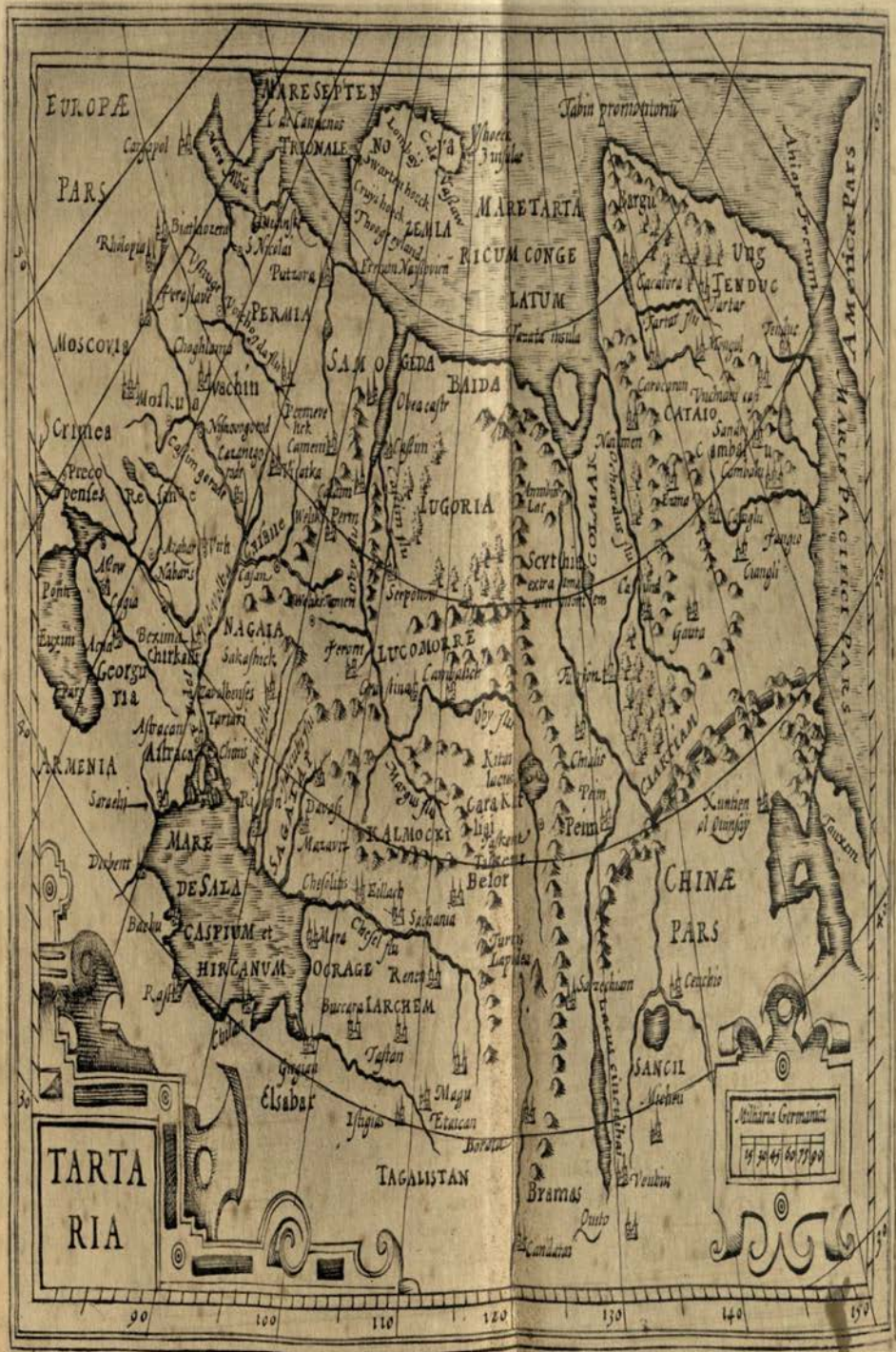
sheepe are of great stature with great buttockes, weighing sixtie or eightie pound in weight. There are many wilde Horses which the Tartars doe many times kill with their Hawkes, and that in this order.

The Hawkes are lured to seize upon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselves, and sore beating of the Hawkes are tyred: then the Hunter following his game doth slay the Horse with his Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the Cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars never ride without their Bowe, Arrowes, and Sword, although it bee on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good Archers both on horse-backe, and on foot also. These people have not use of Gold, Silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their Cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eate it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the Horse flesh. Their chiefest drinke is Mares milke sowred, as I have said before of the Nagayans, and they will bee drunke with the same. They have no Rivers nor places of water in this Countrey, untill you come to the foresaid Gulfe, distant from the place of our landing twentie dayes journey, except it bee in Wells, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two dayes journey and more. They eate their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Arte or Science they have none, but live most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainely.

The River of Ardock falleth into the Lake of Kitay.

The sixe and twentieth day of November, wee departed from the Towne of Urgence, and having travelled by the River Oxus one hundred miles, wee passed over another great River, called Ardocke, where wee payed a certaine petie custome. This River Ardocke



HONDIUS HIS MAP OF TARTARIA

is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about one thousand mile to the Northward, it then consumeth itselfe in the ground, and passing under the same about five hundred miles, issueth out againe, and falleth into the Lake of Kitay, as I have before declared.

The seventh of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Sultan called Saramet Sultan, who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the Caravan, had it not beene for feare of his brother the King of Urgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest Counsellours, who willed us to make him a present, which he tooke, and delivered: besides, wee payed at the said Castle for Custome, of every Camell one red hide of Russia, besides petie gifts to his Officers. *The Castle of Kait.*

Thus proceeding in our journey, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came unto us foure Horsemen, which we tooke as Spies, from whom we tooke their weapons, and bound them, and having well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many Horsemen, and no footing of Camels, and gave us to understand, that there were Rovers and theeves abroad: for there travell few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caravan, where there be many Camels: and Horse-feeting new without Camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst our selves, and sent a Poste to the said Sultan of Kaite, who immediatly came himselfe with three hundred men, and met these foure suspected men which wee sent unto him, and examined them so straightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with fortie men three dayes journey forward, who lay in wait to destroy us, if hee could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The Sultan therefore understanding, that the Theeves were not many, appointed us eightie men well armed with a Captaine to goe with us, and conduct us in our [III. ii. 238.]

way. And the Sultan himselfe returned backe again, taking the foure theeves with him. These souldiers travelled with us two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the third day in the morning very early they set out before our Caravan, and having ranged the wildernesse for the space of foure houres, they met us, comming towards us as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from us, perceiving well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed us to appoint our selves for them, and asked us what wee would give them to conduct us further, or else they would returne. To whom wee offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would have more, and so wee not agreeing they departed from us, and went backe to their Sultan, who (as wee conjectured) was privie to the conspiracie.

Divination by sorcerie.

But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had beene at Mecca) caused the whole Caravan to stay, and would make their prayers, and divine how we should prosper in our journey, and whether wee should meet with any ill companie or no: To which, our whole Caravan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sod them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the bloud of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the said bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the said bloud, using many other ceremonies and words, and by the same divined and found, that wee should meete with enemies and theeves (to our great trouble) but should overcome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gave no credit, but wee found it true: for within three houres after that the souldiers departed from us, which was the fifteenth day of December, in the morning, wee escryed farre off divers horsemen which made towards us, and we (perceiving them to bee rovers) gathered our selves together, being fortie of us well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together every one after his Law,

professing to live and dye one with another, and so prepared our selves. When the theeves were nigh unto us, wee perceived them to be in number thirtie seven men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes, and swords, and the Captaine a Prince banished from his Countrey. They willed us to yeeld our selves, or else to bee slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shot at us all at once, and we at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning untill two houres within night, divers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both parts: and had it not beene for foure hand-guns, which I and my companie had and used, wee had beene overcome and destroyed: for the theeves were better armed, and were also better Archers then wee; But after we had slaine divers of their men and horses with our Guns, they durst not approach so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with us untill the next morning, which wee accepted, and encamped our selves upon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layd our Horses and Camels within the same, to save them from the shot of arrowes: and the theeves also incamped within an arrow shot of us, but they were betwixt us and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither wee nor our Camels had drunke in two dayes before.

Fight with theeves.

Hand-guns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the Theeves sent a messenger halfe way unto us, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Caravan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Law to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or else not. Which the Prince understanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that wee might all heare. And then we sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order. Our

A holy man.

Prince demandeth of the Caravan Basha, and of all you that bee Bussarmans, (that is to say, Circumcised) not desiring your bloudes, that you deliver into his hands as many Caphars, that is, unbeleevers (meaning us the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrarie, you shall bee handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee overcome you, as hee doubteth not. To the which our Caravan Basha answered, that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law: and although hee had, hee would rather dye then deliver them, and that wee were not afraid of his threatnings, and that should hee know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the Theeves (contrary to their oath) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a loude voyce in token of victorie, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith wee were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray us: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to us prejudiciall, neither touching us, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning wee prepared our selves to battell againe: when the theeves perceiving, required to fall to agreement, and asked much of us: And to bee briefe, the most part of our company being loath to goe to battell againe, and having little to lose, and safe conduct to passe, wee were compelled to agree, and to give the theeves twentie ninths (that is to say) twentie times nine severall things, and a Camell to carrie away the same, which being received, the theeves departed into the Wildernesse to their olde habitation, and wee went on our way forward. And that night came to the River Oxus, where wee refreshed our selves, having beene three dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merrie with our slaine Horses and Camels, and then departed from that place, and for feare

Bussarmans, or Muslemans Caphar.

Fidelitie of an Infidel.

[III. ii. 239.]

The river of Oxus.

of meeting with the said theeves againe, or such like, wee left the high way which went along the said River, and passed through a wildernesse of sand, and travelled foure dayes in the same before wee came to water: and then came to a Well, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in need of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our Horses and Camels to eate.

A wildernesse of sand.

In this wildernesse also, wee had almost fallen into the hands of Theeves: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scouts, and carried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the Caravan wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our Camels, and departed being about midnight, and very darke, and drove sore till we came to the river Oxus againe, and then wee feared nothing being walled with the said river: and whether it was for that wee had gotten the water, or for that the same theeves were farre from us when the scouts discovered us, we know not, but wee escaped that danger.

So upon the three & twentieth day of December, we arrived at the Citie of Boghar in the land of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the Land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers Gates into the same: it is divided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the Kings, and the third part is for Merchants & Markets, and every Science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of Earth, but there are also many Houses, Temples, and Monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially Bath-stoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little river running through the midst of the said Citie, but the water thereof is most unwholesome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that bee not there borne, a Worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the leg, betwixt the flesh and the skin, and is pluckt out about the Ancle with

Boghar a Citie of Bactria, in 39. degrees, 10. minutes.

A strange Worme in mens legs.

great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dyeth, and every day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled up, and so worketh till she bee all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, and Mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that Law, is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are Officers appointed for the same, who have authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if hee hath either Aquanita, Wine, or Brag, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoyle the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly; yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man that hee hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to be so straightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the King, and will depose the King, and place another at his will and pleasure, as hee did by this King that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the said Metropolitan: for hee betrayed him, and in the night slew him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loved all Christians well.

These are of the Jeselbas Tartars.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subject to the Persians, and doe now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a Kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the said Persians about their Religion, although they bee all Mahometists. One occasion of their warres is, for that the Persians will not cut the hayre of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they account great sinne, and call them Caphars, that is, unbeleevers, as they doe the Christians.

The King of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small, and hee is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there sold, as well by the Craftsmen as by the Merchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom hee

keepeth in great subjection, and when hee lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the Shops of the said Merchants, to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credit of force, as the like hee did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for nineteene pieces of Kersey. Their money is silver and copper, for gold there is none currant: they have but one piece of silver, and that is worth twelve-pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and one hundred and twentie of them goeth to the value of the said twelve-pence, and is more common payment then the silver, which the King causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage every other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he looketh not to raigne above two or three yeeres, before he bee either slaine or driven away, to the great destruction of the Countrey and Merchants. *The Coyne of Boghar.*

The twentie sixth day of the moneth, I was commanded to goe before the said King, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who entertained us most gently, and caused us to eate in his presence, and divers times hee sent for me, and devised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our Countries, Lawes, and Religion, and caused us to shoote in hand-guns before him, and did himselfe practice the use thereof. But after all this great entertainment, before my departure hee shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the warres owing me money, and saw me not payed before his departure. And although indeed hee gave order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better payment I could not have, & glad I was so to be payd and dispatched. [III. ii. 240.] *A very Tartar.*

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous King, who immediately after my arrivall at Boghar, having understood our trouble with the Theeves, sent one hundred men well armed, and gave them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd

The Kings justice.

theeves. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernesse in such sort, that they met with the said companie of Theeves, and slew part, and part fled, and foure they tooke and brought unto the King, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our Guns: And after the King had sent for me to come to see them, hee caused them all foure to bee hanged at his Palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me; and this good Justice I found at his hands.

There is yeerely great resort of Merchants to this Citie of Boghar, which travell in great Caravans from the Countries thereabout adjoyning, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with divers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Merchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or three yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following. The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaid Countries, are these following.

Merchandise of India.

The Indians doe bring fine Whites, which the Tartars doe all roll about their heads, and all other kindes of Whites, which serve for apparell made of Cotton-wooll and Crasca, but Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and Spices they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the veynes where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portugals. The Indians carrie from Boghar againe wrought Silkes, red Hides, Slaves, and Horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloath, they make little account. I offered to barter with Merchants of those Countries, which came from the furthest parts of India, even from the Countrey of Bengala, and the river Ganges, to give them Kerseis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as Cloath.

Merchandise of Persia.

The Persians doe bring thither Craska, Woollen-cloath, Linnen-cloath, divers kindes of wrought pide Silkes,

Argomacks, with such like, and doe carrie from thence red hydes with other Russe wares, and Slaves, which are of divers Countries, but cloath they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselves, and is brought unto them as I have inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carrie unto Boghar, red hydes, sheepe skinnes, woollen cloath of divers sorts, woodden vessels, brydles, saddles, with such like, and doe carrie away from thence divers kindes of wares made of cotten-wooll, divers kindes of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but small utterance. From the Countries of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, Muske, Rubarbe, Satten, Damaske, with divers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Caravans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured three yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt two great Countries and Cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous field people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The Cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cossacks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the said Countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles and Idolaters. These two barbarous Nations are of great force, living in the fields without House or Towne, and have almost subdued the foresaid Cities, and so stopped up the way, that it is impossible for any Caravan to passe unspoyled: so that three yeeres before our being there, no Caravan had gone, or used trade betwixt the Countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is nine moneths journey.

Merchandise of Russia.

Merchandise of Cathay. Wares.

Taskent and Caskar.

To speake of the said Countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I have heard thereof, I have thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I having made my solace at Boghar, in the winter time, and having learned by much

inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other Countries thereto adjoyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Caravans to depart, and also the King being gone to the warres, and newes come that hee was fled, and I advertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the Towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my journey some way, and determined to have gone from thence into Persia, and to have seene the trade of that Countrey, although I had informed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceived well the trades not to be much unlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the Kings of Tartaria, whereby the wayes were destroyed: and there was a Caravan destroyed with rovers and theeves, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten dayes journey from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the King, tooke the Emperours letters of Russia from me, without which I should have beene taken Slave in every place: also all such wares as I had received in barter for Cloath, and as I tooke perforce of the King, and other his Nobles, in payment of money due unto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and divers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March, 1559. wee departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Caravan of sixe hundred Camels: and if wee had not departed when we did, I and my companie had beene in danger to have lost life and goods. For ten dayes after our departure, the King of Samarcand came with an armie, and besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the King being absent, and gone to the warres against another Prince his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeeres. For it is marvell, if a King raigne there above

Caravan destroyed.

[III. ii. 241.]

He returneth the eighth of March, 1559.

Samarcand.

three or foure yeeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and Merchants.

The five and twentieth of March, we came to the foresaid Towne of Urgence, and escaped the danger of foure hundred rovers, which lay in wayte for us backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that companie of theeves, which wee met with going foorth, as we perceived by foure spyes, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambassadors, the one from the King of Boghar, the other from the King of Balke, and were sent unto the Emperour of Russia. And after having tarried at Urgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight dayes for the assembling, and making ready our Caravan, the second of April wee departed from thence, having foure moe Ambassadours in our companie, sent from the King of Urgence, and other Sultans, his brethren, unto the Emperour of Russia, with answer of such Letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadours were also committed unto my charge by the said Kings and Princes: to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our Law, that they should bee well used in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperour had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before.

Urgence.

The King of Balke, or Balgh.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, wee arrived at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our Barke which wee came in, but neither Anchor, Cable, Cocke, nor Sayle: neverthelesse we brought Hempe with us, and spun a Cable our selves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a sayle of cloath of Cotton-wooll, and rigged our Barke as well as wee could, but boate or anchor we had none. In the meane time being devising to make an anchor of wood of a Cart-wheele, there arrived a Barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had two Anchors, with whom

The Caspian sea.

Woodden anchor.

I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readinesse, wee set sayle and departed, I, and the two Johnsons, being Master and Mariners our selves, having in our Barke the said sixe Ambassadours, and twentie five Russes, which had beene Slaves a long time in Tartaria, nor ever had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these Slaves served to row when need was. Thus sayling sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of land, the thirteenth day of May, having a contrary winde, we came to an anchor, being three leagues from the shoare, and there arose a sore storme, which continued fortie foure houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anchor, and being off a lee shoare, and having no boate to help us, wee hoysed our sayle, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God provided for us, we ranne into a creeke full of Oze, and so saved our selves with our Barke, and lived in great discomfort for a time. For although wee should have escaped with our lives the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should have been either destroyed, or taken slaves by the people of that Countrey, who live wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, wee went out of the creeke againe: and having set the land with our Compasse, and taken certayn markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we rid at our anchor, wee went directly to the place where we rid, with our Barke againe, and found our anchor which we lost: whereat the Tartars much marvelled, how we did it. While wee were in the creeke, we made an anchor of wood of Cart wheeles, which we had in our Barke, which we threw away, when we had found our Iron anchor againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the North-east, and we lay a trie, being driven farre into the sea, and had much adoe to keepe our Barke from sinking, the billow was so great: but at the last, having faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing how

Dangerous tempest, and use of the Compasse.

the Land lay from us, we fell with the River Yaik, according to our desire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should have beene driven to the coast of Persia, whose people were unto them great enemies. *Yaik.*

Note, that during the time of our Navigation, we set up the red Crosse of Saint George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I supposed was never seene in the Caspian sea before. Wee passed in this voyage divers fortunes: notwithstanding, the eight and twentieth of May we arrived in safetie at Astracan, and there remayned till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare us small Boates, to goe up against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed unto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia. *The English flag in the Caspian sea, the Country therof is in 46. deg.*

This Caspian sea (to say something of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred and fiftie, without any issue to other Seas: to the East part wherof, joyneth the great desart Countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the Countries of the Chyrcasses, the Mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea, a hundred leagues. To the North is the river Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the Countries of Media and Persia. This Sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean: It hath many goodly Rivers falling into it, and it avoydeth not it selfe except it bee under ground. The notable Rivers that fall into it, are first the great River of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, above two thousand English miles. It hath divers other goodly Rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Rivers of Cyrus and Arash, and divers others. [III. ii. 242.] *A notable description of the Caspian sea.*

As touching the trade of Shamakie in Media and Tebris, with other Townes in Persia, I have enquired, and doe well understand, that it is even like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little utterance, and small profite: and I have beene advertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Levant sea. The few ships upon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the povertie of the people, and the Ice, maketh that trade naught.

Astracan in 47. deg. 9. minutes.

At Astracan there were Merchants of Shamakie, with whom I offered to barter, and to give them Kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a Kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloath, and divers commodities of our Countries, which was sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of June, wee departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, having an hundred gunners in our companie at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadours and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July following, we arrived at the Citie of Cazan, having been upon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

Cazan is in 55. deg. 33. min.

His arrival at Mosco the second of September.

The seventh of August following, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, wee arrived at the Citie of the Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Majestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes tale of Cathay, and a Drum of Tartaria, which hee well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadours that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaves: and that day I dined in his Majesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, and asked me divers questions touching the Lands and Countries where I had beene. And thus

I remayned at the Mosco about your affaires, untill the seventeenth day of Februarie that your wares were sent downe: and then having licence of the Emperours Majestie to depart, the one and twentieth day I came to your house to Vologhda, and there remayned untill the breaking up of the yeere: and then having seene all your goods laden into your Boates, I departed with the same, and arrived withall in safetie at Colmogro, the *ninth* of May 1560. And heere I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

I have certaine notes which seeme to have beene written at Boghar by some of Master Jenkinsons companie: which containe intelligences there received touching Cathay and the wayes thither. But I hope thereof in that which followes to give better intelligence. It is there said that the people of Comoron are very beautifull, and that they use Knives and Forkes of gold and silver to eate their meate, not touching it with their hands: that the Musk-beast is as big as a Hound. In Teray they worship the Fire, which is thirtie foure dayes journey from Cathay. At Cascar is resident the Can. From Cascar to Cocheke is foure weekes; it is the first Land of the Emperour of Cathay: and then to Camche five dayes by land, and to Cataio eight weekes. In this last journey is plentie of all things: both Horse to bee had, and Women at too easie rate, &c. which as newes to them I have heere touched, rather than related.

See more certaintie in Goes.

I have also by me, the last Will of Gabriel Willoughbie, kinsman to that honourable Martyr of English Northerne Discoveries Sir Hugh Willoughbie, mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, and subscribed with his Name, the worth whereof hath caused heere also this subscription. It was found in the Ship where they were frozen.

Memoriall of Sir H. Willoughbie.

[III. ii. 243.]

§. V.

Advertisements and reports of the sixth* Voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, gathered out of sundry Letters written by Christopher Burrough; and more especially a voyage over the Caspian Sea, and their shipwracke and miseries there endured by the Ice.

**The other voyages are in Master Hakluyt, this I have for Tartaria and the Caspian sea brought hither.*

SaintNicholas.

First it is to bee understood, that the ships for the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Russia, in which the Factors and merchandise for the Persian voyage were transported, departed from Gravesend the nineteenth of June, 1579. which arrived at Saint Nicholas in Russia, the two and twentieth of July, where the Factors and Merchants landed, and the merchandise discharged and laden into Doshnikes, that is, barkes of the Countrey, to be carried from thence up by River unto Vologda. And the five and twentieth day of the said July, the Doshnikes departed from Rose Iland by Saint Nicholas up the river Dwina Peremene, that is to say in poste, by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro the seven and twentieth day, and departed thence the nine and twentieth of July up the said river Dwina, and came to Ustyoug (which is at the head of the river Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the ninth of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their Cossacks or Barkmen, and so departed thence the same day up the Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Ustyoug) the fifteenth day, where they shifted some of their Cossacks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the Citie Vologda the nineteenth of August, where they landed their goods, and stayed at that place till the thirtieth of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas or Waggons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed

Colmogro.

Ustyoug.

thence with the same by land towards Yeraslave, the said thirtieth of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the river Volga, over against Yeraslave, with five and twentie Telegas laden with the said goods, the seventh of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barkes, provided to transport the said goods to Astracan, (where they should meete the ship that should carrie the same from thence into Persia) came over from Yeraslave unto the same side of the river Volga, & there tooke in the said goods. And having prepared the said Barks ready with all necessarie furniture, they departed with them from Yeraslave down the river of Volga, on the fourteenth day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznovogrod the seventeenth day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperours letters to passe free without paying any custome, and tarried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same Towne) on the two and twentieth of September at five of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new Cossacks in the places of some that there went from them) they remayned till the sixe and twentieth day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arrived at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the eight and twentieth day at ten in the forenoone, where they anchored, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to Oveak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Liqouris: the soyle is very fruitfull: they found there Apple-trees, and Cherrie-trees. The latitude of Oveak is 51.degrees 30.minuts. At this place had beene a very faire stone Castle called by the name Oveak, and adjoyning to the same was a Towne called by the Russes, Sodom:

Yeraslave.

Niznovogrod.

Cazan.

Great store of Liquoris.

Sodom.

this Towne and part of the Castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. *Strange judgement.* There remayneth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the Castle, and certaine Tombes, wherein as it seemeth have beene layd noble personages: for upon a tombe stone might be perceived the forme of a Horse and a man sitting on it with a Bow in his hand, and Arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a Scutchion also upon one of the stones, which had characters graven on it, whereof some part had been consumed with the weather, and the rest left unperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we judged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were graven also upon another tombe stone. Now they departed from Oveak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to *Peravolok.* Peravolok the tenth day about eleven or twelve of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This word Peravolok in the Russe tongue doth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land between two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the river Volga, at that place, to the river Don or Tanais, is counted thirtie versts, or as much as a man may well travell on foot in one day. And seven versts beneath, upon an Iland called Tsaritsna, *Tsaritsna.* the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie Gunners all Summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

[III. ii. 244.] The First is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Peravolok one hundred and twentie verstes. The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first fiftie verstes. The third called Polooy Carowool, is one hundred and twentie verstes distant from the second. The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is fiftie verstes distant from the third. The fift named Ichkebre, is thirtie verstes distant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Astracan is thirtie verstes.

The sixteenth of October they arrived at Astracan. The ninteenth of November the winde being northerly, there was a great frost, and much Ice in the River: the next day being the twentieth of November, the Ice stood in the River, and so continued untill Easter day. *Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.*

The sixth of Januarie being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the Ice upon the River Volga, and hallowed the water with great solemnitie, according to the manner of their Countrey, at which time all the Souldiers of the Towne shot off their small Peeces upon the Ice, and likewise to gratifie the Captaine of the Castle, being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalovich Trojocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the River, was shot off all the Ordnance of our ship being fifteene Peeces, viz. two Faulcons, two Faulconets, foure Fowlers, foure Fowlers Chambers, and three other small Peeces made for the Stroogs to shoot Haile-stones, and afterwards the great Ordnance of the Castle was shot off.

On the one and thirtieth of Januarie there happened a great Eclipse of the Moone, which began about twelve of the clocke at night, and continued before shee was cleere an houre and an halfe by estimation, which ended the first of Februarie about halfe an houre past one in the morning: shee was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre. *An Eclipse.*

The seventeenth of Aprill, the variation of the Compasse observed in Astracan, was 13. degrees 40. minutes from North to West. This Spring there came newes to Astracan, that the Queene of Persia (the King being blind) had beene with a great Armie against the Turkes that were left to possesse Media, and had given them a great overthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, and the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turkes. The Factors of the Companie consulting upon their affaires, determined to leave at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe, the other three Factors would proceed in the ship on their *The variation of the Compasse in Astracan, was 13. degrees 40. min.*

purposed Voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might bee done there: where, if they could not finde safe trafficke, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a Province neere the Caspian Sea bordering upon Persia: and thereupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandise of Tisiks or Persian Merchants.

Gilan.

The second of May they weighed, and plyed downe the River Volga, toward the Caspian Sea. The seventh of May in the morning, they passed by a Tree that standeth on the left hand of the River as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets Tree, and about three verstes further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said Tree, is a place called Uchoog, that is to say, The Russe Weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a Weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certaine Cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine Gunners to guard his Fisher-men that keepe the Weare. This Uchoog is counted from Astracan sixty verstes: they proceeded downe the said River without staying at the Uchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shallow water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the Pavos: The eleventh day they sent backe to the Uchoog for an other Pavos: This day by mischance the ship was bilged on the grapnell of the Pavos, whereby the companie had sustayned great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layd into the Pavos: for notwithstanding their pumping with three Pumps, heaving out water with Buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the ship was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The twelfth day the Pavos came to them from the Uchoog, whereby they lighted the ship of all the goods. The thirteenth day in the morning there came to them a small Boat, sent by the Captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the ship were at Sea cleare off the flats. The fifteenth day by great industrie and travell they got their ship cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from

Uchoog.

Shallow water.

Flats.

the ninth day untill then: they were forced to passe their ship in three foot water or lesse. The sixteenth day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iland of foure Hillockes, which are counted fortie verstes from Uchoog, and are the furthest Land towards the Sea. The seventeenth day they bare off into the Sea, and being about twelve verstes from the Foure hillockes, riding in five foot and a halfe water about eleven of the clocke in the fore-noone, they tooke their goods out of the Pavoses into the ship, and filled their ship with all things necessarie. The eighteenth day in the morning about seven of the clocke, the Pavoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at South-east, they rode still with the ship, and observing the elevation of the Pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde South-east, they rode still. The twentieth day, the winde at North-west, they set sayle about one of the clocke in the morning, and steered thence South by West, and South South-west, about three leagues, and then anchored in sixe foot and a halfe water, about nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the elevation of the Pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The one and twentieth, having the winde at North-west, they set sayle, and steered thence South by West, and South untill eleven of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they observed the latitude, and found it to bee 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the Sea about fiftie verstes. From the said noone-tide untill foure of the clocke, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe: then had they five fathoms and a halfe, and brackish water: from that till twelve at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East ten leagues: then had they eleven fathoms, and the water salter. From that till the two and twentieth day three of the clocke in the morning, they sayled three and fiftie leagues, then had they sixteene fathoms water: from thence they sayled untill noone

Chetera Bougori.

The Caspian Sea.

45. *deg.* 20. *minutes. The first observation in the Caspian Sea.*

[III. ii. 245.]

Brackish water farre within the Sea.

South and by West seven leagues and a halfe, the latitude
43. *degrees* 15. *minutes.* then observed 43. degrees 15. minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that untill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the three and twentieth at foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled South South-west three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence untill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude observed, was 42. degrees 20. minutes. From that till the foure and twentieth day at noone, they sayled South by West seventeene leagues and a halfe, then
41. *degrees* 32. *minutes.* the latitude observed, was one and fortie degrees two and thirtie minutes. From noone till seven of the clocke at night, they sayled South South-west foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high Land or Hills, which were almost covered with Snow, and the midst of them were West from the ship, being then about twelve leagues from the neerest Land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sayled South-west untill mid-night: about three leagues from thence till the five and twentieth day, foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the Land, they tooke in their sayles,
40. *degrees* 54. *minutes.* and lay hulling: at noone the latitude observed, was 40. degrees 54. minutes: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the winde North-west, they set their sayles: and from thence till the sixe and twentieth day at noone, they sayled East South-east foure leagues. From thence they sayled till eight of the clocke at night South-west three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sayled untill the seven and twentieth day two of the clocke in the morning, West South-west eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the said two till foure of the clocke, they sayled South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the

Land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged Land. There were certaine Rockes that lay farre off into the Sea, about five leagues from the same Land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those Rockes and the Land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the Port Bilbill, *Bilbill.* where they should have put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke after noone, they came to Bildih in the Countrey of Media or Shervan, against which place they anchored in nine foot water. Presently after they were at anchor, there came aboord of them a Boat, wherein were seven or eight persons, two Turkes, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arrivall, who told the Factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the Countrey Shervan, and how that the Turkes Basha remayned in Derbent with a Garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no Inhabitants left in it. The Factors then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisikes (or Merchants that went over with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the Companies servants Robert Golding, with those Souldiers, to the Captaine of Bachu, *Bachu Port.* which place standeth hard by the Sea, to certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendship to have quiet and safe trafficke for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they rode, about a dayes journey, on foot easily to be travelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way over Land: it is a walled Towne, and strongly fortified. When the said Messenger came to the Captaine of Bachu, the said Captaine gave him very friendly entertaynement.

In the morning very early, hee sent Horse for the rest of the companie which should goe to Derbent, sending by them that went, ten Sheepe for the ship. Whilest they were at breakfast, Master Turnbull, Master Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the Master of the ship, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they

went to Bachu. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the Captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a Gentleman, and certaine Souldiers, which had the Captaine of Bachu his Letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and travelled thorow Woods till they came almost to the Towne of Derbent: and then the Gentleman rode before with the Captaines Letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English Merchants comming, who receiving the Letters, and understanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receive them certaine Souldiers Gunners, who met them about two miles out of the Towne, saluting them with great reverence, and afterwards rode before them: then againe met them other Souldiers, somewhat neerer the Castle, which likewise having done their salutations rode before them, and then came forth Noblemen, Captaines, and Gentlemen, to receive them into the Castle and Towne. As they entred the Castle, there was a shot of twentie Peeces of great Ordnance, and the Basha sent Master Turnbull a very faire Horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred Markes, and so they were convayed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a Coat of cloth of Gold, and caused it to be put on Master Turnbuls backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their journey, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the Factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priviledge, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his Countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Majestie to have any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde thereof to the Captaine of Bachu, it should be delivered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly give them his priviledge: yet for that

[III. ii. 246.] *The receiving of the English into Derbent.*

he regarded their safety, having come so farre, and knowing the state of his Countrey to be troublesome, he would have them to bring their commoditie thither, and there to make sale of it, promising he would provide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence unto them, so that they should not be injured by any: whereupon the Factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for the ship to bring her to Derbent. The latitude of Bildih by divers observations is 40. deg. 25. m. the variation of the Compas 10. deg. 40. min. from North to West. They arrived at anchor against Derbent East and by South from the said Castle in foure fathom & a halfe water, the two and twentieth of June at ten of the clock in the morning: then they tooke up their Ordnance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the ship in her rolling. In the afternoone the Basha came down to the water side against the ship, and having the said Ordnance placed, and charged, it was all shot off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the Factors to come aboord the ship. The nine and twentieth day their goods were unladen, and carried to the Bashaes Garden, where hee made choice of such things as he liked, taking for custome of every five and twentie Kersies, or whatsoever, one or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The Factors after his choice made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof. They departed from Derbent with the said Barke the nineteenth of July, and arrived at Bildih the five and twentieth day. Robert Golding desirous to understand what might bee done at Shamaky, which is a dayes journey from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeves, and was shot into the knee with an Arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life and goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeves Horses with a Caliver, and shot a Turke thorow both cheekes with a Dag. On the sixt day of August, the Factors being advertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten and weake, that it

The latitude of Bildih 40. *deg.* 25. *min. The variation of the Compasse* 10. *deg.* 40. *min.*

was doubtfull shee would not carrie them backe to Astracan, did thereupon agree and bargaine at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Jacob, for a Barke called a Busse, being of burden about five and thirtie tunnes, which came that yeere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an Iland called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond, or to the Eastward of Bildih, which Barke for their more safety, they meant to have with them in their returne to Astracan, and thereupon wrote unto Wincoll and the rest at Bachu, that they should receive the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih, to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first Boat, which was observed by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the said Busse at Bildih, and being readie to have departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the Sea, by force whereof the Cables and Halsers were broken, and their Vessell put ashoare, and broken to pieces against the Rockes: every of them that were in her saved their lives, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or Chist, wherein were Dollers, and Gold, which they had received for the commodities of the Companie, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the Barkes side into the water amongst the Rockes, and so was lost. The packes of Cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost: other things that were more profitable they saved.

Zere Iland.

The English suffer shipwracke.

The third day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboord the ship: and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leave of him, unto whom they recommended those the Companies servants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making account to leave them behind in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be injured of any. After this leave taken, the Factors went aboord, purposing presently to have set sayle and departed towards Astracan, the winde serving well for that purpose at South South-east: And as they were readie to set sayle,

there came against the ship a man, who weved: whereupon the Boat was sent ashoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mis-hap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towards Derbent, they, and such things as [III. ii. 247.] they saved with a small Boat, forced to put ashoare in a place by the Sea side called the Armenian Village: Where- *The Armenian Village.* upon the Factors caused the ship to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they meant to sayle with the ship, with the next wind that would serve them, against the place where they were, and take them in, if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly winds, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwards sustayned through Ice, &c. entring the Volga as shall be declared.

The latitude of Derbent (by divers Observations exactly there made,) is fortie one degrees fiftie two minutes. The variation of the Compasse at that place about eleven degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by Land fortie sixe leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by Land, fortie five leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu, about ten leagues, which may bee thirtie miles. From Bachu to Bildih five or sixe leagues by Land, but by water about twelve leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian Sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are nine foot thicke, and eight and twentie or thirtie foot high, and the space betweene them is one hundred and sixtie Geometricall paces, that is, eight hundred foot. There are yet to bee perceived of the ruine of those wals, which doe now extend into the Sea about halfe a mile: also from the Castle West-ward into the Land, they did perceive the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, & was built by Alexand. the great, when the castle Derbent was made.

The latitude of Derbent 41. degrees 52. minutes.

The variation of the Compasse.

The fift of October about noone, the winde North North-east they weighed Anchor, and set sayle from Derbent, being alongst the Coast to the South-wards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to Anchor in three fathome water.

The seventh day about seven of the clocke in the morning, they set sayle, the wind South-west. They considered the time of the yeare was farre spent, the ship weake, leake, and rotten, and therefore determining not to tarry any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leave them behind, bent themselves directly towards Astracan: and sayling North North-east untill mid-night about sixteene leagues, the wind then came to the North North-west, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their Sayles, saving the fore Corse, with which they were forced to steere before the Sea, South by West, and South South-west. And on the eight day about two of the clocke in the morning, their great Boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfort: for in her they hoped to save their lives if the ship should have miscarried. About ten of the clocke before noone, they had sight of the Land about five leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare alongst the Coast to the South-east-
Nezavoo. wards unto Nezavoo, where they came at Anchor in three fathomes, and blacke Ozie, good Anchor hold, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the North-west, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian Village, which is about eighteene Versts to the West-wards of Nezavoo, the place where against they rode at Anchor, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the Coast after her, who came against the ship where shee rode, and with a fire-brand in the top of a Tree made signes, which was perceived by them in the ship, whereupon they hoysed out their Skiffe, and sent her ashoare to learne what was meant by the fire:

which returned a Letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian Village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods bee taken into the ships.

The particulars of their returne are omitted.

The tenth day they sent their Skiffe to the Armenian Village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde served, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said Village. But in their want God sent them two Covies of Partridges, that came from the shoare, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

A strange accident of provision for their reliefe.

Pavoses were sent from Astracan, in which they laded the ships goods, leaving her at Anchor with Russes to keepe her.

The thirteenth of November they departed also in those Lighters, with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leaving the ship at Anchor, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pavoses to provide victuals for themselves and the rest, and therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to undertake for twentie Rubbles in Money, to carrie the ship into some Harbour, where shee might safely winter, or else to keepe her where she rode all Winter, which was promised to bee given them if they did it: and the same day when with those Lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Ilands, being about eight Verstes South-west from them, the wind then at North-east, did freese the Sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre, or remove the said Lighters, but as the wind and Ice did force them. And so they continued driving with the Ice, South-east into the Sea by the space of fortie houres, and then being the sixteenth day, the Ice stood. Whiles they drove with the Ice, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes, when the Ice with force of wind and Sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driven one upon another with great force, terrible to [III. ii. 248.]

behold, and the same happened at sometimes so neere unto the Lighters, that they expected it would have overwhelmed them to their utter destruction: but God who had preserved them from many perils before, did also save and deliver them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the Ice, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fortie and eight Bales or Packes of Raw Silke, &c. laid it on the Ice, and covered the same with such provisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leave all the goods there upon the Ice, and to goe to the shoare: and thereupon brake up their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made Sleds for every of them to draw upon the Ice, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conveniently carrie, and so they departed from the said goods and Pavoses very early, about one of the clocke in the morning, and travelling on the Ice, directed their way North, as neere as they could judge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the after-noone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure Hillocks of Ilands so called) unto the same they directed themselves, and there remayned that night. The goods and Pavoses which they left on the Ice, they judged to be from those Chetera Babbas, about twentie Versts. And the next morning departed thence East-wards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Ilands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about fifteene Versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking to much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of Master Hudson) whereby wandering upon the Ice foure or five dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars Land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had beene

Travell upon the Ice.

Chetera Babbas.

travelled, which crost back-wards towards the Sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes travell it brought them to a place, called the Crasnoyare (that is to say, in the English Tongue) Red Cliffe, which divers of the company knew.

There they remayned that night, having nothing to eate but one Loafe of Bread, which they happened to find with the two Russes that were left in the ship, to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about five miles before they came to the said Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the Ice, and that they had hard scaping with their lives. *The English ship cut in pieces with Ice*

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about nine of the clocke before noone, being within ten Versts of the Uchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the Carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a Gunner newly come out of England, and also sixtie five Horses with so many Cassacks to guide them, and fiftie Gunners for guard, which brought provision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy unto them.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall, and the said company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the said Factors and their company marched on to the Uchooge, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. *December.* And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arrived the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors, travelled the same day untill they came within ten Versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babbas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and Gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next

day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared unto them in what sort they had found the said goods.

The third day early in the morning, they departed all from the foure Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could finde upon the said sleds, and withall convenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars Horse-men, which came shouting and hallowing with a great noyse, but our people were so invironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter upon them, but ranne by, and shot their Arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those carriages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arrived in safetie the fourth of December, about three of the clock in the after-noone, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good hap to have escaped so many hard events, troubles and miseries, as they did in that Voyage, and had great cause therefore to prayse the Almightie, who had so mercifully preserved and delivered them. They remayned the Winter at Astracan, where they found great favour and friendship of the Duke, Captaine, and other chiefe Officers of that place: but that Winter there hapned no great matter, worth the noting.

Assaulted by Tartars.

Their returne to Astracan.

[III. ii. 249.]

The breaking up of the Ice.

In the Spring of the yeere 1581. about the midst of March, the Ice was broken up, and cleare gone before Astracan.

HENRY LANE

A Letter of Master Henrie Lane to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson, containing a briefe discourse of that which passed in the North-east discoverie, for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested me, so have I sought, and though I cannot finde some things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old Letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I have briefly and as truely as I may, drawne out as followeth: The rough hewing may bee planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First, the honourable attempt to discover by Sea North-east and North-west named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priviledge from King Edward the sixt, and other his Nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of Master Sebastian Cabota, then Governour for Discoveries, with Sir Andrew Judde, Sir George Barnes, Sir William Garrard, Master Anthony Hussie, and a companie of Merchants, was in the last yeere of his Majesties raigne, 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Masters, Merchants, and Marriners, having three Ships well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaventure, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaventure, Richard Chancelor being Pilot, and Steven Burrough Master, having discovered Ward-house upon the Coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the Bay of Saint Nicholas, now the chiefe Port of Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a Village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. *Master William Burrough was then young, and with his brother in this first voyage.*

The other two ships attempting further Northwards (as appeared by Pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with

Newnox is from the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35. *miles.*

such extreame cold, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the said Bay fell upon a desart Coast in Lappia, entring into a River immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monasterie of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of seventie persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made Caves and Stoves. These were found with the Ships the next Summer, Anno 1554. by Russe-fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent unto by English Merchants, as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. Anno 1554. the said ship Edward Bonaventure (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her companie to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discoverie of the Countries, even to the Citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priviledge written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two ships looked for and unknowne to them where they were.

Anno 1555. Anno 1555. the said companie of Merchants for a discoverie upon a new supply, sent thither againe with two Ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaventure, and another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Majesties by their Letters to the said Muscovite, recommended sundry their subjects then passing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chancelor, George Killingworth, Henrie Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arrivall at the Bay, and passing up Dwina to Nologda, went first up to Mosco, where, upon knowledge of the said Letters, they with their trayne had speciall entertainment, with houses and dyet appointed, and shortly permitted to the Princes presence, they were with Gentlemen brought through the Citie of Mosco, to the Castle and Palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, Gold, Tissue, Baldekin, and Violet, as our Vestments and Copes have beene in England, sutable

The King and Queenes letters.

with Caps, Jewels, and Chaines. These were found to bee no Courtiers, but ancient Muscovites, Inhabitants, and other their Merchants of credit, as the manner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Entertainment by the Duke.

Then entring into the Presence, being a large roome floored with Carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number above one hundred set square: who after the said English-men came in, doing reverence, they all stood up, the Prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might bee seene massie silver and gilt Plate, some like and as bigge as Kilderkins, and Wash-bowles, and entring the Dining place, being the greater roome, the Prince was set bare-headed, his Crowne and rich Cap standing upon a pinacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitan, with divers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines; none sate over against him, or any, at other Tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the English-men, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, Strangers or Merchants by ship, a table in the midst of the roome, where they were set direct against the Prince: and then began the service, brought in by a number of his young Lords and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is above specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set over all in massie fine Gold, delivered every time from him by name to them, by their severall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henrie, Arthur. Likewise Bread and sundry drinkes of purified Mead, made of fine white and clarified Honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to his table, to receive each one a Cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master

[III. ii. 250.]

Master Killingworths beard of a marvellous length.

George Killingworths beard, which reacheth over the table, and pleasantly delivered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, said in Russe, This is Gods gift. As indeed at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foote and two inches of assize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and dishes of meate dressed, to our lodging.

This yeere the two Ships, with the dead bodyes of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent unto by Master Killingworth, (which remayned there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

Anno 1556. *the disastrous voyage.*

Anno 1556. The Companie sent two Ships for Russia, with extraordinarie Masters and Saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the river of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sayling from Lapland to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe Ambassadour, named Joseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancelor in the Edward. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Master and Marriners, never were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought Seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, unstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also divers Russes Merchants, and servants of the Ambassadour. A third ship the Edward aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, upon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chancelor with divers other, drowned. The said Russe Ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, Marriners, and some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants, (the messenger being Master Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the Chronicles appeareth, honorably entertayned and received at London.

Serchthrift.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a Pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the Har-

borowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of Saint Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Borough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discoverie was beyond the Bay, toward the Samoeds, people dwelling neere the River of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Card or Map. In that place they threw Snow out of their said Pinnesse, with shovels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Stephen Borough.

Anno 1557. The companie with foure good Ships, sent backe the said Russe Ambassadour, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discoverie, Master Antonie Jenkinson, who afterward Anno 1558. with great favour of the Prince of Muscovia, and his letters, passed the river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by Land, was by many troupes and companies of uncivill Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with Merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Urgeme, travelling with Camels, he with his companie, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the King is to be had of Master Jenkinson, which returned Anno 1559. to Muscovie. And in Anno 1560. hee, with Henrie Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first trafficke to the Narve in Livonia, which confines with Lituania, and all the Dominions of Russia: and the Markets, Faires, Commodities, great Townes and Rivers, were sent unto by divers servants: the reports were taken by Henrie Lane, Agent, and delivered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Revel, of old time hath beene long since frequented by our English Nation, but this trade to the Narve was hitherto concealed from us by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1557.

Boghar voyage.

Muscovie trade long unfortunate.

1560.

The first trade to the Narve.

1560.

Anno 1561. the said Master Antonie Jenkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all

the river of Volga to Astracan, and over the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry Voyages after Master Jenkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Banister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not prevented by roving Theeves) had altogether salved and recovered the Companies (called the old Companies) great losse, charges, and damages: But the saying is true, By unitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. This may bee understood best by the Companie. The frowardnesse of some few, and evill doing of some unjust Factors, was cause of much of the evill successe.

Alcock slaine in Persia.
Banister dyed in Media.
Edwards dyed at Astracan.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and dyed in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to bee remembred the Voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassadour Anno 1567. And late of Sir Jerome Bowes, Anno 1583. both tending and treating for further Discoveries, Freedomes, and Priviledges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines [III. ii. 251.] and adventures this way (as divers doe now adayes other wayes) as worthie Gentlemen sent from Princes, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my heartie farewell. From Saint Margarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

To the Reader.

I Have had much trouble to give thee this Authour, both for his Language, being Portugall (which for this, and some other parts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the raritie of his Relations, seeming both in themselves so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authours. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answere, that Ricius the Jesuite his Relations came not to us, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the

Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that Cassian rule, Cui bono; for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should hee lye? Yea, hee little spares his owne companie and Nation, but often and eagerly layeth open their vices: and which is more, I finde in him little boasting, except of other Nations; none at all of himselfe, but as if he intended to expresse Gods glorie, and mans merit of nothing but miserie. And howsoever it seemes incredible to remember such infinite particulars as this Booke is full of, yet an easie memorie holdeth strong impressions of good or bad: Scribunt in marmore læsi, is said of one; and of the other, Omnia quæ curant senes meminerunt. Neither is it likely but that the Authour wrote Notes, which in his manifold disadventures were lost otherwise, but by that writing written the firmer in his memorie, especially new whetted, filed, forbushed with so many companions of miserie, whom in that state, Hæc olim meminisse juvabat; their best musicke in their chaines and wandrings being the mutuall recountings of things seene, done, suffered. More marvell it is, if a lyar, that he should not forget himselfe, and contradict his owne Relations; which somtimes he may seeme to doe in the numbers of the yeere of the Lord; yea, and other numbers: but his leaves were left unperfect at his death, and those numbers perhaps added by others after: and besides, mine owne experience hath often found figures mistaken from my hand, which being by the Compositor set at large, have runne at large by ten times so much; and girt in otherwhiles as narrow with the tenth place diminished, or one figure set for another. And none but the Authour, or he which knowes the subject, can easily amend that fault, being so great by so small and easie a lapse. The graduations of places I doe confesse otherwise then in the Jesuites, and as I suppose not so truely as theirs: for I thinke that he neither had Arte * or Instrument to calculate the same, but contented himselfe in the writing of this Booke to looke into the common Maps of China, and to follow them in setting downe the degrees,

Note for numbers (if great care bee not had) how easily, how dangerously mistaken.
**So it seemes by those words of his, fol.* 122. *Ainda que confesso que me falta o milhor, que he saber & engenho para dar a entender o clima & a Altura dos graos &c.*

False graduations a common thing in Maps of East and West Indies.

and so the blind led the blind into errour; no printed Map that I have seene being true. And perhaps the Chronicler to whom the papers were brought unfinished might out of those Maps doe it; erring either of ignorance, or (which we have often seene in Cards of remote places East and West) purposely, to conceale from others that which they have found sweet and gainfull; the Mariner and Merchant not looking with the generous eyes of the ingenious, ingenuous Scholer.

For his repute at home; it was dedicated to King Philip the Third of Spaine, which impudence would not have obtruded (if altogether a tale) on such Majestie; licenced by the Holy Office, and printed at Lisbon; translated into the Spanish by the Licentiate, Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, Canon of the Church Riall of Arbas, and dedicated to a Clergie-man Severin de Faria, Printed 1620. at Madrid (and small credit it had beene to the House of the Farias, that one of them should publish in Portugall, and in Castile to another should be dedicated, a frivolous tale and devised foolerie.) I adde also the Authours stile so religious, and his often protestations: his credit, as Herrera reporteth with King Philip the Second, who spent much time in discourse with him about these things. I might adde the Spanish Translators Apologie at large, and out of him Fr. Andrada the Portugall Chroniclers testimonie.

If this move thee not to beleeve, yet beleeve thus much, that I have no minde to deceive thee, but give thee what I found, onely much contracted, and not going all the way with our Authour, whose originall Booke is above one hundred and fiftie sheets of paper in folio, but contented with his China and Tartaria Relations: that also too much, if not true. And yet I would not have an Authour rejected for fit speeches framed by the Writer, in which many Historians have taken libertie; no, if sometimes he doth mendacia dicere, so as he doth not mentiri; that is, if he be so credulous to beleeve, or so improvident to proffer to others faith, probable falshoods

related by others (as I will not sweare but of himselfe hee might mistake, and by others be mis-led, the Chinois here might in relating these rarities to him enlarge, and de magnis majora loqui) so as he still be religious in a just and true deliverie of what himselfe hath seene, and belye not his owne eyes: the former is rashnesse and distastfull, the later is dishonest and detestable. Once, the Sunne Rising hath found many worshippers, but the Westerne Sunne is neerer night: and neerer obscuritie and meannesse are our Westerne affaires then those China Raies of the East; and wee were Backes and Owles not to beleeve a greater light then our selves see and use. All China Authours how diversified soever in their lines, yet concurre in a centre of Admiranda Sinarum, which if others have not so largely related as this, they may thanke God they payed not so deare a price to see them; and for mee, I will rather beleeve (where reason evicts not an ejectione firma) then seeke to see at the Authours rate; and if he hath robbed the Altars of Truth, as he did those of the Calempluy Idols, yet in Pequin equity we will not cut off the thumbs (according to Nanquin rigour) upon bare surmise without any evidence against him. However, cheaper I am sure he is by farre to thee then to mee, who would have been loth to be so true a labourer in a lying Authour, willingly or commonly (in my conceit) falsifying his owne sight, though perhaps not seldome deceived in things taken up on China mens trust, or entred into their China Bookes, such as he here often citeth. Men refuse not Silver for the Oare; gather the Rose notwithstanding the prickles; neglect not Harvest mixed with weeds, Wheat with the chaffe, Fruit for the shells, and hate not Honie for the Bees sting; nor will I either in prodigalitie of faith beleeve all, or be so penurious as to reject most of that which here I present. Use thou thy freedome, and him at thy pleasure (I say not mee) and if thou wilt not pardon such a briefe collection, thou wouldst hardly give Castilian entertainement to all, and more then all, often yeelding bravadoes and enlarging

Valignanus a great Jesuite wrote a booke with that title.

[III. ii. 252.]

flourishes of stile, beyond a translation, as if his Authour had not said enough. The variety, if it had beene meerly devised, presents I know not how many entercourses as interludes of Comicke and Tragicke events, more worthie the reading then most in this kinde, and as fit to recreate: how much more, where veritie is (as I suppose) the ground and substance, though perhaps inlayed with other phantasies among. That the Jesuites in some things differ, is their authoritie against his, who as more learned and judicious, and longer experienced, might finde out some truths better then hee; as his various fortunes, and that time, might let him see many particularities which they could not, writing sixtie yeeres after. In many things they both agree: and Gaspar de Cruz hath many the same things; and that his strange Relation of the Crosse in China and the Hungarian of the Mount Sinai, is delivered by Lucena, perhaps learned by some of His companie: and these exceptions by mee mentioned, are rather præoccupations of censorious judging my judgement, then my judiciall sentence, which the judicious will suspend, and leave to better experience. Judicent posteri; veritas Temporis filia.

Chap. II.

Observations of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne parts of the World, taken out of Fernam Mendez Pinto his Peregrination.

§. I.

Mendez his many miserable adventures, his strange expedition with Antonio De Faria; divers coasts visited, Pirats tamed, miseries suffered, glorie recovered.

Ernam Mendez Pinto, borne at old Montemor in the Kingdome of Portugall, was placed in service at ten or twelve yeeres of age in Lisbon, the thirteenth of December, An. 1521. on the day of breaking the Scutchions, or publike mourning for King Emanuel. A yeere and halfe after he fled upon occasion of a sudden accident, and got aboord a Carvile which was taken by a French Pirat, which would have made sale of them at Larache to the Moores. But a fortnight after taking another Portugall ship comming from Saint Thome worth 40000. Duckets, they returned for France, carrying some with them for Sea service, the rest they set on shoare by night on the shoare of Melides, naked; which came to Santiago de Cacem, where they were relieved. Thence he went to Setuval, and served Francisco de Faria a Gentleman belonging to the Master of Santiago, and after that was Page to the Master himselfe. But his meanes being short hee left his service.

An. 1537. he went for India in a Fleet of five ships; the Admirall was Don Pedro de Sylva, sonne of Vasco * da Gama (first Discoverer of the Indies, whose bones he carried with him in the ship at his returne, which

**See of Gama tom. 1. pag. 26.*

were received by King Johns appointment in greater Funerall pompe, then had beene seene done to a Subject.) They arrived at Diu the fifth of September. Thence after seventeene dayes he went with two Foists for the Straight of Mecca, and came in sight of Curia Muria, and Abedalcuria, almost wracked with foule weather, and comming to Sacotora, watered neere the Fortresse which Francisco d'Almeida first Vice-roy of India, had built, 1507. Having received some refreshing of the Christians there, they departed, and in the heighth of Masua tooke a ship, but five men being therein left of eightie; one of which was the Captaine, a Renegado of Malorquy, who for love of a Moorish woman had denyed his Faith, and refusing to returne to Christianitie, notwithstanding all perswasions, wee bound him hand and foot, and threw him into Sea with a great stone tyed about his necke: The ship also sunke, and little was saved.

Straight of Mecca or the Red Sea.

Portugall Fortresse in Socatora before the Arabs Conquest.

A Martyr of Mahomet. Martyrem non non pœna sed causa.

[III. ii. 253.]

They went to Arquico (then) in the Countrey of Preste John; to deliver a letter to Aurique Barbosa, the Factor of Antonio Sylveira, sent three yeeres before by Nuno de Cunha, who with fortie others escaped from the rebellion Xael, in which Dom Manoel de Meneses, with one hundred and sixtie Portugals were taken foure hundred thousand Duckets, and sixe Portugall Ships, which were those that Solyman Bassa A. 1538. brought with provision for his Armada to the siege of Diu; the King of Xael having sent them with sixtie Portugals for a Cairo present; the rest hee bestowed as almes on Mahomets house at Mecca. I with three others, were sent some dayes journeys into the Countrey to Barbosa, then in the Fort of Geleytor in guard of the Queene, mother of the Preste John, who welcommed them, as the nightly dew to the flowerie Garden, and as Helena to Jerusalem, so were they (said she) to her eyes.

Xael or Jael insurrection.

But (to leave those things) he went thence to Ormus, and then to Goa; there offered his service to Pero de Faria Captaine of Malaca, which entertained him. The occurrences of Bata, Achem, Aaru in Samatra, Queda in

the continent, and his imployments in those parts, as also of Siaca, Paon, Patane, I omit.

He saith that hee was wracked at Sea comming from Aaru; of eight and twentie, five onely escaping, two of which the Crocodiles devoured. Hee was taken and sold to a Moore, which carried him to Malaca. Thence Pero de Faria sent him to Patane in trade: from thence againe, imployed by Antonio de Faria to Lugor, Coia Acem a Guzarate Pirate set upon them, tooke, and killed all, Burall and Pinto only escaping, which leaping into the Sea were reserved by a Barke, and sent to Patane. Faria afraid to return to Malaca, where he was so indebted for those goods, vowed to be revenged of the Pirat. And by helpe of his friends armed a Junke with five & fifty Souldiers, of which I and Borall (extreamely both indebted and wounded) were. From Patane we set forth in May, 1540, and to a Haven called Bralapisaon, some sixe leagues off the firme Land, where we found a Junke of the Lequios, bound for Siam with an Embassadour of Nautaquim de Lindau, Prince of the Ile of Tosa situate in six & thirty degrees, which seeing us come, hasted away with all speed. Faria sent a Chinese Pilot to them with faire offers of love and courtesie, who returned with a present, a rich Sword, and sixe and twentie Pearles in a Boxe of Gold, with this answer, That the time would come, when they should communicate with us in the Law of the true God of infinite mercy, who by his death had given life to all men, with a perpetuall inheritance in the house of the good: and hee beleeved that this should bee after the halfe of the halfe of time were past. Neither could Antonie de Faria returne any thing in recompence, they being gotten farre into the Sea.

Bralapisaon.

Tosa. Span Lossa.

A strange answere.

Heere wee watered, and after coasted to search the River of Pulo Cambim, which divides the Kingdome of Champaa, from the Seniorie of Camboia in the height of nine degrees. Thither we came in the end of May, and the Pilot went up the River three leagues, to a great Towne called Catimparù, where we stayed to take in pro-

Pullo Cambim.

Catimparù.

vision twelve dayes. Faria being curious, desired to know whence that River came, the originall thereof (they told him) was a Lake called Pinator, Eastward from that Sea, two hundred and sixtie leagues in the Kingdome of Quitirvan; which Lake was compassed with high Hills, at the bottome of which, alongst the waters side, were eight and thirtie Townes, thirteene great, the rest small. One of these Great ones was named Xincaleu, where was a great Gold Mine, whence every day was taken a Barre and a halfe of Gold, which in our money amounteth by the yeere to two and twentie millions of Gold. Foure Lords are sharers, and are still at warres for a singular proprietie. They said that one of these called Raiahitau, in the Court of his house in jarres, had set up to the necke in earth six hundred Bars of Gold in poulder, as good as that of Menancabo in Samatra; and that if three hundred of our men were sent thither, with one hundred Calivers, they would without doubt become masters thereof. They said also that in Buaquirim, another of those Townes, was a Rocke of Diamonds, better then those of Laue, and of Taniampura in the Ile of Java.

Lake Pinator.

Quitirvan.

Xincaleu.

22. Millions Duckets. Gold mines, & iron minds.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Proceeding along the Coast of Champaa, from Pullo Cambim, we came to a shelfe called Saleyiacuu, and the next day to the River Toobasoy, in the mouth whereof a Junke passed by, to which we offered the courtesie of the Sea, and they in scorne made shew of a Negroes Buttockes, with many trumpets and other jollitie. Hence grew displeasure: in the night three Barks came to assaile us, which we tooke, with the Captain, two Acheners, a Turke, & the Negro. This Negro confessed himselfe a Christian, slave to Gasper de Mello a Portugall, whom that dogge (he pointed to the bound Captaine) slew two yeeres since in Liampoo, with sixe and twentie Portugals besides with him in the Ship. What said Faria, is this Similau? Yea, said he, and he had thought in so small a Barke, there had not beene above sixe or seven, and hee would have bound your hands and feet, and impaled you as hee served my master. Faria having served him and his with

Similau a Pirate taken.

the same sauce, tooke the Junke, in which was thirtie six thousand Taeis of Japon Silver, which make fiftie foure thousand Cruzados or Duckets, besides much good merchandize.

Faria proceeded alongst the Coast of Champaa, and came to the River Tinacoru, by our men called Varella: into which enter the Ships of Siam and the Malaya Coast, which goe for China, and Truck for Gold, Calamba and Ivory, whereof that Kingdome hath store. Many Paraos or small Barkes came aboord us, and wondred to see white men with beards. They told him that if he would goe up the River to the Citie Pilaucacem, where the King resides, hee might in five dayes sell his goods: for great Merchants resorted thither from the Lauhos, and Pafuaas, and Gueos. That River they said came from the Hill Moncalor, eightie leagues from that place, and beyond that Hill it is much larger, but shallower, in some places making shallow fields, where bred infinite store of Fowles which cover the ground, in such innumerable numbers, that two and fortie yeeres before they caused the Kingdome of Chintaleuhos, (which is eight dayes journey) to be dispeopled. Beyond that Country of Birds, is another wilde and mountainous, where abide many creatures much worse then those Birds, Elephants, Rhinocerotes, Lions, Wilde-swine, Buffals, and Wilde-kine. In the midst of that Land or Kingdome (so it had beene in old time) is a great Lake, which the Natives call Cunebetee, others Chiammay, from which proceeds this river, with other three in great quantitie washing that land. That lake, as some write, containeth in circuit sixtie Iaons (each of which is three leagues) alongst which are Mines of Silver, Copper, Tinne, and Lead, carried thence by Merchants in Cafilas, with Elephants and Badas (Rhinocerotes) to the Kingdomes of Sornau, or Siam, Passiloco, Savady, Tangù, Prom, Calaminhan, and other Kingdomes. Being asked of the weapons of those Countries, they answered, That they have none but Poles burned, and short Crises of two spannes. They might not go up the River in lesse then

Tinacoreu, or Taurlachim, or Varella Truck for gold. [III. ii. 254.]

Pilaucacem.

Bird-wonder.

Cunebetee, or Chiammay.

two months, or two and a halfe, by reason of the force of the water, which way downe, they might dispatch in eight or ten dayes.

Pullo Champeiloo.

Faria going from thence, came to Pullo Champeiloo, an Iland not inhabited in fourteene degrees and twentie minutes, at the entrie of the Bay of Cauchin-China: and thence having fitted his Ordnance to Ainam, to seeke Coia Acem: and being come to Pullo Capas, a Fleet of fortie great Junkes, of two or three Deckes * a piece was seene in the River by Boralho, whom Faria had sent to discover, and after that another seeming two thousand saile great and small, and a walled Towne of some ten thousand houses. At his returne hee saw also one Junke in the Barre of the River at anchor, which seemed of another Coast. Faria supposed this last was of that Pyrat Coia Acem, which therefore hee assailed and tooke. One of the company was a Christian of Mount Sinai, named Tome Mostangue a Merchant, whose Barke Solyman Bassa had taken A. 1538. in the Port of Judaa, with seven others to be victuallers for his Armada of sixtie gallies, wherewith he was sent by the Great Turke, to restore Sultan Baadur to his Kingdome of Cambaya, whereof the Mogor had then dispossessed him, and to drive the Portugalls out of India. And when he demanded of the Turkes his freight, which they had promised, they tooke his wife and his daughter, and openly ravished them before his eyes; his sonne, which cried at that spectacle, they threw into the Sea bound hand and foot: and laid himselfe in yrons, tooke away his goods, worth about sixe thousand Duckets. His wife and daughter died, and hee as desperate leaped one night into the Sea, at the Bar of Diu, with a sonne which there hee had, and got to Surat, and came thrice to Malacca in a Ship of Garcia de Saa; whence by Stephen Gama he was sent for China, with Christovan Sardinha, Factor of Maluco; whom riding at anchor in Cincapura Quiay Tayiam, Captaine of this Junke slew with six and twentie Portugals, and saved him alive because he was a Gunner. Faria cried out that

**Gavias.*

Quiay Taiam, a Pirate.

Thomas Mastangue his adventures.

he had heard of this Quiay Tayiam, that he had killed above one hundred Portugals, and spoiled them of one hundred thousand Cruzados, and that since he killed Sardinha, he caused himselfe to bee called by his name. Hee asked this Armenian where he was, hee shewed where he with sixe or seven others were hidden in the Junke. Faria went and opened the skuttle, and Taiam with his company began a new fight, killed two Portugals and seven boyes, and wounded twentie; but in the end were slaine. Faria hasted away for feare of the Junkes in the River, and came to the Coast of Cauchin-China where he rifled this Junke, and found in her Spices and other goods, to the value of sixtie thousand Cruzados, besides Artillery, which the Pirate had taken out of the Ships of Sardinha, Oliveyra, and Matos.

Pearle-fishers. Guamboy, and other Coast Cities of China, Sonne of the Sunne, title of the King of China.

The next day hee set saile againe for Ainam, and by the way lighted on Boates fishing for Pearles, to whom they offered contract, who told them that Guamboy, a Port somewhat before, (as in Cantan, Chincheo, Lamau, Comhay, Sumbor, and Liampoo, and other Coast Cities) was a place of trade for strangers, and counselled him to goe thither: for there they had nothing but Pearles, which they fished for the treasure of the Sonne of the Sunne, by the command of the Tutan of Comhay, supreme Governor of all Cauchin-China. And that the law was, that if any Barke besides the appointed entred, it should bee burnt with all the people therein. And because hee was a stranger, it was best for him to saile away before Buhaquirim the Mandarin, which was but seven leagues thence came: who had fortie great Junkes, with two thousand Mariners, and five thousand Souldiers; and did abide there the sixe moneths of fishing, from March to August both included. They much marvelled at the Portugall fashion, having never seene any such men, and suspected them theeves, (they professing themselves Merchants of Siam) with gifts and courtesie they wonne good estimation of these Fishers. One of these being asked touching Aynam, answered, That it was once an

Aynam, or Hainam, a great Iland S. from China.

absolute Kingdome governed by Prechau Gamu, who dying without an heire there arose such contentions, that in foure yeeres and a halfe there dyed sixteen Lacasaas of men, which are so many hundred thousands, whereby the [III. ii. 255.] Land was so dispeopled, that the Cauchin King made himselfe master thereof, with seven thousand Mogores, which the Tartar sent him from Tuymican, then the chiefe Citie of his Empire. Hee set over the same Hoyha Paguarol, who rebelled and made himselfe tributarie to the King of China, paying sixe hundred thousand Duckets, or foure hundred thousand Taeis yearely: and dying without heire, two hundred thirtie five yeares since, hee declared the King of China his Successour: and so it hath continued. He counselled him not to goe to Aynam; because they were Dissemblers, nor would the Monson suffer him to go to Liampoo; but to go to the good river *Tanauquir.* Tanauquir, stil sounding as he went for the shoalds; there he should have sure Anchorage, and in little space hee might sell all his goods; where yet it was not safe by reason of reasonlesse men to adventure his goods on Land.

To that River we went, and in the mouth thereof not able to stemme the Current, two Junks assayled us, and their first Language was sixe and twentie Peeces of Ordnance: the Issue was, Faria tooke them both, most of their men being drowned or slaine, and found therein seventeene Christians Prisoners, by whom hee learned that the Captayne was a Rover which bare two names, one of a Christian, Francisco de Saa, the other of a Gentile, *Xicaulem another Pyrate.* Necoda Xicaulem. Five yeares he had beene a Christian at Malaca; Garcia de Saa Captayne of the Fortresse, in his Baptisme imparting his owne name to him, who married him to a Gentlewoman of Portugall. But hee going, Anno 1534. for Chincheo in a China Junke with twentie Portugals and his Wife, slue both her and them at Pulo Catan: and the next yeare took another Portugall Junke at Chincheo, which came from Sunda, and slue ten *A Renegado China Robber.* Portugals in her, and thence-forth practised Pyracie on Chineses, (as hee thought us to bee) and Portugals. The

goods of the two Junkes amounted to fortie thousand Taeis, and seventeene Brasse Peeces. The Captayne of this place was in league with him, and shared a third of his Pyracies. Faria therefore went to another Port fortie leagues Eastward, called Mutipinan, wherein were many Merchants which came in Cafilas from the Land of the Lauhos, and Pafuaas, and Gueos with great store of silver. The current setting strong against us at the Rock of Tilauinera. Wee came to Mutipinan, and learned that *Mutipinan.* the River was deepe, the best in that Bay; the people peaceable, that Merchants had come nine dayes before from the Kingdome of Benan in two Cafilas, each of five *Benan.* hundred Oxen, with store of Silver, Ivory, Waxe, Benioyn, Camfire, Gold in poulder, to buy Pepper, Drugs, and pearles of Aynam; that they had not any Armada of great ships because the Wars which the Prechau (King) of the Cauchins made were by land, that he abode at Quangepaaru, a Citie twelve dayes journy thence; that *Quangepaaru.* his Mynes yeelded him fifteene thousand Pikes of Silver, halfe of which by Divine Law belonged to the people, which had remitted it to him on condition to pay no other tributes, wherto the ancient Prechaus had sworne to keepe it, as long as the Sun should give light to the Earth. There hee sold a great part of his goods till newes of the Tanauquir Rover made them afraid to come aboard: so that he was forced to set saile.

Thus after many dayes spent in this Bay of Cauchinchina; because Coia Acem and the Pyrates which robbed Christians were in league with the Mandarines, and sold that which they had gotten in Ainan, he pursued that purpose againe, and came to Anchor in Madel a Haven in that Iland where he encountred with Hinimilau, a *Hinimilau an Ethnike-Christian-Moore Pyrate.* Chinese Rover which had becomne lately a Moore, and bitter enemy of Christians, of which Religion hee had also beene. Five Portugall Captive Boyes, which were aboard him, cryed out for mercy, whereby Faria mooved, sent to know what they were, which answering with stones on their heads that came in the Boat, a cruell fight followed,

in which Faria remayned Victor, and seised of the Captaine with fifteene others left alive. He demanded for the Portugall Boyes, who told them they were in the Prow under Hatches; whereupon sending to see, they found them lying on a heape with their heads off, a woman with her two children being also so served. Faria asked why hee dealt so with the small Innocents? He answered, it was sufficient that they were children of Portugals. Being asked why he had forsaken the Christian Religion; he said, because the Portugals had respected him being a Gentile, with Cap in hand saluting him Quiay Nicoda, but after hee was Christian, made little account of him; whereupon he became a Moore in Bintam, and the King of Jantan used him with much honour, his Officers called him Brother, and hee sware on a Booke to become an Enemy to the Portugall and Christian Name as long as he lived, the King and Priest applauding and promising all happinesse to his soule. Seven yeares he had beene in execution of that Oath, and had taken a Junke of Luys de Pavia in the River of Liampoo, with foure hundred Bares of Pepper, slue eighteene Portugals, besides slaves: and after that had taken at times foure ships, in which he had slaine neere three hundred persons, seventie of them Portugals, and taken fifteene or sixteen hundred Bares of Pepper and other Commodities, of which the King of Pan had halfe, to secure him and let him have sale: in the River Choaboque on the Coast of China, he had killed Ruy Lobo, his old acquaintance, with seventeene Portugals, escaping a wracke, and taken into his Junke on condition to pay him two thousand Cruzados, to set him on shoare at Patane; which notwithstanding, hee slue him and the rest by the Moores counsell one night as they were asleepe. Faria would heare no further, but caused him to bee slaine and cast into the Sea. In Silke and other goods he found in the Junke to the value of fortie thousand Taeis: the Junke he burned, having none to man her.

[III. ii. 256.] The other Necodas or Captaynes of the Junkes, seeing

what Faria had done, consulted together, and seeing he might also doe as much to them, sent two chiefe men to him, desiring him as King of the Sea, to give them securities to passe, in dispatch of their businesses before the Monson were ended, and that as his Tributaries, they would give him twentie thousand Taeis of Silver: to which he sware, and that no Thiefe should rob them: and with a Present received the Money brought him within an houre after. A Boy which writ their Passes, gayned in thirteene dayes above foure thousand Taeis (besides gifts for dispatch) each Junke giving five Taeis and the lesse Barkes two. The Vice-Roy also of Ainan sent him a rich Present, with a Letter to intreat him to serve the Sonne of the Sunne as Admirall from Lamau to Liampoo, at ten thousand Taeis annuall wages, besides (after three yeares end) further advancement: whereto he excused his unworthinesse, and departed to Quangiparu, a *Quangiparu.* Citie of fifteene thousand Housholds, and so coasted all alongst the Iland of Ainan seven monethes space, till the Souldiers were wearie, and required their shares as had beene agreed; which was quieted with promise to winter at Siam, and having there made Money of all to give each man his part.

With this agreement they came to an Iland, called *I'lha dos ladrones.* Theeves Iland, because standing out of the Bay, it is their place to take the first of the Monson. Here at the new Moone in October wee were encountred with a cruell Tempest in the night, by which the foure Vessels were *Miserable wracke, and their fortnights miseries.* broken in pieces, five hundred eightie six persons drowned, of which eight and twentie Portugals; three and fiftie of us by Gods mercie saved, Faria being one, and one and twentie other Portugals, the rest Slaves and Mariners. They spent two dayes and a halfe in Buriall of their dead, and to get some of their provision, which yet having taken Salt-water, would not last about five dayes of the fifteene they stayed there. Faria comforted them saying, that God would not permit so much evill but for a greater good; nor would have taken from them five

hundred thousand Cruzados, but to give them sixe hundred thousand: God doth not punish with both hands, his mercie curing the wounds which his Justice maketh.

Reliefe almost miraculous. Thus we walked naked, and bare-foot on the Strand & in the Wildernes, suffering hunger and cold, many of our companions dying, not so much for want of food, as the stinke and putrified unholsomnesse thereof. In this disconsolate plight, a Sea-kite * came flying from behind the South Cape of the Iland, and let fall from his Talons a Mullet a span long; which he taking up with great prayse to God, and Prayer to Jesus Christ, not to consider their merits, but his merits for them, hee caused it to bee rosted and given to the sicke. Looking to the place whence the Fowle came, they saw more of them flying up and downe, and going thitherwards, discovered a Valley with divers Fruit-trees, and before they came at it, they found a Deere which a Tygre had newly killed, and with their generall cry was scarred from it, having begun to eate it. Wee feasted with it, and with many Mullets which those Sea-kites got, and (scarred with our cries) let fall. This fishing they continued from Munday till Saturday, and then seeing a saile they hid themselves in the Woods. It was a Lantea or Barke with Oares, which came thither with thirtie persons to wood and water; and whiles they were disporting themselves, and had left their Barke unmanned, Faria apprehended the occasion, and having instructed them, at the name of Jesus they all ranne upon it, entred without gain-saying, and loosing the Prow put to Sea. The Chinois seeing their Lantea taken, hasted to the shoare, but scarred with a little Iron-piece out of their Lantea, they fled to the Thickets. We presently fell to eate, what an old man was dressing for the Chinois, and after searched and found Silkes, Damasks, Muske, and other goods worth foure thousand Cruzados, besides Rice, Sugar, Hennes, which we most esteemed for recoverie of the sicke. There was a Boy of twelve or thirteene yeares old, whom Faria asked, whence and whose the Lantea was: hee answered, it was his Fathers, from whom they

**Milhano. Wonderfull provision.*

Admirable escape.

had unhappily taken in lesse then an houre, all hee had gotten in above thirtie yeares: hee came from a place, called Quoaman, where in bartar for Silver he had gotten those goods, which he was going to sell to the Junkes of Siam in the Port of Comhay: and now hee going to supply his want of water, you have taken away his goods without feare of the Justice of Heaven. Faria promising to use him as his Sonne; then, said hee, set me on shoare in that miserable Land where my true Father is, with whom I had rather dye then live with so bad people. Much reasoning passed, and he said, they could speake well of God, but little used his Law: neither would he eate in three dayes space. *Quoaman.* *Comhay.*

We determined to goe for Liampoo, two hundred and sixtie leagues Northwards from thence, and to get if we could, a better Barke, this being little, and scarsly able to brooke those New Moone-stormes on the Coast of China. At Sun-set wee set sayle, and next morning going East North-east, came to an Ile called Guintoo, where we tooke a fisher-barke with store of fresh fish, whence we tooke what we thought fit, with eight men of her, twelve to serve for the Lantea, our men being weake. They told us that eighteene leagues thence was a good River, called Xinguau, within which was a poore fisher-village, called Xamoy, and three leagues higher up, a Citie of good Trade. The next day in the evening we came to Xamoy, where a Junke rode fitter for Farias purpose, which in the night he tooke, the men being asleepe; whom he bound, threatning to kill them all if they made any cry; and sayled presently with her to the Ile Pullo Quirim, nine leagues off, and in three dayes after to an Iland called Luxitay, where for the recovery of the sicke hee stayed fifteene dayes. In the Junke hee found no Merchandize but Rice, the most of which he cast into the Sea to lighten her, and fit her for our Voyage. Thence wee put forth for Liampoo, where we heard were many Portugals from Malaca, Zunda, Siam, and Patane, which used there to winter. *New Moone.* *Tempests in China.* *Guintoo.* *Pullo Quirim.* [III. ii. 257.]

In the way we encountred, after two dayes sayling, with a Junke of Patane, which belonged to a China Pyrate, called Quiay Panian, a great friend of the Portugals, of whom he had thirtie in his company entertayned in his pay. They not knowing us, began with a terrible salutation of fifteene Peeces of Artillery, but by Crosses in their Banner, we knew them and made signes, by which both congratulated each other with heartiest greetings, and Quiay Panian and he joyned in league to pursue their Fortunes together. They now purposed to goe to Chincheo, and there found five sayle of Portugals, which told them of a great Fleet of foure hundred Junkes, with one hundred thousand men gone to the Iles of Goto, in succour of Sucan of Pontir, who had voluntarily subjected himselfe to the King of China, in one hundred thousand Taeis Tribute yearely. We tooke out of those five ships thirtie five Souldiers more, and proceeded on our way for Liampoo. In the way we encountred a small Paraoo with eight Portugals sorely wounded, whereof Antonio Anriquez, and Mem Taborda were, rich men of great esteeme.

Quiay Panian a China Pyrate.

Chincheo.

Goto.

These recounted to him that a Guzerate Rover, Coia Acem, with three Junks and foure Lanteas (in which were five hundred men, one hundred and fiftie of them Moores) set upon them (having parted seventeene dayes agoe from Liampoo, for Malaca, purposing to goe for India, if the Monson had permitted) before the Ile Gumbor, and after some houres fight tooke them; eightie two persons (eighteene of them Portugals) were slaine, and as many others captived, with one hundred thousand Taeis value in their Junke: one of the Pyrats Junks was fired and burnt to the water. These few in the furie of the entry escaped in the little Boat which hung at sterne; they being busied in the spoyle, and the Sunne then set, could not follow, but went into the River with much triumph.

Newes of Coia Acem.

Faria and Quiay Panian who had kindred at Lailoo, provided themselves there of Powder, Lead, Victuals, and other necessaries for Money, by leave of the Mandarine, (no Countrey in the World being like China for all kind

Lailoo.

of provisions) and there got two greater Junkes in truck of the other, and two Lanteas, and one hundred and sixtie Mariners, so that they were in all five hundred persons, of which ninetie five were Portugals. They had one hundred & sixty Harquebusses, forty Brasse Peeces, & sixty Quintals of Powder, nine hundred pots of Powder, foure thousand Darts headed with Iron, Arrowes, and many Fire-workes, with other Weapons. Thus provided, they set forth in pursuit of Coia Acem, and by a Fisher-boat learned that he was in the River Tinlau, there to furnish and fit the Junke lately taken from the Portugals, to goe with it and two others for Siam (where he was borne) about ten dayes thence. Faria sent Vicente Morosa in the Fisher-boat, with some of his company to informe himselfe more fully, which making a shew of fishing with the rest, he easily did, and brought word aboard of the easinesse of the attempt. In the night they anchored, and went up the River in the morning, the enemy knowing nothing till they came in sight, and Faria crying out, Hey, my Masters, in the Name of Christ, to them, to them, Santiago, off went the Ordnance, the small shot succeeded, that none now in the Junkes durst appeare. His small Vessels (Lorche) comming from the shoare with succour were so entertayned with great shot that they could not helpe themselves, and by our small Vessels were fired with the fire-pots; in three of them two hundred persons were slaine. Out of the fourth they leaped into the water, and were most slaine by Panians men.

Coia Acem which before was not knowne, seeing his Moores ready to try the waters courtesie to escape those fiery enemies, armed in Buffe, with Plates fringed with Gold, cryed out aloud that he might be heard, La Ilah illallah Muhamed roçolalah: what shall you Muslemans and just men of the Law of Mahomet, suffer your selves to be conquered of so feeble a Nation as are these Dogges, which have no more heart then white Hens, and bearded women? to them, to them; the Booke of Flowres hath given promise from our Prophet to you and me, to bathe

our selves in the bloud of these Cafres without Law. With these cursed words, the Devill so animated them, that it was fearefull to see how they ranne on our Swords. Faria on the other side heartned his in the name of Christ crucified, and with a zealous fervour reached Coia Acem, such a blow with a two hand Sword on his Head-piece of Maile, that he sunke to the ground, and with another blow cut off his legges. Whereupon his men with such furie assayled Faria, not caring for thirtie Portugals which stood about him, that they gave him two wounds, which put such spirit into our men, that in little space, eight and fortie of the Enemies lay dead upon Coia Acem, and the rest they slue all but five, whom they tooke and bound, the Boyes cutting the others in quarters, and throwing them into the water with Coia Acem, and the King of Bintans chiefe Caciz, or Priest, the shedder and the drinker of Portugall bloud, as he stiled himselfe in the beginning of his Writings, for which hee was of that cursed Sect much honoured.

Opima spolia. Coia Acem slaine.

The Caciz hatred of Christians.

Of the Enemies were slaine three hundred and eightie, of ours fortie two (eight of which were Portugals, Faria searched the Iland, and found a Village therein of fortie or fiftie houses, which Coia Acem had sacked, slaying some of the Inhabitants. Not farre off was a great house seeming a Temple full of sicke and wounded men, ninetie sixe in number, which the Pyrat had there in cure, whom he burned, setting the house on fire in divers places, those that sought to escape being received on Pikes and Launces. The Junke which they had taken from the Portugals, sixe and twentie dayes before, Faria gave to Mem Taborda, and Antonio Anriquez in Almes for remission of his sinnes, taking their Oath to take no more but their owne. He tooke speciall care of the wounded, and caused the slaves to be set free. After all this, there remayned of cleere gaines, one hundred and thirtie thousand Taeis in Silver, of Japan and other goods, which that Pyrat had taken along that Coast from Sumbor to Fucheo.

[III. ii. 258.]

§. II.

Antonio Faria, his taking of Nouda a Citie in China, triumph at Liampoo: strange Voyage to Calempluy, misserable shipwracke.

FAria having recovered his sicke men, set sayle for Liampoo, and beeing comme to the point of Micuy in sixe and twentie degrees, by a storme he was driven upon a Rock in the darke night, and was forced to cast out all the goods, and cut all their Masts over-board; and with much adoe we escaped with their helpe (two and twentie drowned by over-hastinesse) to the Junke of Mem Taborda. The second day after came two Portugals from Quiay Panians Junke, and plained to us their almost like misfortune (one gust having taken away three men, and cast them a stones cast into the Sea) and the losse of the small Junke with fiftie persons, most of which were Christians, and seven Portugals. One of the Lanteas came and told of their disadventure, the other Lantea lost, only thirteene men escaping, which the Countrey people carryed Captives to Nouday: so that two Junkes and a Lantea with above one hundred persons were lost, and in Munition and other goods, about two hundred thousand Cruzados, the Captayne and Souldiers having nothing left but that on their backes. The Coast of China is subject to these strokes more then other Countries, so that none can sayle thereon one yeare without disasters, except at the full and change, they betake them to their Ports, which are many and good, without barred entries, except Laman and Sumbor.

Faria wracked the second time.

Violent wind.

Nouday.

China perillous Coast.

Faria went and anchored before Nouday and sent some to sound, and to take some of the people to enquire of his men, who brought a Barke with eight men and two women, one of whom (having first sworne by the Sea, that it below, and the winds above should pursue him if hee brake his Faith, and the beautie of the starres whose eyes

beheld all wrong, as the Chinese requested) told him that he taking them to be Sea Rovers and Robbers, had taken them and cast them in Irons. Faria writ to the Mandarin by two of those Chinois, with a Present worth two hundred Duckets to returne his men, which returned the next day with an Answere written, that himselfe should come and demand Justice at his feet, and he would doe as hee saw cause. Hee wrote againe, offering two thousand Taeis for their Redemption, signifying that hee was a Portugall Merchant, which came to trade at Liampoo, and payd Customes without any Robbery; and that the King of Portugall his Lord was in true amitie with his Brother the King of China, and in Malaca his subjects used the Chinois justly. This calling the King of Portugall the King of Chinas Brother, he tooke so hainously, that he caused the China Messengers to be whipped, and their eares cut, and sent them backe with a railing Answere written to Faria, which had so proudly blasphemed, calling his King the Brother of the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned with incredible power in the Throne of the Universe, under whose feet all Crownes of all that governe the Earth, are placed with all their Seniories, as all Writers affirme in their Histories. For this Heresie he burned his Writing with his Picture, as he would doe to himselfe, charging him presently to set sayle and be gone. Faria enraged, resolved to assault the Towne, having three hundred men, (seventie of them Portugals) with the company of Quiay Panian, for that feat.

Nouday assaulted. Having therefore taken foure Barkes, the next morning betimes with them, three Junkes and a Lorcha or Lantea, he went up the River, and had sixe fathomes water and an halfe anchoring by the wals. And striking sayle without salutation of Artillery, we put off our Flagge of contract, after the China custome, to fulfil all complements of peace, sending new offers of love and further satisfaction for the Prisoners. But the Mandarine full of indignation, hardly used the Messengers on the wall in sight of the Armada;

whereupon, Faria desperate of doing any good that way leaving order with the Junkes continually to shoot at the Enemie where they were thickest, he with his company landed without contradiction, and marched to the Towne. When we were comme within little more then a Caliever shot of the Ditch without the wall, there issued by two gates one thousand, or twelve hundred; about one hundred of them Horsemen, or Hackneymen rather (for they rode on leane Jades) which began to skirmish in such disordered sort, encountring one with another, and many of them falling to the ground, that they seemed to [III. ii. 259.] be of some neighbour Villages, which came more of force then with force or heart to the businesse. Faria expected them, encouraging his men, and making a signe to the Junkes.

The Horsemen divided themselves, and wheeled about, as if that would have scarred us, which seeing, without effect they joyned in one bodie or heape rather; whereat the Captayne commanded all the Caleevers to shoot off at once, with such successe, that the former halfe of the Horsemen fell to ground. And then wee which till that time had stood still gave the assault, crying on the name of Jesus, insomuch that they fled so confusedly, that they fell one upon another, and when they came to the Bridge over the Ditch, they thronged themselves so that none could goe forward. In this case we came on them, and slue about three hundred, none of them scarsly drawing Sword to defend themselves. Wee prosecuted the victory to the gate, in which was the Mandarine with sixe hundred men; fairely mounted, armed with a Corslet of Crimson Velvet gilded, which we knew after to have belonged to Tome Perez, which King Emanuel of glorious memorie *Thomas Perez.* had sent Embassadour to China. Hee and his began a fight with us in the entrie of the gate, more valorous then the former, till a Boy of ours dismounted the Mandarine *The Mandarine slaine.* from his Horse with a Harquebusse shot thorow the breast, which caused the rest disorderly to flee, and we with them into the Towne. They casting downe their

weapons ranne out at another gate toward the Countrey, none remayning. Antonio Faria gathering his companie together, marched orderly to the Chifanga, the Prison where our men were, brake up the gates and grates, and freed his men. Then did he appoint halfe an houre to his people for spoile, himselfe going to the Mandarines house, and had 8000. Taeis of Silver there, & five great boxes of Muske: the rest he gave to the Boyes, which was much Silke twisted, and unwrought, Damaske, Satin, Porcelane; the sacke was so rich, that foure Barkes or Vessels in which they came, went foure times laden therewith to the Junkes, that there was neither Boy nor Mariner which had not a Chist or Chists of pieces, besides what they had secretly. Having spent an houre and halfe, he seeing night now come on, set fire in ten or twelve parts of the Citie, which being built of Pine timber suddenly arose into such a flame, that it seemed a Hell. And without impediment, he embarked his company with much riches, and many faire Girls tyed by foures and fives with Match, they crying, ours triumphing.

Prisoners loosed.
The Towne sacked.

It was now late, yet had Faria care of the wounded, which were fiftie of them, eight Portugals, and to burie the dead, which were nine only one Portugall; and keeping good watch that night, as soone as it was day, he went to a Village on the other side of the water, and found not one person in it, the houses still furnished with goods and provisions, with which he laded the Junkes: and departed for a desart Iland fifteene leagues from Liampoo, called Pullo Hinhor, where was good water and anchorage. After wee had sayled five dayes betwixt the Iles Comolem and the continent, Premata Gundel a Rover which had done much damage to the Portugals in Patane, Sunda, Siam, taking us for Chineses, set upon us with two great Junkes, in which were two hundred fighting men besides Mariners, and grapling with the Junke of Mem Taborda, had almost taken it, when Quiay Panian came to her succour with such a stroke on her quarter, that both sunke; the three Lorchæ which Faria brought from

Comolem Ilands.
Premata Gundel a Pirate.

Nouday comming in, saved most of our men, the enemies being all drowned, and Mem Taborda freed. Meane while, Prematà Gundel had with two hookes and Iron chaines fastned himselfe to Farias Junke, both in the poope and prow, such a cruell battell following, that in lesse then an houre most of Farias men and himselfe were wounded, and twice in danger of taking, when the three Lorchæ, and a little Junke which Pero Sylva had taken at Nouday, came in to his succour, so that eightie sixe Moores which had entred Farias Junke were slaine, who had cooped our men before in the poop-roome; and thence entring the Pirats Junke, put all therein to the sword.

Another sea-fight.

Panians Junke, and another sunke.

Farias victorie.

This victorie cost seventeene of ours their lives, five of them of the best Portugall Souldiers, besides three and fortie wounded. The prize was valued at eightie thousand Taeis, the most of it Japan Silver, which the Pirate had taken in three Junkes, come from Firando bound for Chincheo. In the other sunken Junkes was said to be as much. With this prize Faria went to a little Iland, called Buncalou, foure leagues off, and stayed there eighteene dayes, making Cottages for the wounded, which there recovered health. Thence they departed, Quiay Panian going in that Junke of the Pirate, with 20000. Taeis over and above for his part; in sixe dayes we came to the Ports of Liampoo, which are two Iles, in which the Portugals made at that time their contractation, and was a Towne of one thousand houses, and sixe or seven Churches built by them, with Sherifs, an Auditor, Alcaides, and other Officers; the Notaries using to write, I, N. publike Notarie for the King our Lord, in this Citie of Liampoo, &c. as if it had beene seated betwixt Santarem and Lisbon: and such was their forwardnesse, that some houses cost three or foure thousand Cruzados, all which were razed afterwards by the Chinois; so uncertaine are the things of China (which in these parts are so esteemed) so subject to disastres and disadventures.

120000 *Cruzados.*

Buncalou.

Liampoo, a Portugall Towne on the coast of China, seven leagues from Liampoo.

When Faria was come to Portas de Liampoo, he sent

Mem Taborda, and Anriques first to acquaint the Townesmen what had passed, who sent Jeronymo do Rego with two Lanteas, to thanke him for the bountie shewed in the case of Coia Acem, and with refreshings; and for the [III. ii. 260.] businesse at Nouday, he need not be afraid there to winter, the King of China being as they said, lately dead, and *Civill warres in China.* civill warres succeeding, thirteene competitors being in Armes to enforce their pretended right: and that the *Fabulous rumour.* Tutan Nay, which was next person to the King in all the Government, with meere and mixt Empire of Majestie *Quonasy.* Regall, was besieged in the Citie of Quoansy, by Prechau Muan Emperour of Cauchinas; in whose favour it is holden for certaine, that the King of Tartaria is comming with an Armie of nine hundred thousand men: and that in this troubled estate Nouday would not be thought of, which was in comparison of many other Cities in China, lesse then Oeiras compared with Lisbon. He was sixe *Farias triumph.* dayes after with great triumph and glorious shewes, made of his owne Fleet, and of the many Boats, Barkes, and Citizens which came to fetch him, there being three hundred men in festivall apparell, with many Gold Chaines, and gilded Swords, till he came into the Port, in which rode in a rew, twentie six Ships, and eightie Junks, besides a greater number of smaller vessels, fastned one before another in two wings, making a street betwixt them, adorned with Laurell, and other greene boughs, and sweet herbs, the Ordnance thundring on both sides a congratulation. The Chinois wondred, and asked if he were Brother or neere Kinsman to their King, they received him in such honour: Nay, said a conceited Portugall, but his father shooed the Kings Horses, and therefore is he worthie of this honour. Hereat they were more then amazed, and said, There were great Kings in the World, of which their Authours had made no mention, and the King of Portugall seemes one of them, and much to exceed the Cauchim, or the Tartar, and it were no sinne to say he may hold compare with the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World.

Others confirmed the same, alledging the great riches which the bearded men generally possessed. A glorious Lantea was purposely adorned for his person in which hee went, with many Musicall Instruments of the Chinas, Malayos, Champaas, Siamites, Borneos, Lequios, and other Nations which there secured themselves under the Portugals, for feare of Rovers which filled those Seas.

I should wearie you to let you see the rest of this pompous spectacle, and more to heare their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Cæsar: Neither will Religion let mee goe with him to their Masse: nor doe I ever dine worse then at solemne Feasts; and others will grudge me a roome at Comedies: all which pompes I will leave to our Author, enlarged by the Spanish translator, Canon of the Church of Arbas, as dedicated to Manuel Severin de Faria. There hee stayed five moneths, spending the time in Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Feasting. Quiay Panian in this time dyed. After hee made ready to goe to the Mines of Quoangiparu. Others disswaded him by reason of warres in those parts, and a famous Pyrat called Similau, told him of an Iland called Calempluy, in which seventeene Kings of China were buried with much treasures, in Vests, and Idols of Gold, and other incredible riches; which hee on no other testimonie embraced, (without consulting with his friends, who not a little blamed him therefore) and went with Similau in search of this Iland, setting out May the fourteenth, 1542.

Calempluy.

He set foorth with two Panouras, which are as it were Frigots, but somewhat higher: Junkes he used not, both for secrecie, and because of the Currents which set out of the Bay of Nanquin, which great ships cannot stemme, by reason of the over-flowings from Tartaria and Nixihum Flaon, in those moneths of May, June, and July. He had with him sixe and fiftie Portugals, with a Priest, and fortie eight Mariners of Patane, and fortie two Slaves: more our Pilot Similau would not admit, fearing suspition in traversing the Bay of Nanquin, and entry of many

Currents in the Bay of Nanquin.

Rivers much inhabited. That day and night wee cleared
Angitur. the Iles of Angitur, and followed our voyage thorow a Sea before never sayled by Portugals. The first five dayes, we sayled with good winde, in sight of land to the entrie of the Bay of Nanquins fishings, and passed a gulfe of fortie leagues, and had sight of a high Hill called
Nangansu. Nangafu, alongst which we ranne to the North five dayes; at the end whereof, Similau put into a small River, the people whereof were white, of good stature, with small eyes like the Chinois, but differing in speech and behaviour. After three dayes the tempest ceasing, we set sayle East North-east, seven dayes together in sight of land, and crossing another gulfe, there was a straight open
Sileupaquim. to the East, called Sileupaquim, ten leagues in the mouth, within which we sayled five dayes in sight of many Townes and Cities very faire; and this River or straight was frequented with innumerable shipping; insomuch that Faria was afraid to bee discovered, and would needs against Similaus minde turne some other way. Thus out
Bay of Nanquin. of the Bay of Nanquin (Similau telling them of a moneths worke of sayling by the River Sumhepadan, one hundred and seventie leagues distant thence to the North) wee sayled five dayes, at the end whereof wee saw a very high Hill called Fanius, and comming neere it, entred a goodly rode, where one thousand ships might ride at anchor. Wee sayled thence thirteene dayes along the coast, and
Buxipalem. came to the Bay of Buxipalem in 49. degrees, where wee
StrangeFishes. found it somwhat cold and saw Fishes of strange shapes, some like Thornbacks, above foure braces or fathoms compasse, flat nosed like an Oxe; some like great Lizards, speckled blacke and greene, with three rewes of prickles on the backe, like bristles, three spannes long, very sharpe, the rest of the body full, but of shorter; these Fishes will contract themselves like Hedge-hogs, and looke feare-fully; they have a sharpe blacke snout with tuskes, after
[III. ii. 261.] the manner of a Bore, two spannes long. Other deformities and diversities of Fishes we saw. Fifteene leagues
Calnidan. further, we came to another fairer Bay called Calnidan,

sixe leagues in compasse set round with Hills, diversified with Woods and Rivers, foure very great.

Similau sayd that the filth of dead Carcasses of creatures, proceeding from the overflowings, specially in November, December, and Januarie, at the full of the Moone, caused the generation of such diversitie of Fishes and Serpents in that Bay, and the former, which were not seene in other parts of that Coast. Faria asked him whence those Rivers came, and hee said that he knew not, but if it were true which was written, two of them came from a great lake called Moscumbia, and the other two *Moscumbia.* from a Province of great Mountaines, which all the yeere were covered with snow, called Alimania, and in Summer *Alimania.* when great part of the snow was melted, they became so impetuous, as wee now saw: and for that River in the mouth whereof we were entred, called Paatebenam, wee *Paatebenam.* were now in the name of the Lord of heaven to turne the Prow to the East, and East South-east * to search **Aleste & à lessueste.* againe the Bay of Nanquim, which we had left behind two hundred and sixtie leagues, all which way we had made higher then Calempluy. The second day we came to a high Mountaine called Botinafau, stored with divers *Botinafau.* kindes of wilde beasts, which continued neere fiftie leagues and sixe dayes sayling: and after came to another Hill as wilde as the former, called Gangitanou, and all the way *Gangitanou.* forward was mountainous, and so thicke of trees that the Sunne could not pierce. Similau sayd, that in ninetie leagues space there was no habitation, and in the skirts thereof lived a deformed savage people onely by their Hunting, and some Rice which they got in China, by exchange of wilde beasts skinnes, which hee sayd came to above a million yeerely. Of these Giganhos, wee saw a beardlesse youth with sixe or seven Kine before him, to whom Similau made a signe, and hee stayed till we came to the Bankes side, and shewing him a piece of greene Taffata (which hee sayd they much esteemed) with a harsh voyce he sayd, Quiteu paran faufau, words which none *Giants.* understood. Faria commanded to give him three or foure

Covados of the taffata, and sixe Porcelanes, which he received with much joy, saying, Pur pacam pochy pilaca hunangue doreu, signing with his hand to the place whence hee came, and leaving his Kine, he ranne thither. He was cloathed with a Tygers skin, the hayre outward, his armes, head and legges bare, with a rude pole in his hand; well shaped, seeming ten palmes or spans long, his hayre hanging on his shoulders. Within a quarter of an houre hee returned with a live Deere on his backe, and thirteene persons with him, eight men and five women, with three Kine tyed in coards dancing at the sound of a Drum, giving now and then five strokes on it, and other five with their hands, crying aloude, Cur cur hinau falem. Antonio de Faria, caused to shew them five or sixe pieces and many Porcelanes. All of them were cloathed in like manner, only the women had on their wrists grosse bracelets of Tin, their hayre longer then the men, and full of Flowers, and on their neckes a great neck-lace with coloured Shels, as big as Oyster-shels. The men had great poles in their hands, furred halfe way with such Pelts as they wore; they were strong set, with thicke lippes, flat noses, great open nostrils, bigge faces. Faria caused to measure them, and none of them were higher then ten spannes and a halfe, one old man nigh eleven, the women not ten: but I suppose the most savage that ever yet were discovered. Faria gave them three corges of Porcelane, a piece of greene Taffata, and a basket of Pepper; and they fell on the ground, and lifting up their hands with their fists shut, sayd, Vumguahileu opomguapau lapan, lapan, lapan. They gave us the three Kine and the Deere, and after many words, in three houres conference returned with like dance as they came.

Their wilde dance.

A Corge is 20.

Wee followed our way five dayes more up the River, about fortie leagues, in which we had sight of that people, and sixteene dayes more without sight of any, at the end of which we came to the Bay of Nanquim, hoping in five or sixe dayes to effect our desires. Similau willed Faria not to let his Portugals be seene. And having sayled sixe

dayes East and East North-east, we had sight of a great Citie called Sileupamor, and entred into the Port two houres within night, being a faire Bay almost two leagues in circuit, where abundance of shipping rode at anchor, seeming above three thousand: which made us so afraid, that out againe we went, and crossing the River (which may bee about sixe or seven leagues over) wee ranne alongst a great Champaine the rest of the day with purpose to get some refreshing, having passed thirteene hungry dayes. We came to an old building called Tanamadel, and got provision to our mindes. This place, the Chinois which wee found there, told us, belonged to an Hospitall two leagues thence for entertainment of the Pilgrims, which visited the Kings Sepulcher. Wee continued our voyage seven dayes more, having spent two moneths and a halfe since wee came from Liampoo, and now Faria could no longer conceale his discontent, that hee had thus followed Similaus project, and receiving of him answer little to the purpose, had stabbed him with his Dagger if others had not interposed, Similau the night following as wee rode at anchor neere the land, swam a shoare, the watch not perceiving, which Faria hearing was so impatient, that going on shoare to seeke him, hee returned frustrate, and found of his sixe and fortie Chinois, two and thirtie fled. Full now of confusion, it was by counsell resolved to seeke Calempluy, which could not be farre off: and the next night entred a Barke riding at anchor, and tooke five men sleeping therein; of whom hee learned that Calempluy was ten leagues off, and with their helpe found it, eightie three dayes after he had set out on that enterprise.

Sileupamor.

Tanamadel.

[III. ii. 262.]

This Iland was seated in the midst of the River, and seemed to bee a league in Compasse. Hither came Faria with trouble and feare, three houres within night, anchoring about a chamber shot from it. In the morning it was agreed, first to goe about it to see what entrances it had, and what impediments might befall their designe. The Iland was all environed with a rampire of hewen Marble,

sixe and twentie spannes high, so well cut and set together, that all the wall seemed but one piece, the like whereof wee had never seene in India, or elsewhere: from the bottome of the water to the brim, it contayned other sixe and twentie spannes. In the top was a border of the same worke round ingirting it, like a Friers girdle, of the bignesse of a rundlet of twelve gallons, on which were set grates of Latten turned, every sixe fathoms fastened into holes of the same Latten; in each of which was the Idoll of a woman, with a round ball in her hands, none knowing what it signified. Within these grates, was a rew of many Monsters of cast Iron, which in manner of a dance hand in hand, compassed the Ile round. Further inwards from those monstrous Idols, in the same ranke, was another of Arches of rich worke pleasant to behold. And all from hence inward, was a grove of dwarfe Orange-trees thicke set; in the midst whereof were builded three hundred and sixtie Hermitages, dedicated to the Gods of the yeere, whereof those Paynims have many fabulous praises. A quarter of a league higher, on a hill to the East, were seene buildings with seven fronts of houses like Churches, all from the top to the bottome wrought with gold, with high Towers seeming Bell-steeples; and without, two streets with Arches which encompassed these buildings, of the same worke with the fronts; and all from the highest top of the steeple pinacles to the bottom wrought with gold; whereby we judged it some sumptuous and rich Temple.

The wonderfull wall.

Statues.

360. *Hermitages.*

Steples-pinacles.

After this view taken, Faria resolved (though it were late) to goe on shoare, to see if he could speake with any in those Hermitages; and so (leaving sufficient guard in the Barkes) with fortie Souldiers, twentie Slaves, and foure Chinois, (which knew the place, and had beene sometimes there, and might serve us for Interpreters) he committed the two Barkes to Father Diego Lobato, and entred at one of the eight Entrances; walking thorow the Orangetto-grove to an Hermitage, two Caliver shots from our landing place, with the greatest silence that might bee, and

He goeth on land.

with the name of Jesus in our heart and mouth. Having yet seene no person, he felt at the doore of the Hermitage with his Halberd, and perceived it locked on the inside: hee bade one of the Chinois knocke, which having done twice, he heard an answer within answering, Praised bee the Creator which gilded the beautious Heavens, goe about and I will know thy businesse. The Chinois went about and entring the backe doore, opened that where Faria stood, who with his companie going in, found one man seeming above one hundred yeeres old, in a long Russet Damaske garment, by his presence seeming Noble (as after wee learned he was) who seeing such a troupe fell downe, trembling hand and foot. A good while it was before hee could speake, and then asked what wee were, and what we sought. The Interpreter answered by Farias command, that hee was the Captaine of these strangers of Siam, who bound for the Port of Liampoo in trade of Merchandise was wracked at Sea; hee and these escaping miraculously, and therefore vowing to come to that Holy land on Pilgrimage, to praise God for deliverance from so great a danger, and was now come to fulfill it; and withall to demand somewhat in almes to relieve him for his returne, protesting after three yeeres to restore it double whatsoever hee now tooke. Hiticou (that was his name) answered, I have well heard what thou hast said, and that damnable designe whereto thy blindnesse (as the Pilot of Hell) hath drawne thee and thine associates to the bottome of the lake of night. For in stead of thankes for so great a benefit, thou commest to rob: and what I pray thee will the Divine justice repay thee at thy last breath! change thou thy evill purpose, and (beleeve me) God will change thy punishment. Faria prayed him, hee would not bee angry, saying, hee had no other remedie of life: whereat the Hermite lifting his hands and eyes to Heaven, sayd, weeping. Blessed bee thou Lord, which sufferest on earth men, which take for remedie of life thine offences, and for certaintie of glorie will not serve thee one day. And then turning his eyes to the com-

Jesus made a patron of theeves.

He enters an Hermitage.

The speech betwixt Faria and an Hermit.

Absolons vowes.

panie which were rifling the Hangings and Chests, taking the silver from amongst the bones of the deceased therein, hee fell twice from his seate with griefe; and pensively put Faria in minde of his last breath, of restitution, of penance perpetuall to his flesh, and liberall and discreet communicating to the poore, that the servant of night should have nothing to accuse him in the day of account: praying him also to command his companie, to gather up the bones of the Saints, that they should not lye contemptible on the ground. Faria gave him many good works and complements, professing himselfe (which hee whispered neerer) sorrie of what had passed, but if hee should not doe it, his companie had threatened to kill him. If it bee so, said the Hermit, then shall thy paine bee lesse then these ministers of night, whom as hungry Dogs, it seemes all the silver of the world would not satisfie.

Compleate hypocrisie.

Thus with many good words hee tooke leave of the Hermit (having taken all they could get) who told him his knowledge might make his sinne more penall. Nuno Coelho praying him not to be so angry for so small a matter, hee replyed, More small is the feare which thou hast of death, when having spent thy life in foule facts, thy soule shall stand as foule at the passage of this dunghill of thy flesh. And if thou seekest more Silver to fill thy infernall appetite, thou mayst finde in the houses adjoyning enough to make it split, as well in danger of Hell for this already, save that more burthened thou shalt descend swifter to the bottome. Pray, sayd Coelho, take all in patience, for so God hath commanded in his holy Law: the Hermit shaking oft his head, sayd, I now see that which I never thought to have heard, Inbred wickednesse and vertue fained, the same man stealing and preaching: and turning to Faria, prayed him that hee would not suffer them to spet on the Altar, being liefer to dye a thousand times then to see it, which he promised. Hee then demanded of Hiticon, what persons lived in all those houses; who answered, three hundred and sixtie Talagrepos onely, and fortie Menigrepos which served

[III. ii. 263.]

The Hermitages, Hermits & attendants, as Lay brethren.

them without, for their provision, and the care of the Sicke. Hee asked if the Kings used to come thither: no sayd he, The King being sonne of the Sunne, can absolve all and none may condemne him. Asked of their Armes, hee sayd, To goe to Heaven, there needed not armes to offend, but patience to suffer. For the mixture of that Silver with dead bones in the chests, hee answered, that it was the Almes which the deceased carryed with them, to provide them of necessities in the heaven of the Moone. Asked of women with them, hee sayd, that the Bee stings those which eate the honey, and pleasures of the flesh needed not to the life of the Soule. And thus parted hee from the Hermit with embraces, with purpose to returne the next day (it being now night) to the other houses, and not taking aboard with him this Hermit, as hee was advised, saying, his gowtie legges could carrie no tydings of us: which yet hee did, creeping to the next, and bidding him goe call the Bonzii.

Papall power.

For an houre after midnight, wee saw fires in a rew, which our Chinois told us, were signes of our discoverie, and therefore advised us to haste away. Faria was awakened, and would needs a shoare with sixe men, and ranne like a mad-man from one place to another: his companie requested him to haste away, and he answered, for his honour hee would first see the danger, and intreated them to stay one halfe houre, and swearing hereto, away hee goeth, and followes the sound of a Bell to an Hermitage, in which were two men in religious habits; the place was richer then the former wee had beene in. They tooke thence an Idoll of Silver from the Altar with a myter of Gold on his head, and a wheele in his hand, and three Candlesticks of silver with long chaynes; and taking the two Hermits with them, returned aboard the Barkes with great haste. Of one of these, they learned that Pilau Angiroo had come to the house of the Sepulchers of the Kings, and cryed out to them to awaken out of their sleepe, telling them of their oath to the Goddesse Amida, of Strangers with long beards and Iron

They are discovered.

bodies, which had robbed the Saints, and would kill them all, whence followed the fires, and sending to give notice to the Cities Corpilem, and Fumbana for ayde, their Religion prohibiting them to handle any thing which might draw bloud. Faria now having gone downe the River a great way, was much enraged for omitting such oportunitie, plucking his beard, and beating himselfe with anguish, till not long after his heate was cooled.

§. III.

Their Shipwracke in which Faria and most of them were drowned; the miserable wanderings of the rest to Nanquin: their Imprisonment, sentence and appeale to Pequin; rarities observed in those places and wayes; of the beginnings of the China Kingdome, and of their admirable Wall.

Even dayes wee sayled thorow the Bay of Nanquim, the force of the current carrying us more speedily, and came all discontent to a Village called Susoquerim, and there provided our selves of victuall and instruction, and entred into a straight called Xalingau, in which wee ranne in nine dayes one hundred and fortie leagues, and turning to enter the same Bay of Nanquim, which was there ten or twelve leagues wide, wee sayled with Westerly windes thirteene dayes: and being in the sight of the Mines of Conxinacau in 41. degrees and two thirds, there a Tufan or tempest from the South, tooke us with windes and raines seeming more then naturall, and the winde chopped into the North North-west, the Sea going so high that (except our provisions and Chests of plate) we threw all into the Sea, cut both our masts over-board, and about midnight heard a great cry in the Panura of Antonia de Faria, Mercy Lord God, whereby wee imagined shee was cast

Xalingau.

Conxinacau.

Faria drowned, and the Barkes wracked.

away; we seconded the same cry, but heard no answer. Our Barke also the next day, split on a Rocke, and of five and twentie Portugals, eleven were drowned, besides eighteene Christian boyes, and seven China Mariners. This hapned the fifth of August, 1542.

Wee fourteene which escaped, the next day travelled into the Land, alongst a Hill, and discovered a Lake, without shew of Land, which made us returne backe, where wee found our men cast on shoare, to the renewing of our sorrow, and the next day buried them, that the Tigres (of which there are many) should not eate them. In this, having nothing but our hands to doe it, and they thirtie sixe now stinking, wee spent the most part of the day. Thence wee went Northward thorow the Woods three dayes, till wee came at a straight, without sight of any person. In swimming over three men and a boy were drowned, being faint, the current strong, and the water somewhat spacious: the men were two brethren Belchior and Gaspar Barbosa, and Francisco Borges Cayciro, all of Ponte de Lima, and of good account. Wee which remayned (eleven men and three boyes) passing that obscure nights winds, raines, and cold, imitated by our disconsolate sighs, teares, and feares, saw before day a fire Eastward, and went right towards it, commending our selves to God our only hope. And travelling along the River, wee came in the evening where five men were making Coles, and casting our selves at their feet, desired them to take pitie on us, and helpe us to some place where wee might finde reliefe. They gave us a little Rice and warme water, and shewed us the way to a Village where was an Hospitall, to which wee came an houre within night, and found there foure men appointed to that charge, which used us charitably. [III. ii. 264.]

Foure other drowned.

An Hospitall.

The next day they asked what wee were, and whence: and wee told them, strangers of Siam *, which came from the Port of Liampoo to the fishing at Nanquim, where by tempest we lost all but our battered flesh. They asked what wee intended to doe, and wee answered, to goe to

**Malaca is said to stand in the Kingdome of Siam, though now not yeelding subjection.*

Nanquim, to get passage to Cantan, or Comhay, where our Countrey-men have trade by licence of the Aitao of Paquim, under the shadow of The Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World; for whose sake we desired them to let us stay there till we had recovered strength to travell, and to give us some clothing to cover us. They carried us about the Village, and begged some old clothes and victuals, and two Taeis in money for our reliefe, and gave us two Taeis of the House; and with words of much comfort to trust in God, they gave us a Letter of commendation to the Hospitall *Sileyiacau.* of Sileyiacau, which was in a great Towne three leagues thence, and had better maintenance. Thither we went, and shewed our Letter from the Overseers of Buatendoo, in the said Village of Catihorau to the Officers of this house, which sate then at Table in consultation, and the Scribe reading the Letter, they accommodated us in a neat roome with fourteene Beds, a Table, and many Stooles, and Meate; and next morning examined us, wee answering as before. They gave charge to a Physician to cure us, and wrote our names in a Booke, to which we subscribed. In eighteene dayes wee all recovered, and went *Suzanganee.* thence to a place called Susoanganee, five leagues off, and *Strange oath.* sate downe wearie at a Well, where one came to us with a handful of Wheat eares, which he wetted in the water, and adjured us holding the same in our hands, by these substances of bread and water, which the high Creator had made for the sustenance of man to tell the truth what we were, &c. which we did, answering as before; and he gave leave to his neighbours to relieve us. They layde us in a Church Porch, and gave us victuals, and the next day we begged from doore to doore foure Taeis, which well helped our wants.

Xiangulee hard usage. Thence we went two leagues to Xiangulee, with intent to goe to Nanquim, one hundred and fortie leagues distant. Comming thither late, three boyes which were feeding Cattell, ranne into the Towne with an out-crie of Theeves; the people running out, and so welcomming us,

that one of the boyes died with the blowes. They kept us two dayes in a Cisterne of water up to the waste, full of Hors-leaches, without victuals, and our hands bound; whence by a man of Suzanganee, wee were freed, reporting better things of us. Thence wee went to Finginilau (in the way finding good reliefe at a Gentlemans house) still avoyding Cities and Townes of note, for feare of stricter justice, two moneths holding on our way, sometime in, sometimes out, from Village to Village, one of which was Chautir, where a woman was then buried which had made the Idoll her Heire, and we were invited as poore men to eate at her Grave, and had sixe Taeis given us to pray for her soule. At Taypor an Officer charged us to be Rogues, begging against the Law, and therefore layed us in Prison, where we continued sixe and twentie dayes, in which Rodrigues Bravo, one of our companie died. Thence wee were sent to Nanquim, and there continued sixe weekes in a miserable Prison (in which was said to be foure thousand Prisoners) where two of our companie and a boy died of the whipping, and the rest hardly escaped; being besides sentenced also to have our thumbs cut off as theeves.

Chautir.

Taypor.

Nanquim.

After this bloudy whipping, they brought us to a house within the Prison where wee were cured, being as it were an Hospitall for the sicke, where in eleven dayes wee were pretily well recovered, but lamenting the cutting off our thumbes according to the rigour of the Sentence which had beene given, one morning came in two honourable persons which were Procurers of the poore. These questioned us of our case, and hearing the same, made a Petition to the Chaem on our behalfe, and the eight Conchacis, which are as it were Criminall Judges; and being there delayed, they made another Petition to another Table, called Xinfau nicor pitau, where are foure and twentie Talagrepos assistants, austere Religious men, as Capuchines amongst us, which review the cases of the poore, which prohibited the Chaem to proceed, and granted an appeale to the Aitau of Aitaus in Pequim to

Talagrepos.

moderate the Sentence, which the two Procurers brought
[III. ii. 265.] us. Wee and thirtie others were embarked, chained with long chaines, the two Procurers procuring us some cloathing, and Rice, and commending us to Chifu, the Officer or Captaine appointed to carrie us, with a Certificate in our behalfe to procure us almes. The Rivers being then high swollen hindred our journey. Three dayes wee stayed at a Village called Mincacutem, where Chifu dwelt, and embarked his wife and children; wee were tyed to the seats where wee rowed, and could not have perfect sight of the Cities, yet thus much wee observed. Nanquim is in 39. degrees and a third, washed by the River Batampina, which signifieth The flower of fish: which River, as I was then told and after saw, comes from Tartaria, out of the Lake Fanostir, nine leagues from the Citie Lançame, where Tamerlane King of the Tartars resided. This Lake is eight and twentie leagues long, and twelve broad, very deepe, and yeelds five Rivers; first, this of Batampina, running thorow the midst of China three hundred and sixtie leagues, and entring the Bay of Nanquin in 36. degrees. The second Lechune which goeth alongst the Hills of Pancruum, & dividing the Land of Cauchim, and Catebenan, which within the Countrey confines with the Kingdome of Champaa in 16. degrees. The third is Tauquiday, that is, The mother of waters, passing West North-west by the Kingdome of Nacataas (a Land whence China was peopled) and falls into the Sea in the Kingdome of Sornau, or Siam, by the Barre of Cuy an hundred and thirtie leagues beneath Patane. The fourth River is Batobasoy, which passing by the Province of Sansim (which was drowned An. 1556.) goeth into the Sea by the Barre of Cosmim in the Kingdome of Pegù. Leysacotay is the fifth, runneth Eastward to the Archipelagus (as the Chinois say) of Xinxinpou, which confineth the Moscovites, entring into a Sea innavigable, as being in 70. degrees of latitude. The Chinois affirme, that in Nanquin are eight hundred thousand housholds, foure and twentie thousand houses of Mandarines, sixtie two great

The Jesuites place this Citie in 32. and in other places they likewise disagree in their calculation. The reason I suppose is, that Pinto never observed the height by Instrument, nor perhaps had skill thereby; this he confesseth, cap. 105. pag. 222. but followed the Maps which at his returne he saw, which have placed Nanquin in that height, falsly, as I conceive to keepe others from the true knowledge of these parts; a thing usuall in

market places; one hundred and thirtie shambles, each having eightie blockes; eight thousand streets, of which the sixe hundred principall have grates of Latten on both sides all alongst; two thousand three hundred Pagodes or Temples, one thousand of which are Monasteries of Religious persons, richly built, with Towres of sixtie or seventie Bells of Metall and Iron, which make a noise horrible to heare; thirtie Prisons great and strong, each having two or three thousand Prisoners, and an Hospitall. The houses of the Mandarines are of earth, encompassed with Walls and Ditches, with faire Bridges, and rich Arches. The principall Magistrates have high Towers with gilded pinacles, where are their Armories and Treasures. The Street-arches with their night shut Gates, their new and full Moone feasts, incredible fishings, their ten thousand Silke-loomes, one hundred and thirtie Gates in the strong wall, with as many Bridges over the ditch (a Porter, and two Halbardiers in each to see what goeth in or out) twelve Fortresses with Bulwarkes and Towers, but without Artillerie, the value to the King three thousand Cruzados a day, or two thousand Taeis, I can but touch. The rarities of China, compared with the things seene at home, seeme doubtfull or incredible.

the old Maps of the East and West parts of the World: and sometimes they did graduate places falsely of ignorance. Nanquin described: See of it in Pantoia.

In the first two dayes wee saw in our journey by the River no notable Citie or Towne, but of Villages a great quantitie which seemed to be of Fisher-men and Labourers, and within Land as farre as we saw, appeared woods of Pines and other trees, Orange groves, fields of Wheat, Rice, Millet, Panike, Barley, Rie, Pulse, Flaxe, Cotton, and Gardens with houses for the Grandes. Cattell appeared alongst the River as much as in Prete Johns Countrey. On the tops of Hills were seene Temples with gilded * Steeples shining farre off. On the fourth day we came to a good Citie called Pocasser, twice as big as Cantan, well walled with Townes and Bulwarkes, in manner like ours, with a Haven before the wall of two Falcon shots long, fastned with Iron grates in two rewes, with Gates for the entrance and unlading of

Their journey by water from Nanquin to Pequin.

**This gilding perhaps is but a kind of earth which the Chinois have, looking like gold.*

Pocasser.

ships, which come thither from all parts. In the end of the Towne on a Mount stood a Castle with three Bulwarkes and five Towers, in one of which the Chinois told us, that the Father of this King held Prisoner nine yeeres a King of Tartaria, poisoned at last by his owne vassals, unwilling to give so much to redeeme him as was demanded. In this Citie, Chifu gave leave to three of us nine, to goe (with foure Halbardiers to guard us) and begge Almes, which in sixe or seven streets gat the worth of twentie Cruzados in clothes and money, besides Flesh, Rice, Fruits, and Meale; halfe of which our Guard had according to the custome. They carried us to a Temple where was great concurse of people that day, being solemne to that Sect of Tauhinarel (one of their 32. Gentile Sects.) That House they said had beene the Kings, and that this Kings Grand-father was borne there, his Mother dying in child-birth, in honour of whose death and buriall in the same chamber he had dedicated this Temple in that Palace. All the Building with the Offices, Gardens, and all the appurtenances are founded in the aire on three hundred and sixtie Pillars (each of one stone) seven and twentie spannes high, bearing the names of the three hundred and sixtie dayes of the yeere; and in each of them is a feast with much almes, bloody Sacrifices, and dances to the Idoll of that day and Pillar, which stands therein richly enshrined, with a Silver Lampe before him. Beneath goe eight streets or wayes enclosed on both sides with Latten grates, with doores for the people which come to those feasts.

The Tartar Prisoner.

A pensile Palace.

360. Pillars to the 360. dayes of the yeere.

Over the house where the Queene was buried was a round Chappell all lined with Silver, seeming richer in the worke then matter. In the midst was a silver Throne of fifteene steps, round to the top encompassed with sixe rewes of silver grates with the tops gilded. On the highest of them was a great Globe, and thereon a Lion of silver bearing up a chist of Gold three spans square, in which they said were her bones, by the blind people worshipped as great Relikes. There hung on foure silver

Queens silver Chappell, and the riches and Images therein.

[III. ii. 266.]

tyres which crossed the House, fortie three silver Lampes (so many yeares she lived) and seven of Gold in memory of her seven Sonnes. Without at the entry were two hundred fiftie three silver Lampes great and rich, which the Chaens and great mens Wives presented in her honour. Without the doores were in sixe rewes round about Statues of Giants fifteene spans high, well proportioned of Brasse, with Halberds and Maces in their hands, which the Chinois said were twelve hundred. Amongst them were foure and twentie Serpents of Brasse very great, each having a woman sitting thereon with a Sword in her hand of the same metall, and a silver Crowne on the head: so many had sacrificed themselves at her death to doe her service in the next World. Another compasse environed that of the Giants, all of triumphant Arches gilded, with a great quantitie of silver Bels hanging on silver chains, which by the motion of the Aire continually yeelded a strange sound. Without those Arches in the same proportion stand two rankes of Latten grates encircling the whole worke, set in spaces with Pillars of the same, and thereon Lions set on balls, which are the Armes of the Kings of China.

The Jesuits say his armes are golden Dragons. Monstrous statues.

At the foure corners were placed foure Monsters of Brasse, one (which the Chinois call the Devouring Serpent of the deepe Cave of the House of smoke) in the figure of a dreadfull Serpent, with seven Serpents comming out of his brest, spotted with greene and blacke with many prickles more then a span long, quite thorow the bodie like Hedge-hogges, each having in his mouth a woman overthwart, with dishevelled haires, looking deadly. The old or great Serpent holds in his mouth a Lizard halfe out, of above thirty spans in length, as bigge as a Pipe, with nose and lips full of bloud, and in his hands he holds a great Elephant so forcibly, that his entrails seeme to come out of his mouth; all so naturally represented, that it is most dreadful to behold. The folds of his tayle were above twentie fathome long, enfolding therein another Monster, the second of the foure, called Tarcamparoo,

which they say was the Sonne of that Serpent, which stands with both his hands in his mouth, which is as bigge as a gate, the teeth set in order, and the blacke tongue hanging out above two fathomes. Of the two other, one was the Figure of a woman, named Nadelgau, seventeene fathomes long, and sixe about, from whose waste issued a beake or face above two fathomes, which cast smoake out of the nosthrils, and flames of fire out of the mouth, which they make therein continually, saying, shee is the Queene of the Fierie Spheare, and shall burne the Earth at the end of the World. The fourth is like a man, set cowring with cheekes puffed like ships sayles, so monstrous that a man could not endure the sight. The Chinois call him Uzanguenaboo, and say, that it is hee which makes Tempests in the Sea, and throwes downe Houses by Land, to which the people give much Almes not to hurt their Junkes.

Xinligau. The second day we went from Pocasser, and came to another Citie called Xinligau, very great, well built, walled with Tyles, ditched about; with two Castles at the end, having their Towres, Bul-warkes, and Draw-bridges: in the midst of each Castle was a Towre of five Lofts with many workes painted, in which the Chinois said, were fifteene thousand Picos of silver, of the Rents gathered in that Archipelago, which this Kings Grand-father there *Leuquinau.* layd up in memory of his Sonne Leuquinau, which signifieth the joy of all, holden for a Saint, because he dyed a Religious man, and lyes there buried in the *God of Sea fish.* Temple of Quiay Varatel, the God of all the Fishes in the Sea, of whom they have large Legends. In that Citie and another five leagues from it is made the greatest part of the Silke of that Kingdome, the waters there giving quicker colours (they say) then in other parts. *Silke-loomes.* The Weavers Loomes of these Silkes, which they affirme thirteene thousand, pay yearely to the King three hundred thousand Taeis. Going further up the River, wee came *Huge pastures.* the next day Evening to a great Champaigne, continuing ten or twelve leagues, in which were many Kine, Horses,

and Mares, pastured for the shambles as well as other flesh, and kept by many men on Horse-backe. These Champaignes past, wee came to a Towne, called Junquileu, walled with Tyles, but without Towres or Bul-warkes. Here wee saw a stone Monument with an Inscription, Heere lyeth Trannocem Mudeliar, Uncle to the King of Malaca, who dyed before hee was revenged of Captayne Alboquerque, the Lion of Sea Robberies. We enquiring hereof, an old Chinese said, that about fortie yeares agoe, the man there interred had come Embassadour from a King of Malaca, to sue to the Sonne of the Sunne, for succour against a Nation of a Land without name, which had comme from the end of the World, and taken Malaca, with other incredible particularities printed in a Booke which hee made thereof. Having spent three yeares in this Suite, and brought it to some maturitie, hee sickned of the Aire one night at Supper, dyed in nine dayes, and left this Memoriall.

Junquileu.

Alboquerque. See tom. 1. lib. 2. pag. 32.

The Spanish hath, the Palsy, and it seemes a kind of Palsie gotten by stroke or blasting of the Aire.

Wee proceeded on our way the River growing lesse, but the Countrey more peopled, scarsly a stones cast free of some House, eyther of a Pagode, or Labourer. And two leagues higher on a Hill compassed with Iron grates were two Brasse Statues standing on their feete, one of a man, the other of a woman, both seventie foure spans long with their hands in their mouthes, and puffed cheekes; fastned to Cast-Iron Pillars, seven fathomes high. The Male was named Quiay Xingatalor, the woman Apancapatur. The Chinois told us that the man was Fire-blower in Hell to torment such as in this life gave them no Almes: the woman was the Hell-Porter, which suffered the Almes-givers to flye by a River of cold water, called Ochileuday, and hid them their from the Devils hurting them. One of our company laughed at this Tale, whereat a Bonzo was so offended, that hee set Chifu in rage with us, who bound us hand and foot, and gave us one hundred stripes a-piece. Twelve Priests were incensing these Monsters when wee were there with Silver-censours full of sweet Odours, Saying, as wee serve

[III. ii. 267.]

Two monstrous statues and their devotions.

thee, helpe thou us: another company of Priests answering: So I promise thee as a good Lord. And thus went they on Procession about the Hill an houres space sounding certayne Bels causing a dreadfull noyse.

Frequencie of China people.

Hence wee passed up the River eleven dayes, all peopled with Cities, Townes, Villages, Castles, in many places, scarsly a Caliever shot distant one from another: and all the Land in compasse of our sight had store of great Houses, and Temples with gilded Steeples, which amazed us with the sight. Thus wee came to the Citie

Sampitay.

Sampitay, where wee stayed five dayes by reason of the sicknesse of Chifus Wife. There by his leave wee went thorow the streets, a begging, the people wondering at us, and giving us largely. One woman amongst others which busily questioned with us, shewed us a Crosse branded on her left arme, asking if we knew that signe, and wee devoutly answering, yes, shee lifted up her hands to Heaven, and sayd, Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, in Portugues, and could speake no more, but proceeded in China speech, and procured leave to lodge us at her House those five dayes; telling us she was named Inez de Leiria, and was the Daughter of Thomas Perez, which came Embassadour to China, and by reason of a Rebellious Portugall Captayne, hee was taken as a Spye with twelve others; so beaten that five dyed, the other seven sundred to divers places, where they dyed in misery, only Vasco Calvo, being now left alive. Her Father, she said, was banished to this Towne, and there marryed with her Mother having somewhat to mayntaine her, and by him made a Christian. They lived together many yeares like good Catholikes, and converted many to the Faith of Christ, in that Citie three hundred assembled on Sundayes to her house to their holies. She shewed us an Oratorie in which was a Crosse of wood gilded, with a Candlesticke and silver Lampe. Wee asked her what they did, when they came there, and shee said, nothing but kneele before that Crosse, with their hands and eyes lifted to Heaven, and say, Lord Jesus

See Mass. l. 6. these Portugall Rebels had possessed Tamus, and raised a Fort in the Iland, whence followed that out rage to Perez after foure moneths travell from Canton to the Court. Lopez Soarez which sent Peirez to China, went Vice-roy, A. 1515.

China Christians and Christianitie.

Christ, as it is true that thou art the true Sonne of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost in the wombe of the Holy Virgin Mary, for the salvation of Sinners, so pardon our sins, that wee may obtayne to see thy face in the glory of thy Kingdome, where thou sittest at the right hand of the Highest. Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. And so kissing the Crosse, they embraced one another and went home; alway living friendly with each other. Her Father (she said) had left other Prayers written, which the Chinois had stolne away, so that now they could say no more. Whereupon we promised to leave her other Prayers, and taught the Christians seven times there, and Christopher Borrall writ in China Letters the Lords Prayer, Ave Mary, Creed, Salve Regina, Tenne Commandements, and other good Prayers. Shee had given a Present to Chifus Wife to deale with her Husband to give us this leave, and to use us kindly, and the Christians there gave us fiftie Taeis of Silver, and Inez de Leiria other fiftie closely, desiring us to remember her in our Prayers.

Lequimpau, Mynes of Tuxenguim.

We continued our journey up the Batampina, to a place called Lequimpau, of tenne or twelve thousand Houses. Neere to the wall stood a long house with thirtie Furnaces for the purifying of silver which was taken out of a Hill five leagues distant, called Tuxenguim; in which Mines the Chinois told us, there continually laboured one thousand men, and that it yeelded to the King yearely five thousand * Pikes of silver. We departed thence in the Evening, and the next Evening anchored betwixt two small Cities standing over against one another, one named Pacan, the other Nacau, both well walled and builded. These two Cities occasion mee to recite what I have heard often heard read in the thirteenth Chapter of the first Chronicle of the fourescore which they have of the Kings of China; that sixe hundred thirtie nine yeares after the Floud, there was a Land, called Guantipocau, in which lived a pettie Prince, called Turban,

*1000. *Picoes is a Million of Taeis.*

Pacan and Nacau.

China Chronicles and Legends.

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which had by his Concubine Nancaa, three Sonnes, refusing to marry, and entring into Religion of the Idoll Gizom (still much esteemed in Japon, China, Cauchinchina, Camboia, Siam, of which I have seene many Temples) appointing his eldest Sonne by the said Nancaa his heire. His Mother then living was against this, and marryed herselfe with Silau a Priest, and slue Turban, whereupon Nancaa and her children fled downe the River seventie leagues, and fortified a place which she called Pilaunera, that is, the refuge of the poore. Five yeares after Silau prepared a Fleet of thirtie Barkes to destroy her and all her faction, thinking that her Sons comming of age might dispossesse him. But she having Intelligence, having of men, women, and children, not above one thousand and three hundred persons, and but three or foure Boats not sufficient to conveigh away those few, by common consent and advice appointed a three dayes Fast therein to begge succour of God, in all which time none might eate above once, in paine of death. This Fast ended they cast Lots and the Lot fell on a Boy of seven yeares old, which was also named Silau, whom after all Ceremonies ended) they bid lift up his hands to Heaven, and tell them some remedie to these dangers. Who prophesied Victory to her over the Tyrant Silau, commanding her to embarke hers in her Enemies Barkes, and at the sound of the waters to runne along the Land, till God shewed where shee should found a habitation of great name, which through all times should send out his mercy with voyces and bloud of strange Nations: after which words the Boy fell downe dead.

Beginnings of the Kingdome of China.

[III. ii. 268.]

Legend of Pequim.

The thirty Barkes came (saith the Storie) five dayes after without any people therein: for at a place called Catebasoy, a blacke Cloud arose over them, which rayned on them scalding drops, which destroyed them all. Nancaa with teares and thankes embarked her three Sonnes and the rest, and went downe the River conducted by the sound fortie seven dayes, and then came to the place where Pequim now stands. Five dayes after they came aland,

was the first stone layd thereof by Pequim, eldest Sonne of Nancaa, and the Citie called by his owne name. And a silver shield hangeth on the Arch of the chiefe gate Pommicotay, and hath this inscribed, in which are fortie Warders, and in the rest ordinarily but foure. The day also of the foundation (beeing the third of August) is kept with great Solemnitie, and thereon the King useth to shew himselfe to the people. The later Kings also have made a Law that no Strangers, except Embassadours and Slaves should enter the Kingdome. The two other Brethren founded these two Cities, called by their owne names Pacan and Nacau, and their Mother founded Nanquin, which tooke the name of hers.

No stranger may enter China.

IN the fift Booke of the chiefe places of that Empire, is written, that King Crisnagol (which reigned as we may accord our computation with theirs) about the yeare of our Lord 528. builded the wall, the people contributing ten thousand Pikes of silver (which are fifteene Millions of Cruzados) and two hundred and fiftie thousand men (thirtie thousand Officers and the rest Labourers) which was continued seven and twentie yeares, and then finished, being, saith that Booke the length of seventie Iaons (every Iaon is foure leagues and an halfe) which make three hundred and fifteene leagues. The Priests and Iles are said to contribute as many, and the King and Officers another third, so that seven hundred and fiftie thousand men laboured therein. This wall I have seene and measured, being generally sixe fathomes high, and fortie spannes thicke: and foure fathomes runneth a kind of Rampire, twice as thicke as the wall strengthened with a Bituminous substance on the out-side like Potters worke; and in stead of Bulwarkes it hath houses of two lofts with beames of blacke wood, called Caubesy, that is, Iron-wood, seeming stronger then if they were of stone-worke. This wall or Chanfacau (so they call it, that is, strong resistance) runneth with an equall course till it encounters with Hils, which are all Chanfred and made so

The wall of China.

Sois brasas dalto & quarenta palmos de largo.

Vão todas chanfradas ao picão.

that it is stronger then the wall it selfe, the wall being only in the spaces twixt Hill and Hill, the Hils themselves making up the rest.

Five Rivers interrupting the wall.

In all that way are but five entrances, caused by the Tartarian Rivers, which with impetuous force cut the Countrey above five hundred leagues entring the Sea of China, and Cauchin-china: And one of them more forcible then the others enters the Kingdome of Sornau (commonly called Siam) by the Barre of Cuy. At every of those five entrances the King of China hath one Fort and the Tartar another: in every of the China Forts there are seven thousand men, six thousand foot, and one thousand Horse, in continuall pay; most of them Strangers, Mogors, Champaas, Pancrus, Coracones, and Gizares of Persia, the Chinois being but meane Souldiers. In all the space of this wall are three hundred and twentie Regiments, each of five hundred men (in all one hundred & sixty thousand) besides Ministers, Commanders, and their retinue which the Chinois said, made in all two hundred thousand men, allowed by the King only sustenance, all or most of them being condemned to that service, and therefore receiving no pay. And in Pequim is a great and admirable Prison-house, in which are Prisoners continually for the Fabricke of this wall of three hundred thousand men and upwards, most of them from eighteene to five and fortie yeares old: whereof some are men of good qualitie, which for their ill behaviours and enormities are hither sentenced, expecting to be removed hence to the service of the wall: whence they may have returne according to the Statutes thereof made, and approoved by the Chaens, which therin dispense the Regall power with meere and mixt Empire. There are twelve of them which may pay to the King a Million of Gold for Rent.

Wall-forts.

Thus in Spaine, Malefactors are sentenced to the Gallies, or Garrisons of Oran, Penon, &c.

Huge Prison.

Chaens of the wall.

§. IIII.

[III. ii. 269.]

Mindo Salt-pits: Mines of Coretumbaga, Copper-workes; Idolatry and Christianitie; China Trades, and River Faires; their comming to Pequin, tryall and sentence. Rarities of Pequin.

TO return to our Voyage, from Pacan and Nacan, wee passed up the River to Mindoo, a greater Citie then either of the former, which on the Land side had a great Lake of Salt-water, with great store of Salt-pits therein, which the Chinois said, did ebbe and flow like the Sea, from which it is above two hundred leagues distant; and that this Citie Rents to the King yearely one hundred thousand Taeis, of the thirds of the Salt, and as much more of the Silkes, Sugars, Porcelane, Camfire, Vermillion, Quick-silver, which are there in great quantitie. Two leagues above this Citie were twelve long Houses, in which many men were sounding and purifying Copper, making such a noise with the Hammers that this place (if any on Earth) may resemble Hell. In each House were fortie Furnaces, twentie on a side, with fortie great Anviles, on each whereof eight men were hammering round, with such quicknes as scarce permitted the eyes observance; so that in each house there were three hundred and twentie continuall Labourers, besides Workmen of other kinds. Wee asked how much Copper they might make yearely, and they answered, betwixt one hundred and ten, and one hundred and twentie thousand Pikes, of which the King had two parts, because the Mynes were his; the Hill where the Mine was, is called Coretumbaga, that is, River of Copper, which in two hundred yeares (so long was since the Discovery) was not emptied.

Mindoo.

The customes 300000. Cruzados.

3840. *Hammer-men.*
A Pico is 1000. *Taeis.*

Above these Houses one league neere the River, wee saw on a Hill encompassed with three rewes of Iron Grates, thirtie Houses in five rankes, very long, with great Towres of Bels of Metall, and Cast-Iron, with gilded

Pillars and carved workes, and artificiall Frontispieces of stone. Here we went on Land by Chifus leave, because, hee had so vowed to that Pagode, which is called *Bigaypotim.* Bigaypotim, that is, the God of one hundred and ten thousand Gods, Corchoo, Fungane, ginato ginaca, strong & great (say they) above all the rest: For they hold every thing hath a particular God which made it and preserves it in its nature, & that this Bigaypotim brought forth all of them at his arme-pits, and that of him they all hold their being, as of a father by filiall union, which they call Byaporentesay. In Pegu where I have beene sometimes, there is a Pagode like this (there called Ginocoginana, the God of all greatnesse) whose Temple *China ruled over India.* was built by the Chinois when they ruled in India, which was after their Computation accorded with ours from Anno Dom. 1013. till 1072. conquered by Oxiuagan, whose Successor seeing how much bloud was payd for so little good, voluntarily relinquished it. In those thirtie Houses stood a great quantitie of Idols of gilded wood, and as many more of Tinne, Copper, Latten, Iron, Porcelane, so many that I dare not mention the number. Wee had not gone thence sixe or seven leagues, when we saw a great Citie ruined with the Houses and wals on the ground, seeming a league in circuit. The Chinois said, *Cohilouzaa.* that it had beene called Cohilouzaa, that is Flowre of the field, sometimes prosperous; and that one hundred fortie two yeares since, as is written in a Booke, name Toxefalem, there came in company of Merchants from the Port of Tanaçarim, a man which wrought Miracles, in a moneths space raising up five dead persons, the Bonzos saying, he was a Witch, and because they could not hold dispute with him, provoking the people against him, *A Christian martyred. Lucena hath this storie.* saying, that if they did not kill him, God would punish them with fire from Heaven. The inraged multitude killed one John a Weaver, where he sojourned, and his two Sonnes in Law, and his Sonne; which sought to defend him, and when they had gone about to burne him, in vaine, the fire being extinct, the Bonzos stoned

him, preaching Christ unto them, which had cõme from Heaven to dye for Sinners; and to give life to all which professed his Law with Faith and Works. They say, that the bodie was cast into the River, which for the space of five dayes would not runne lower, and thereby many were moved to professe that Religion: and as wee doubled a point of Land, we saw a Crosse of stone on a little Hill environed with Trees. Chifus Wife falling into travell (of which she dyed) we stayed there nine dayes, and did our Devotions thereto, prostrate on the Earth. The people of the Village (called Xifangu) marvelling, came running to the place and falling on their knees, kissed the Crosse often, saying, Christo Jesu, Jesu Christo, Maria Micau, late impone Moudel, that is, was a Virgin in his Conception, Birth, and after it. They asked if they were Christians, and we affirming it, had us to their Houses and used us kindly, being all of that Weavers Posteritie and Christians. They also confirmed that which the Chinois had told us, and shewed us the Booke printed of his Miracles, which they said was named Matthew Escandel, an Hungarian by Nation, an Heremite of Mount Sinay, borne at Buda. That Booke tels that nine dayes after his death, the Citie Cohilouza shooke so, that the people ranne out into the fields, and abode in Tents; to whom the Bonzos came and bid them feare nothing, for they would beseech Quiay Tiguarem, the God of the night, to command the Earth to doe so no more, otherwise they would give him no Almes. Thus went the Priests alone in Procession to that Idols House, and making their night-Sacrifices and Perfumes, the Earth quaked about eleven of the clocke at night, and overthrew the whole Citie (one only of about foure thousand Bonzas remayning alive) into a Lake more than one hundred fathomes deepe, called after this Fiunganorsee, that is, punished from Heaven.

A Crosse.

Mat. Escandel an Hungarian.

Earthquake.

The China Pluto.

[III. ii. 270.]

Hence we came to a great Citie, called Junquilinau, very rich, with many Junkes and Barkes, where we stayed five dayes, Chifu there celebrating his Wives

Junquilinau.

Exequies, and giving us food and rayment for her soule, freeing us from the Oare, and giving us leave to goe on Land when wee would, without our * Collers, which was very great ease to us. Thence we went up the River, still seeing on both sides many and faire Cities and Townes, and other very great populations, strongly walled, and Fortresses alongst the water with Towres and rich Houses of their Sects, with innumerable cattell in the fields, and shipping in the River, in some places five hundred, six hundred, yea, one thousand sayle, in which were sold all things could be named. Many Chinois affirmed, that there were as many lived in that Empire on the water, as in Cities and Townes: so many in both, that were it not for the good government of their Trades, they would eate one an other. As in Duckes, one trades in buying and hatching the Egges, and selling the young; another in breeding them for sale when they are great, others in the Feathers, others in the heads, and in wares, others in the Egges, &c. none interloping the others Trade under paine of thirtie stripes. In Hogs, one trades in selling them together alive, others kill them, and sell them by weight, others in Bacon, others in Pigges, others in Souse. So in fish, hee which sels fresh may not sell salt, some sell them alive, &c. and so in Fruits and other things. And none may change his Trade without license. They have also along this River of Batampina, in which wee went from Nanquin to Pequin, (the distance of one hundred and eightie leagues) such a number of Ingenios for Sugar, and Presses for Wines, and Oyles made of divers sorts of Pulse and Fruits, that there are streets of them on both sides of the River, of two or three leagues in length. In other parts are many huge store-houses of infinite provisions of all sorts of flesh, in which are salted and smoked Beefe, tame and wilde Hogs, Ducks, Geese, Cranes, Bustards, Emes, Deere, Buffals, Ants, Horse, Tygres, Dogs, and all flesh which the Earth brings forth, which amuzed and amazed us exceedingly, it seeming

Sem colares, nem algemas.

How such infinite numbers live.

Sugar-houses. Infinite provisions and store houses.

impossible that there should bee people in the World to eate the same. Wee saw also great store of Barkes fenced at Poupe and Prow, with Reedes of Canes full of Ducks to sell, in divers lofts over one another, which goe out at foure strokes of a Drumme, sixe or seven thousand together to feed, where they set them, at the sound of the Drumme returning againe, with like exceeding crie. In the like sort they let them out to lay on the grasse. They that hatch them have long houses with twentie Furnaces full of dung, with some hundreds of Egges covered therein, and hatched by that heate, the mouth stopped till they thinke fit time, then putting in a Capon halfe plucked and wounded on the brest, they shut it againe, and after two dayes, the Capon hath drawne them all forth, and they put them into holes provided for them.

Pastures of beasts.

We saw along the River in some places store of Swine wild and tame kept by men on Horsebacke, in other places tame Deere kept by Footmen, all maymed in the right foreleg, that they should not runne away, which they doe when they are young. Wee saw Pennes full of little Dogges to sell, Barkes full of Pigges, others of Lizards, Frogs, Snakes, Snailes, all being meate with them. In these (being of small price) they may sell many kinds. Yea, the dung of men is there sold, and not the worse Merchandize, that stinke yeelding sweet wealth to some, who goe tabouring up and downe the streets to signifie what they would buy. Two or three hundred sayle are seene sometimes fraighted with this lading in some Port of the Sea; whence the fatned soyle yeelds three Harvests in a yeare.

Dogs for meat.

Moveable Cities on the water.

Wee came to a Faire of China where on the water 2000. Barkes, besides small Boats which goe up and downe and small Barkes were assembled in one place, and made a Citie with streets in the water above a league long, and a third part of a league broad. These Faires are principally on the Holy day of some Pagode, whose Temple is by the waters side. In this Water-citie, by the

order of the Aitao of Bitampina (who is chiefe President of the thirtie two Admirals of the thirtie two Kingdomes of this Monarchie) are sixtie Captaynes appointed; thirtie for the government and ordering of the same in matters of Justice, and other thirtie to guard the Merchants in comming safely secured from Theeves. Over all these is a Chaem, which hath Mere and mixt Rule in Causes Civill and Criminall without Appeale. These Faires last from the new Moon to the ful, in which it is a goodly thing to see two thousand streets or ranks strait, enclosed with Barkes, most of them flourishing with Streamers and Banners, and railes painted, whereon are sold all things that can be desired, and others Mechanike Trades, & in the midst Boats going up and downe with people to trade without any confusion or tumult. As soone as it is night, the streets are enclosed with Cables. In every street is ten Lanthornes lighted on the Masts (which yeelds a fairer lustre then the former sight by day) to see who goeth by and what is his businesse. In each of these streets is a Watch-bell, and when that of the Chaems sounds, all the rest answer with as strange an Object to the Eare as the former to the Eye. In every of these Vowes are Oratories built on Barkes with gilded Tents, where the Idoll and Priests receive the Devotions and Offerings of the people.

Beauties and glories of this River-Citie.

[III. ii. 271.]

Amongst other remarkable things we saw one rew or street of above one hundred Barkes laden with Idols of gilded wood of divers sort, which are sold to be offered in the Pagodes; and besides, feet, legs, armes, and heads, which sicke folkes offered for Devotion. Other Barkes there are with Tents of Silke, in which Comedies and pastimes are represented. In others are sold Letters of Exchange, the Priests giving them Bils to receive in Heaven what their folly lay downe there, with great increase (Our Scriveners would scarsly grow rich here with that Trade) others are laden with skuls of dead men, they dreaming that all the Almes of those men, whose skuls these have beene, shall belong to their soules, and that the

Porter of Heaven seeing them come with thus many attending, will open to him as an honourable person: Others have Cages of Birds, and call to men to set free those Captives, which are the creatures of God, with their Almes which they which doe, let loose the Bird and bid him tell God what he hath done in his Service: others do the like with living fishes, offering their freedome to the charitable Redeemers (which themselves will not give them; much like the sale of Indulgences) saying, they are Innocents which never sinned, which freed by Almes are let goe in the River with commendations of this their Redeemers Service to the Creator. Other Barkes carry Fidlers and Musicians to offer their Service: Others (the Priests) sell hornes of sacrificed Beasts, with promise of I know not what Feasts in Heaven: others had Tents of sorrow, Tombes and all Funerall appurtenances with Women-mourners, to be let out for Burials: others laden with Books of all sorts of Historie, and these also have Scriveners and Proctors; others have such as offer their service to fight in defence of their honour; others have Mid-wives, others Nurses; others carry grave men and women to comfort those that have lost Husbands, Wives, Children, and the like disconsolate persons: others Boyes and Girles for service; others offer Counsellors in Cases of Law or Learning; others Physicians: and to conclude, nothing is to bee sought on the Land which is not here to be found in this Water-citie.

Once, the cause of the greatnesse of this Kingdome of China, is this easie concourse of all parts by water and Rivers: some of which in narrow places have bridges of stone like ours, and some made of one only stone laid over, sometimes of eightie, ninetie, or one hundred spannes, long, and fifteene or twentie broad. All the High-wayes have large Causies made of good stone, with Pillers and Arches fairely wrought inscribed with the Founders names and prayses in golden Letters. In many places they have Wels to refresh the Travellers. And in more barren and lesse inhabitated places are single women

Bridges, and high-wayes admirable.

Filthy charity. which give free entertainment to such as have no monie, which abuse and abomination, they call a worke of Mercie, and is provided by the deceased for good of their soules, with Rents and mayntenance. Others have also bequeathed in the like places, houses with Lights to see the way, and fires for Travellers, water and Lodging. I have in one and twentie yeares unfortunate travels seene a great part of Asia, and the riches of Europe, but if my testimonie be worthy credit, all together is not comparable to China alone: such are the endowments of nature in a wholsome Ayre, Soyle, Rivers, and Seas, with their Policie, Justice, Riches and State, that they obscure all the lustres of other parts. Yet such is their bestiall and Devillish Idolatry, and filthy Sodomitry publikly permitted, committed, taught by their Priests as a vertue, that I cannot but grieve at their ungratitude.

The Authors opinion.

Departing from this admirable Citie, we sailed up the River, till on the ninth of October, on Tuesday we came to the great Citie of Pequim, whither wee were sent by Appeale. Wee went three and three as Prisoners, and were put in a prison called Gofania serca, where for an entrance they gave each of us thirtie stripes. Chifu which brought us presented to the Aitao our Processe signed with twelve seales from Nanquin. The twelve Conchalis which are Criminall Judges, sent one of their company with two Notaries, and sixe or seven Officers to the Prison where wee were, and examined us, to whom we answered as before, and hee appointed us to make petition to the Tanigores, of the holy Office by our Proctors, and gave us a Taell for almes, with a caveat to beware of the Prisoners that they robbed us not; and then went into another great Roome, where he heard many Prisoners Causes, three houres together, and then caused execution to be done on seven and twentie men, sentenced two dayes before, which all dyed with the blowes to our great terrour.

Pequim.

Their hard usage. And the next day wee were collared and manicled, being much afraid that our Calempluys businesse would

come to light. After seven dayes the Tanigores of the Hospitall of that Prison came in, to whom we with pitifull lamentation gave the Certificate which wee brought from Nanquin. By their meanes the Conchalis petitioned the Chaem to revoke the Sentence of cutting off our thumbs, seeing there was no testimonie of theft by us committed, but only our povertie, we more needed pitie than rogour. He heard the pleading for and against us for divers daies, the Prometor or Fiscall laying hard against us that wee were theeves; but being able to prove nothing, the Chaem suspended him from his Office, and condemned him in twentie Taeis to us, which was brought us. And at last we were brought into a great Hall painted with divers representations of execution of Justice for severall crimes there written, very fearefull to behold: and at the end a fairer gilded roome crossed the same, where was a Tribunall with seven steps, compassed with three rewes of grates, Iron, Latten, and blacke Wood; inlayed with Mother of pearle, having a Canopie of Damaske fringed with Gold and greene Silke, and underneath a Chair of Silver for the Chaem, and a little Table before him, with three Boyes attending on their knees richly attired, with chaines of gold on their neckes; the middlemost to give him his Penne, the other two to receive Petitions and to present them on the Table; two other Boyes standing at his side in exceeding rich aray, the one representing Justice, the other on the right hand Mercy, without which conjoyned, the Judge (they say) becomes a Tyrant. (The rest of the state and ceremonie I omit) wee kneeling on our knees, with our hands lifted up, and our eyes cast downe to the ground, heard gladly our Sentence of absolution. Only we were for one yeere banished to the workes of Quansy, and eight moneths of that yeere ended to have free pasport to goe home, or whither we would. After the Sentence pronounced, one of the Conchalys stood up, and five times demanded aloud if any could take exception against the Sentence: and all being silent, the two Boyes representing Justice, and Mercy, touched each

Their Cause heard. *The Fiscall (set on worke it seemes by the Judge which had sentenced them) punished.*

[III. ii. 272.]

Tribunal and pompe.

Quansy works.

others Ensignes which they had in their hands, and said aloud, let them be free according to the Sentence, and presently two Chumbims tooke off our Collars and Manicles, and all our bonds. The foure moneths (the Tanigores told us) were taken off the yeere, as the Kings almes in regard of our povertie; for had wee beene rich, wee must have served the whole yeere. They gave us foure Taeis of almes, and went to the Captaine which was to goe for Quansy to commend us to his charitie, which used us accordingly.

The Kings almes.

Description of Paquim, or as the Chinois call it Pequim.

PEquin may be called the Mother Citie of the Worlds Monarchie for the wealth, government, greatnesse, justice, provisions. It stands in the height of 41 degrees to the North; it contayneth in circuit, as the Chinois (and as I after heard read in a little Booke written of the greatnesse thereof, called Aquesendoo, which I brought with mee into this Kingdome) thirtie leagues, ten in length, and five in bredth, all which space is environed with two Walls, and innumerable Towers and Bulwarkes. Without is a larger space, which they say, was anciently peopled, which now hath but Hamlets, and scattered Houses, and Garden-houses, of which sixteene hundred are of principall note, in which are the sixteene hundred Proctors for the sixteene hundred Cities and Townes of note, of the two and thirtie Kingdomes of this Monarchie, which reside there three yeeres for the said Townes. Without this circuit or wall, there are in the space of three leagues broad, and seven long, foure and twentie thousand Sepulchres of Mandarines, with their little gilded Chappels, encompassed with grates of Iron and Latten, with rich Arches at their entries. Neere to them are Gardens, Groves, Tankes, Fountaines; the walls lined within with fine Porcelane, adorned also with Lions and Pinacles of divers paintings. There are in that space five hundred Lodgings, called Houses of the Sonne of the Sunne, for entertainment of Souldiers maimed in the Kings warres (besides many others for the old and sicke)

Aquesendoo a Booke written of Pequin.

1600. *houses for Deputies.*

24000. *sepulchers.*

Hospitals 500.

every of which receive their monethly allowance, and have in them as they said two hundred men, in all one hundred thousand. Wee saw another street very long, where lived foure and twentie thousand Rowers for the Kings shipping: and another above a league long, where lived fourteene thousand Taverners for provision for the Court; and another where were infinite Curtesans freed from tribute (which those of the Citie pay) for service of the Court, many running from their husbands, and here protected by the Tutan of the Court, which is supreme in cases of the Kings house.

24000. *Bargemen.*
14000. *Purveyors.*
Curtesan street.

In that compasse also live the Landerers of the Citie, which were, as they told us, above one hundred thousand, there being many Tankes or Ponds compassed with stone and Rivers. There are therein, as that Booke sayth, thirteene hundred Noble houses of Religious men and women, which professe the foure chiefe Sects of the two and thirtie which are in that Kingdome: some of which, they say, have above one thousand persons within them besides servitors. There are other houses store with great walls in which are Gardens, and Groves with game for hunting; and are as it were the Halls of Companies where many resort to see Playes, and the great men make their feasts there with incredible costs. Some of these houses cost above a million, maintayned by Companies of rich Merchants, which are said to gaine* much thereby. And when any will make a feast, he goeth to the Xipatom of the house, who sheweth him a Booke wherein is contayned the order of feasts and services (which Booke I have seene and heard read) of all sorts, and of what prices they are, whether Sacred to their Idols, or Secular, (of which our Authour hath a large Chapter, here omitted.)

100000. *Landerers.*
1300. *Monasteries.*
**By letting the houses to other men.*

Now for Pequin, it hath three hundred and sixtie Gates, each having a Castlet with two Towers, and a Draw-bridge, a Notarie, and foure Warders, to take notice of those which goe in and out, and an Idoll proper according to the dayes of the yeere, every of which is festivall in one of them. The Chinois reported that there

360. *Gates and Castles.*

3800. *Temples.* are therein three thousand eight hundred Temples or Pagodes, in which are continually sacrificed birds and wilde beasts, which they say, are more acceptable then tame: those especially very faire which are of the Menigrepos, and Conquiais, and Talagrepos, the Priests of the foure chiefe Sects, of Xaca, Amida, Gizon, and Canom. The streets are long and large, the houses faire, of one or two lofts, encompassed with Iron and Latten grates, and at the streets end are triumphall arches, closed at night; in the chiefe are Watch-bells. Every street hath a Captaine and foure Quarter-masters or Corporals, which every ten dayes acquaint the Lonchacys or Chaems with occurrents. That Booke reports of one hundred and twentie water-passages, sixe fathome deepe of water, and twelve wide, with many stone bridges, which are said to be eighteene hundred rich and faire, with arches, pillars, and chaines: it tels also of one hundred and twentie Market-places, each of which have their monethly Faires, (which make some foure faires a day thorow the yeere) of which we saw ten or twelve in our two moneths free abode, very full of horse-men and foot-men with all commodities to be sold. There are one hundred and sixtie Shambles, each having one hundred blockes for Flesh of all sorts, the price set downe on every blocke, and besides the shop-weights, are weights at every Gate to examine the weight againe. And besides those generall shambles, every street hath five or sixe shops which sell all kinde of Flesh: houses also for Poultrie, and for Bacon, and hanged Beefe.

Foure chiefe Sects.

[III. ii. 273.]

120. *Riverets.*

1800. *Bridges.*

120. *Market-places.*

160. *Shambles.*

§. V.

Foure Buildings incredibly admirable in Pequin, and divers of their superstitions: their Hospitals and Provisions for the Poore. The Kings revenues and Court; their Sects.

BUt nothing seemed to me more admirable, then the Prison, called Xinanguibaleu, that is, the Prison of the exiled, whose compasse contayneth about two leagues square, as well in length as breadth, walled high and ditched deepe, with draw-bridges hanged on Iron cast pillars very great. It hath a high arch with two towers, whereon are six great watch-Bels, at the sound whereof the rest within answer, which are sayd to bee one hundred. In this Prison are continually three hundred thousand men from *sixteene to fiftie yeers of age, all condemned to banishment, for the fabrike of the wall betwixt Tartaria and China; whom the King findes maintainance onely, without other pay. After they have served sixe yeares they may goe out freely, the King freely remitting their sentence in satisfaction of their labour. And if in the meane time, they kill an enemie, or have beene thrice wounded in sallies, or performe any worthy exploit, he is also freed. There are *two hundred & ten thousand employed in that service, of which yeerly in those that dye, are maimed or freed, one third part is set off, and supplyed from that Prison, which was builded by Goxiley the successor of Crisnagol, the founder of the wall, brought thither from all parts of the Realme, and sent to the Chaem of the wall at his appointment. These prisoners are sent from other prisons, being loose, save that they weare at their necke, a board of a spanne long and foure fingers broad, inscribed with their name, and sentence of exile, such a time. In this Prison are two Faires yeerely, one of which wee saw, kept in July and Januarie, franke and free without payment of tolls; to which are

Prison of the exiled, to the Tartarian wall, almost eight leagues compasse.

**Or* 18. *to* 45.

Multitudes of Prisoners and men employed in the wall.

**Before hee sayd* 200000.

Huge Faires.

thought to assemble three millions of persons: the Prisoners being meane-while shut up. The Prison hath three Townes, as it were, with streets and Officers, besides the Chaems lodgings, fit to entertaine a King. There are also all necessaries sold. There are groves, and tankes of water for washing, Hospitals also and twelve Monasteries, with rich houses, wanting nothing that a rich and noble Citie should have: the Prisoners having their Wives and Children with them, the King allowing a competent house for them.

Another admirable Fabrike.

Another building about as great as that, was the Muxiparan, or treasure of the Dead, compassed with a strong wall and ditch, with many stone Towers and painted pinacles: the wall on the top in stead of battlements, was compassed with Iron grates, close to which were set great store of Idols of different figures, of Men, Serpents, Horses, Oxen, Elephants, Fishes, Snakes, monstrous formes of Wormes, and creatures never seene; all of Brasse and cast Iron, and some of Tinne, and Copper; a sight more admirable to the view, then can be imagined. Passing by a bridge over the ditch, wee came to a great Hill, *at the first entrie all environed with thicke grates of Latten, floored with stones white and blacke, so shining that a man might see himselfe therein, as in a glasse. In the midst of that Hill stood a marble pillar of sixe and thirtie spannes high, all seeming to bee but one stone; on the top whereof stood an Idoll of silver with a womans face, with both hands griping a Serpent spotted with blacke and white. And further, before the gate (which stood betwixt two high towers, borne upon foure and twentie bigge stone pillars) stood two figures of men with Iron maces or battle Axes, in their hands, as guarding the passage, one hundred and fortie spannes high, with dreadfull countenances, called Xixipitau Xalican, that is, the Blowers of the House of Smoake. At the entrie of the gate, stood twelve Halberdiers, and two Notaries at a table, which writ downe all that entred. After wee were entred, we came into

**Terreyro, and so after.*

Fire-blowers of Hell.

a large street set on both sides with rich Arches, with infinite bells of Latten hanging thereon, by latten chaynes, by the mooving of the ayre yeelding a great sound. The street was almost halfe a league long, and within those [III. ii. 274.] arches were two rankes of houses, like as it were great Churches with gilded pinacles, and painted inventions, in number as the Chinois affirmed three thousand, all from the bottome to the roofe full of Sculls of dead men. Behind those houses was a hill of Bones, reaching to the roofes of the houses, of the same length of halfe a league and very broad. Wee asked the Chinois, if any account were kept thereof, and they answered, that the Talagrepos which had the government of those houses, had registers for them all, and that every house yeelded two thousand Taeis rent, left thereto by the deceased for their soules discharge, the King having therof the fourth part, and the Talagrepos the rest for expences of the Fabrike; the Kings fourth part was spent on the exiled Prisoners of Xinamguibaleu.

3000 *Houses full of skuls.*

ChinaCharnel or Purgatorie.

The Devils banner tryumphant in stupendious Serpents; then which neither figure nor creature hath beene more abused to superstition as glorying of that his conquest, Gen. 3. though a stronger then he represented by the brazen Serpent, Job. 3. hath taken the old Serpent and led captivitie captive, and brake the Serpents head, which heere seemes intended with Ethnike vanitie.

Wee walked thorow the street, and in the midst saw a great hill round encompassed, with two rewes of Latten grates; in the midst whereof was a brazen Serpent, about thirtie fathoms in her circles, well proportioned, notwithstanding that incredible massinesse. This monstrous Snake which the Chinois called the Serpent devourer of the House of smoake, had set in his head, a Ball or Bullet of cast Iron of two and fiftie spannes circumference. Above twentie paces further, was the figure of a Man in brasse, of Giantly limbs and proportion, who sustained with both his hands another bullet, which (eying the Serpent with an angry visage) made as though he threw it at him. Round about that figure, were many smal gilded Idols on their knees, with hands lifted up to him as in admiration: and in foure wyres of iron environing, were one hundred and sixtie two silver Candlestickes, each having sixe, seven, and ten nosles. This Idoll gave name to the whole Fabrike, and was called Muchiparom, who was, sayth the Chinois, the Treasurer of all the

bones of the dead, and that Serpent comming to rob them, hee threw that bullet in his hands, and made her flee to the darke bottome of the house of smoake, where God had cast her for her badnesse: And that three thousand yeeres before hee made the former throw, and that three thousand yeeres after, he shall make another, and so each three thousand yeeres another, till the fifth which shall kill her: after which all these bones shall returne to their bodyes, to remayne alway in the house of the Moone. This their Bonzos preach, and that those soules shall bee happie, whose bones are thither brought, so that no day passeth in which two thousand bones are not brought thither. And they which are too farre distant to have their bones brought, send a Tooth or two, which with their almes will doe as much good as the whole: so that I suppose there are teeth enough in those houses to lade many ships.

The third strange Ædifice of Nacapirau the Juno of China.

A third building wee saw without the walls, sumptuous and rich, named Nacapirau, which signifieth, The Queene of Heaven; which they meane not of the Virgin Marie, but thinke that as temporall Kings are married, so also is the Heavenly, and that the Children which hee getteth of Nacapirau, are the Starres; and when the starres seeme to shoute or fall in the ayre, that then one of those Children dye, all his brethren weeping so many teares, that the Clouds are therewith filled, and water the earth, and make it fruitfull, as being the almes which God gives for the soule of the deceased. Wee saw heere one

140. *Monasteries.*

hundred and fortie Monasteries, of their wickedly Religious men and women; in every of which, were sayd to bee foure hundred persons, which come to sixe and fiftie thousand; besides servitours, which have not yet vowed the profession, as those within, who goe in sacred habite of red with greene stoles, their beards and heads shaven, with beades about their neckes, for their prayers, but aske no almes, having sustenance of their owne proper. In this Edifice of Nacapirau, the Tartarian King lodged, Anno 1544. when hee layd siege to this

Citie, as shall after bee delivered; wherein for a divellish and bloudie Sacrifice, he commanded 30000. persons to be slaine: fifteen thousand of which were Women, or girles rather, the Daughters of the chiefe men of the Kingdome, and Religious, professed of the Sects of Quiay Figrau, God of the Motes of the Sunne, and of Quiay Niuandel, God of the Battells, and of Compouitau, and of foure others, Quiay Mitru, Quiay Colompom, Quiay Muhelee, and Muhee Lacasaa, whose five Sects, are the chiefe of the two and thirtie. Within this building wee saw divers memorable things. One was a Wall against the other, almost a league compasse, borne up with stone arches, and in stead of battlements, arounded with Latten grates, and at every sixe fathoms, Iron workes on pillers of Brasse fastened one to another, whereon by chaynes hung innumerable bells, making a continuall strange noyse, with the motion of the ayre.

Tartarian crueltie.

Nunnes sacred to divers Gods.

At the great Gate of this second wall, in terrible shapes, stood the two Porters of Hell (as they call them) Bacharom and Qugifau, with Iron Maces in their hands, terrible to looke on. Passing under an Iron chayne, fastened to the brests of these Divels, wee came into a faire street long and wide, compassed with painted arches, on the top whereof were two rankes of Idols all that length, in which were above five thousand Images, wee knew not of what matter, being all gilded, with Myters on their heads of divers inventions. At the end of this street, was a great square Hill set with blacke and white shining stones, the whole square compassed with foure rewes of Giants of mettall, each of fifteene spannes, with Halberds in their hands, and gilded beards. At the end of all stood Quiay Huiaon, God of the Raine, set up against a bastion or border, seventie spannes long, and his head so high, that it reached to the battlements of the tower, (which were above twelve fathoms) by his mouth, eyes, nostrils, and brests, casting out water, which the people below gathered as a great relique. This water came from the top of the tower by secret pipes. Wee

The Porters of Hell.

Jupiter or God of Rayne.

**Encostado à bum bordão.*

[III. ii. 275.]

passed under his legges, which stood as a great portall, and came to a large house like a Church, with three Iles on marble pillars, and on the walls on both sides, many Idols great and small of divers figures, all gilded, set on their bases in good order. At the end of this house on a round of fifteene steps, stood an Altar made in fashion of a Throne, and thereon the Image of *Golden statue of Nacapirau.* Nacapirau, like a goodly woman, with her hayre loose and her hands lifted to heaven, all of gold so burnished, that it dazeled the eyes. About that tribunall in the foure first steps, stood twelve Kings of China crowned in silver. And beneath, were three rewes of gilded Idols on their knees, with their hands lifted up, many silver Candle-sticks hanging about them. Going thence, wee came to another street of arches like the former; and from thence by two others of rich buildings, to a great hill, in which were eightie two Bells of mettall very great, hanging by chaynes from Iron beames sustained with Iron Columnes. Thence wee went to a strong Gate 'twixt foure towers, in which stood a Chifu with thirtie Halberdiers, and two Notaries, which tooke the names of all passengers, to whom wee gave thirtie Reis for entrance.

The fourth glorious Edifice. The fourth remarkable and famous building, was in the River of Batampina, in an Iland about a league in compasse, walled round with stone eight and thirtie spannes above water, within filled with earth, round encompassed with two rewes of Latten grates; the uttermost sixe spannes high for people to leane on, the inner of nine, holding silver Lions with balls, the Armes of the China Kings. Within these grates in good order, 113. *Chappels, and their contents.* were placed one hundred and thirteene Chapels, in manner of round Bulwarkes; in each of them, was an alabaster Sepulcher seated on the heads of two silver Serpents, with faces of women and three hornes on their 1469. *Candlestickes.* heads. In every of them were thirteen Candlesticks of silver, with seven lights in each burning. In the midst of a spacious place compassed with three rewes of grates, with two rankes of Idols, stood a high Tower with five

steeples of divers paintings, and on their tops, Lions of silver; in which tower the Chinois sayd, were the bones of the one hundred and thirteene Kings, worshipped by them for great reliques. These bones say they, every New Moone, feast one with another, whereupon the vulgar at those times, offer to them infinite store of Fowles of all sorts, Rice, Kine, Hogges, Sugar, Honey, and other provision; which the Priests receive, and deceive them in recompence, with as it were Jubilees, of plenarie Indulgences, and remission of sinnes as they beleeve. *Indulgences.*

In this Tower wee saw a rich house all lined with silver plates, from the top to the bottome, in which stood those one hundred and thirteene Kings statues, and the bones of each King in his owne statue; and they say, that by night these Kings communicate and passe the time together, which none may see but the Cabizondos, (a higher degree of Bonzos, as that of Cardinals with us) which fables they beleeve for very certaintie. In this great circuit wee told three hundred and fortie Bells of mettall and cast Iron, in seventeene places, by twentie in a place, which all sound on those New-moone feasts abovesayd. Neere to that tower, in a rich Chappell built on seven and thirtie columnes of stone, stood the Image of Amida made of silver, with the hayres of gold, on a Throne of fourteene steps, all wrought with gold, the hands elevated to Heaven: beneath her shoulders, hung (like lines of beades) many little Idols, as big as the middle finger: and the secret parts were covered with two great Oyster-pearles, garnished with gold: They being demanded the meaning of this mysterie, sayd, that after the generall Floud in which all mankinde was drowned, God sent Amida from the Heaven of the Moone, (being great Chamberlaine to Nacapirau his wife) to restore the destroyed world; who setting her feete in Calempluy before mentioned, being lately freed of the waters, shee turned it into gold, and there standing on her feet with her face in heaven, a great quantitie of Creatures issued

Rich silver Temple.

Lady Amidas Image.

Amida Chamberlaine to Nucapirau, as Iris to Juno: a tale perhaps devised from that Rainebow covenant, Gen. 9. 15. as that which followeth from Gen. 3. 16.

from downe her arme; downe her right hand Males, and Females down the left; having no other place in her bodie whence to bring them foorth, as other women of the world, whom for sinne God hath subjected to filthinesse of corruption, to shew how filthy sinne is. After shee had finished this travell or child-birth of 33333. Creatures, (as they number) one third part Males, and two parts Females; shee remayned so weake, having no bodie to provide her any thing, that with dizzinesse shee fell to the ground dead without recoverie. Whereat the Moone in condoling her death covered her selfe with sorrow, which are those shadowes wee see from the earth: which say they, shall remaine so many yeers as the produced Creatures (33333) & then the Moone shall put off her maske of sorrow, and the night shall bee after as cleere as the day. Such and other like mad stuffe did they tell, which might make one wonder, and more to weepe, that the Devill should gull them with such manifest lyes, being otherwise so understanding a people.

A Nunnerie. From this Hill we went to another Temple of Nuns, sumptuous and rich, in which they told us was the Mother of this King, Nhay Camisama, but would not let us enter being strangers. Thence by a street of Arches, wee went to a haven called Hicharioo Topileu, where was store of strange shipping of divers Kingdomes, which come continually to that Temple for a plenarie Jubilee, which the King with many priviledges hath granted them, and dyet on free cost. To speake of other Temples and matters of China, which wee saw in our two moneths libertie were infinite.

[III. ii. 276.] The King of China most resideth at Pequin, for so he sweareth at his Coronation. There are certaine streets severed in this Citie by themselves, wherein are houses called Laginampur, that is, The Schoole of the poore, in which Orphans which know no father are taught to write and reade, and mechanike trades to earne their livings. Of these Houses they have about two hundred, and as many more of poore Nurses which give sucke to Children,

Hospitals for children.

exposed or cast foorth by their Parents (which are punished if they bee knowne) and after they are weaned, are committed to the former houses. And if any by naturall defect are unable to learne a Trade, they apply him to that whereto he is able, as those that are blind to Mills, two to grind, and one to sift; and so in other cases. Besides, no Trades-man may keepe shope without licence, which is not granted but with imposing on them some of these poorer. The Miller is to give meate and drinke to each of those blinde persons, and clothes, and fifteene shillings yeerely, which when hee dieth he may give for his soule, that no poore should perish, according to the fourth precept of * Amida. For Creeples which cannot goe, they place them with makers of Frailes, Baskets, and other handiworkes: and those which cannot use their hands have great Hampers given them, and Baskets to serve for Porters to carrie what men buy, from the Markets to their houses; such as have neither hands nor feet to use, are placed in great houses like Monasteries, where are many mercenary women which pray for the dead, halfe of the Offerings remayning to them, the other half to the Priests. If they be dumbe, they place them in a house like an Hospitall, where they are sustayned with the Fines imposed on Regraters and scolding women. For common women which are diseased they have other houses, where they are cured and provided for, at the costs of other common women, each paying a monethly fee. The Dowrie or Joynters of convicted Adulteresses are bestowed on the Hospitals of female Orphans, that honestie may gaine by dishonesties losse. Other honest poore men are maintayned in other streets, at the charges of Solicitors and Lawyers which maintayne unjust Suits, and of partiall bribed Judges.

How the poore children are placed to Trades.

**Span. Aminto. Provisions for all sorts of poore.*

For the provision of the poore I have further heard read out of their Chronicles that Chansiran Punagor, Great Grandfather of the King new reigning, desiring to doe God service (being blinde after a sicknesse which he had) ordayned that in every Citie there should be store-houses

Provision against sterility, and for the poore. See sup. cap. 4. §. 6.

of Wheat and Rice, that if any dearth should happen, there might be a yeeres provision, and the poore should not perish: and to this purpose he applyed the tenth part of the Kings Customes. They say, that God recompenced this his charitie with restitution of his sight, which continued fourteene yeeres after till his death. This is still observed, and the number of those Store-houses is said to be fourteene thousand. At Harvest the old is divided to the Inhabitants as they have need, which after two moneths are to lay in as much new, and sixe in the hundred more, that the store be not diminished. But if the yeere prove barren, it is divided to them without gaine: and that which is given to the poore which have not to satisfie, is paid out of the Kings Rents of that place, as the Kings Almes. And all the rest of the Royall revenues are divided into three parts; one for maintenance of the Kings estate, and for the government of the Kingdome; the second for the defence of the Countrey, for Ports, Fleets, and the like; the third is put up in the Treasurie at Pequin, with which the King by ordinary power may not meddle, being deputed for defence of the Kingdome against the Tartars, and other warres with confining Kings; this part of the treasure is called Chidampur, that is, The wall of the Kingdome. For they say, that if such occasions happen, the King shall not lay tribute whiles that lasteth, nor shall the people be vexed, as in other Countries, where such providence is not used.

Royall revenue how disposed.

The Jesuites also say, the King cannot at pleasure dispense it.

Indeed I feare to particularize all that we saw in this Citie, lest the Reader should doubt or mutter at the raritie, measuring things by that little they have seene, and judging by their owne curtalled conceits the truth of those things which mine eyes have seene. But high capacities, haughtie spirits, and large understandings, that measure not other states by the miseries and meannesse before their eyes, will perhaps be willing to heare things so rare; which I hold the more pardonable in others to doubt of, forasmuch as I verily confesse, that I my selfe which beheld them with mine eyes, am often amazed,

Not to compare China with what we see here.

when with my selfe I recount the greatnesses of Pequim, in the admirable estate of that Gentile King, in the splendor of the Chaens of Justice, and of the Anchacys of government, in the terror and dread caused in all by their Officers, in the sumptuousnesse of the Houses and Temples of their Idols; and of all the rest therein. For only in the Citie Minapau which stands within the wall of the Kings Palace are 100000.* Eunuchs, and 30000. women, 12000. men for his Guard, and 12. Tutans, which is the greatest dignitie, and commonly called the Sun-beames, as the King is called, the Sonne of the Sunne, whose person they represent. Beneath these 12. are 40. Chaens as Vice-royes, besides the inferiour dignities, as Anchacys, Aytaos, Ponchacys, Lauteaas, and Chumbins, all which in the Court are above 500. and none of them have lesse then 200. men depending, the greater part of which are Mogores, Persians, Coraçons, Moens, Calaminbans, Tartars, Cauchins, and some Bramaas; the Naturals being little esteemed as effeminate, and wanting valour, how wittie soever in Arts and husbandrie. The women are white, chaste, more given to labour then the men.

Admiranda Pequini.

**Minapau the Kings Palace: the number of Eunuches perhaps is mistaken by the Printer: the Span. hath 10000. one cipher lesse. Yet Pantoia saith, that yeere when hee writ, were chosen 3000. out of 20000. and in the Palace were 16000. Eunuchs.*

The earth is fertile, which their ingratitude rather ascribes to the merit of their King, then the providence of God. Some Priests also barter with them upon Bills of exchange to bee repayed an hundred for one in Heaven, which Letters they call Cuchimiocos. Other Priests are of another Sect, called Naustolins, which denye the Soules immortalitie, and therefore teach to take their pleasures in this life. Another Sect is called Trimecau, which holds, that a man shall so long lie in his Grave as hee hath lived above ground; after which, by the prayers of their Priests, the Soule shall returne into another creature seven dayes, and then seeke for the old bodie left in the Grave, to carrie it to the Heaven of the Moone, where it shall sleepe many yeeres, till it be converted into a Starre, and there remayne fixed for ever. Another beastly Sect, called Gizom, holds that Beasts onely shall enjoy Heaven, in recompence of their penance and travels

[III. ii. 277.]

Sects in China. Cuchimiocos. Naustolins. Trimechau.

Gizom.

here sustayned, and not Men which follow their lusts, except they leave to Priests at their death, to pray for them.

§. VI.

Their remove to Quansy, quarrels, miseries; Tartarian huge Armie, and losse at the siege of Pequim, reported. Quansy taken, and Nixianco: Mendez his exploit. Their entertaynment by the Tartar King, and going to Cauchinchina with his Embassadours, with many Tartarian observations.

AFter we had two moneths and a halfe gone up and downe in the Citie of Pequim, on Saturday the thirteenth of January, 1544. they carried us to *Quansy.* Quansy to fulfill our Sentence, where we were brought before the Chaem, who made us of his Guard of eightie Halbarders allowed him by the King, which made us thankfull to God, being a place of little labour and more maintenance and liberty. But after a moneth, the Devill sowed *Portugalls quarrell.* strife betwixt two of our companie, which in reasoning about the Families of the Madureyras, and the Fonsecas, whether were more eminent, grew to heate, thence to braving words, and after to blowes and wounds, not onely of those two, but by part takings of five of the rest. The Chaem and Anchacys sentenced us to thirtie blowes a man, which made us more bloudy then our wounds. Then they carried us to a prison, where we lay in Irons sixe and forty dayes. After which we were brought to the *Paritie a peace-breaker.* Barre, and received other thirty stripes, and removed to another prison, where we stayed two moneths, then removed to certaine Iron-works five moneths, much pinched in backe and belly, and being diseased with a contagious sicknesse, they sent us forth to begge, which wee did foure moneths. In this miserie wee sware to each other to live Christianly and lovingly, and that each

moneth one should bee chiefe, whom all the rest should obey, whereby wee after lived in peace.

Christovan Borralho the chiefe for that moneth, distributed us by couples to take their turnes weekely to begge, two to fetch water, and make ready what we got, two to get wood. I and Gaspar de Meyrelez went one morning to the Wood, and Meyrelez being Musicall played on his Viall, and sung; a thing pleasing to that people, which spend much time in pastime and banquets, and profitable to us in procuring almes. As wee went, wee met with a Funerall pompe with Musicke in the midst: one of which Musicians knowing Meyrelez, prayed him to play and sing as loud as he could, that this dead man wee now carrie to buriall may heare thee, to comfort him in leaving his wife and children, whereto he was much affected. Hee modestly refusing, the other angerly answered, and others intreated, and almost forced him to goe with them to the burning Buriall after their custome. I thus left alone, went and got my bundle of wood on my backe. In the way homeward I met in the way an old man, clothed in blacke Damaske furred with white Lambe, who having shewed mee a silver Crosse, told me, that he was a poore Portugall, Vasco Calvo, which seven and twentie yeeres since was captived with Tomé Piréz, whom Lope Soarez had sent Embassadour to China, which had a miserable successe by reason of a Portugall Captaine. Hee brought me to his house, and told me the storie of his and his fellowes adventures, and I ours to him: and at his request I fetched the rest of our companie to his poore house. Hee brought us to another roome, where his wife was, with her two little sonnes, and two small daughters. Shee entertayned us lovingly, and shewed us her Closet with an Altar, and a Crosse thereon, secretly kept; shee also and her children said a Portugall Prayer, with the Pater noster, Creed, and Ave Maria, to our great joy.

Musick for the comfort of the dead.

Vasco Calvo. See the former note §. 3.

Newes of the Tartarian Armie, and siege of Pequim.

Eight moneths being spent in this our miserie and beggerie, on Wednesday the thirteenth of July, a great tumult

and crie arose amongst the people, by reason of newes of the Tartarian King his comming to Pequin, with a greater power then ever any King had in the World; that there were in his Armie 1800000. men, 600000. of which were Horse-men, which had comne by Land from *Lançame.* Lançame, and Fanistir, and Mecuy, with 80000. Badas* **Rhinocerots.* to carrie their provision. Twelve hundred thousand 16000. Foot-men had comne in sixteene thousand Lavlees and *Barke.* Jangas downe the Batampina. And because the King of [III. ii. 278.] China durst not resist so great a power, hee was gone to Nanquim. Moreover it was said that in the Pinall of Manicataron, a league and halfe off was lodged one *Nauticor commeth to Quansay.* Nauticor, a Tartarian Captaine with 70000. Horse, who within few houres would bee at the Citie. This newes much terrified us, and the next morning the Enemie appeared with Colours quartered greene and white in seven battels, neere to a Pagode called Petilau Namejoo, a little from the walls. From that Pagode they came with sound of Instruments of warre in one grosse Squadron like a halfe Moone, and encircled the Citie: and being within Caliver shot, they made a shout as if Heaven and *The Citie taken.* Earth would have gone together, and scaling it with two thousand Ladders which they brought with them, assaulted it in all places they could very resolutely, and at last brake into the gates by certaine devices of great Iron Presses, and slue the Chaem with many Mandarines, putting the Citie to the sword, sacke, and fire; killing, as was thought, 60000. persons, and after stay of seven dayes there, went for Pequim, where their King was.

Nixiamco a China Castle assaulted. Two dayes after they were gone, they came to a Castle called Nixiamcoo, which he besieged. Nauticor called the seventie Captaines to consultation, and agreed to make ready five hundred Ladders that night for the next dayes assault. The next day their Palinguindoens (so they call their Martiall Instruments) sounded, and fourteene battalions marched, and gave assault with great cries, scaling the walls, and fighting furiously; the besieged also defending themselves couragiously, and in two houres

A.D. 1544.

killing three thousand Tartars, the rest fleeing; many wounded with poisoned Arrowes, whereof they died. A Counsell of Warre was hereupon called, one of them being the man which had us in custodie; who returning with two Captains of his acquaintance to supper, in their discourse of that misfortune they cast eyes upon us there prisoners, and questioned of what nation we were, and whether our Kings used to warre, and whether any of us knew any Stratagem to get that Castle, promising our freedome if we could effect it. To which we answered accordingly, and George Mendez undertooke the designe against our likings fearing his disabilitie, and our further danger. One of these Captaines told the Mitaquer (Nauticor) hereof, who sent to Tileymay the Captaine which had charge of us, to bring us to him. He gave us a grave welcome (being now in counsell with the seventy Coronels, two houres after midnight,) and first made us to eate, having taken off part of our Irons; and then made large promises to George Mendez if he could doe as he had said; to which he answered, that hee could answer nothing till he saw it, and then he would tell him the way to take it. Wee were removed to a Tent adjoyning, and there guarded, full of feare lest this undertaking would cost our lives with a People so cruell. The next day George Mendez and two others of our companie were carried with a band of Horse-men about the Castle to view it, and then brought to the Mitaquer, to whom he professeth great facilitie of effecting his purpose: which so contented him, that he sware by the Rice he eate to present us to the King, and to fulfill his promises, presently taking off the remainder of our Irons. Hee made us to eate neere him, and did us other honour. After which, George Mendez as Camp-master appointed store of Chists, Boxes, and matterials to fill up the ditch, and three hundred large scaling Ladders able to hold each three Souldiers, against the next morning to be made ready two hours before day. All this was happily effected, the ditch filled, and Mendez with two others of us first

The Tartars losse.

Mendez his undertaking.

scaled the wall, and set up the Tartars Colours; five thousand Tartars gallantly seconding, so that with a hote skirmish the besieged were all slaine, and the Castle taken; the gates opened to the Mitaquer, who with great ceremonies tooke thereof possession. He caused George Mendez and the rest of us to eate neere him, razed the Castle, and taking Mendez with him on horse-backe returned to his Tent, giving him 1000. Taeis, and each of us 100. the cause of much emulation in some of our companie, who by his meanes had obtayned libertie. Thence the Mitaquer marched by places desolate, to a good Towne by the Rivers side, called Lautimey, the people whereof were fled; the Towne these barbarians fired, as they did other places where they came. The next day they burned Bunxay, a sowne field of above sixe leagues circuit, most Wheat; and came to the Hill Pommitay, and the next day to the River Palemzitau, within two leagues of the Kings Campe. Guijay Paran sonne of the King of Persia, at the Castle of Lautir, by the Kings appointment stayed for him; to whom Mitaquer on his knees delivered his Scimitar, having first kissed the ground five times. Hee welcomed him with honourable termes, and after that, stepping backe two or three paces with a new ceremonie, and with a voyce high and severe (as he which represented the Kings person) said, He, whose rich border of his garment my mouth continually kisseth, whose great power ruleth over others by Land, and on the Iles of the Sea, sends to tell thee by mee his Slave, that thy honourable comming is as welcome to his presence as the sweet Summer morning, wherein the bathing of cold water most delights the flesh: and that without delay thou hastenest to heare his voice, mounted on this Horse richly furnished out of his Treasurie with mee, that thou mayest be equall in honour with the principall of his Court, and they which see thee thus honoured may know that thou art a strong member, whose valour deserves this reward.

The Castle taken.

Lautimey.

Thus with great state and pompe they went to the

King: and fifteene dayes after he brought us to the Tents of the King well horsed, then in the sumptuous House of Nacapirau. When he came to the Trenches, hee descended from his Litter (wee from our Horses) and asked leave of Nautaran to enter, which granted, he againe went to his Litter, and we followed on foot: at the next passage he descended, and went in leaving us to expect him. An houre after he returned with foure faire Boyes gallantly arayed in greene and white, with their golden Xorcas on their feet, to whom all the people rose up, and drawing their Scimitars laid them on the ground, saying three times, A hundred thousand yeeres live the Lord of our heads. Wee lying prostrate with our faces on the ground, one of the Boyes said to us with a loude voice, Rejoyce yee men of the Worlds end, for the houre of your desire is comne, in which the libertie which the Mitaquer promised you in the Castle of Nixianco, shall bee granted you. Lift up your heads from the ground, and your hands to Heaven, giving thankes to the Lord which made the Stars. Wee answered as wee were taught, Let it bee our fortune that his foot tread on our heads: the Boy answered, The Lord grant your request.

State of the Tartarian Campe and Tent Royall. [III. ii. 279.]

These foure Boyes with Mitaquer guided us on thorow a Gallerie standing on sixe and twentie Pillars of Brasse, from which wee entred a great Hall of timber, in which stood Mogores, Persians, Berdios, Calaminhans, and Bramas: thence wee came to another Hall, called Tigihipau, where were great store of armed men in five files quite thorow the Hall, their Swords garnished with Gold. There Mitaquer performed some ceremonies, swearing on the Maces which the foure Boyes carried, kneeling and kissing the ground three times. Then we passed another gate, and came to a square great Hall like the Cloister of a Monasterie, in which stood foure files of brazen Images like Savages with Maces and Crownes, seven and twentie spannes high, and sixe broad, which the Tartars said were the three hundred and sixty Gods which made

The Guards.

the dayes of the yeere; which the Tartar King had taken out of a Temple, called Angicamoy, in the Citie Xipatom, in a Chappell of the Sepulchres of the Kings of China, to carrie home in triumph. In this Hill was a Garden of strange herbs and flowers, and therein a Tent upon twelve turned posts of Camphire wood, in which was a Throne all garnished with much curiositie of Gold and Silver workes, representing very lively the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Cloudes. In the midst of the Throne stood a silver great Statue, called Ahicaunilancor, that is, God of the health of Kings, (taken also from Angicamoy) about which stood foure and thirtie Idols as big as children about sixe yeeres old, in two rankes set on their knees and hands lifted up as in veneration. At the entrie of the Tent were foure Boyes gorgeously arayed which went about it with Censers, and at the sound of a Bell prostrated themselves on the ground, and censing, said, Let our crie come unto thee as a sweet savour that thou mayest heare us. That Tent was guarded by sixtie Halbarders, standing a pretie distance from it round about. Beyond that Hill wee entred another place, where were foure rich roomes, in which were many great persons.

Xipatom.

Curious Throne.

Thence we followed Mitaquer and the Boyes unto a great Hall like a Church, where stood sixe Porters with Maces, which with new ceremonie let us in. Here was the King of Tartars, accompanied with his Grandes, among which were the Kings of Pafua, Mecuy, Capimper, Raja Benam, and the Anchesacotay, and other Kings to the number of fourteene, all in rich attire, placed at the foot of the Throne, two or three paces distant; and a little further off stood two and thirtie faire women, playing on divers Instruments. The King sate on the Throne, encompassed with twelve Boyes on their knees, with small Scepters of gold on their shoulders; amongst which was a faire Damsell which ever and anone fanned the King. This was the sister of Mitaquer, who by her meanes enjoyed that grace and respect in the Armie.

The Tartar King. His State.

The King was about fortie yeeres old, tall, not fleshy, well set; his beard short with Mostachos like the Turks, his eyes somewhat small, his countenance severe; clothed in a shining reddish vesture set with Pearles; on his feet certaine Slippers greene wrought with Gold and Pearles; and on his head a kind of Sallet with a border of Diamonds and Rubies. Before we came at him by ten or twelve paces, we made our courtesie, three times kissing the ground, with other ceremonies which wee were taught. The King commanded the Musike to cease, and bid Mitaquer aske this Nation of the end of the world, if they have a King, and how their Land is called, and how farre it is from China. One of us answered for the rest, that our Land was called Portugall, our King was great and mightie, and from thence to Pequin was about three yeeres Voyage; whereat he much marvelled, as not thinking the World so great; and striking on his thigh said aloud with eyes to Heaven, O Creator of all things, which of us poore Pismires on the Earth may be able to comprehend the marvels of thy greatnesse? And signing with his hand he made us come neerer to the steps of the Throne where the fourteene Kings were placed, and demanded us againe, how farre? and when we said, three yeeres; he asked, why we came rather by Sea then by Land? wee answered, that the diversitie of States and Kings in the way hindred. He asked, What doe you seeke with so farre travels and great troubles? wee gave as good reason as we could; whereat he shaking his head, said to the King of Benan, an old man, that it seemed that our Countrey had much Covetousnesse, and little Justice; so, said the other, it appeares; for those men which flie on the top of all waters, by wit and industrie to get that which God hath not given them, either poverty forceth to forsake their Countrey, or vanitie and blindnesse caused by covetousnesse, makes them forget God and their Fathers. After this, the women began againe to play, and the King retired himselfe into a house alone with his women which

His person.

[III. ii. 280.] played, and the Damsell that fanned. One of the twelve Scepter-boyes told Mitaquer from his Sister, that the King commanded hee should not goe away, which he tooke for a great grace, and wee returned to our Tents.

Fortie and three dayes after we came to the Campe Royall (in which space were many fights betwixt the besiegers and besieged, two assaults by scaling with the Tartars losse) the Tartarian called a Councell, where were assembled seven and twentie Kings, and many great men and Captaines, which agreed that seeing Winter was now comming, and the waters of both Rivers had risen and filled the Trenches, and many were sicke (foure or five thousand dying daily) that it was best to rayse the siege. The King therefore embarked the Foot-men with the munitions, fired the Tents, and went away with 300000. Horse by land, and 20000. Badas, 450000 men being found by accounts, to have dyed in this expedition, most of sicknesse, 300000. Horses and 60000. Badas for want of provisions, the two last moneths and a halfe of this Siege (which endured sixe moneths and a halfe.) Besides, 300000 had runne to the Chinois, wonne by their great pay. Hee lodged the first night of his departure at a River called Quaytragum; the next day he came to Guijampee, which hee found wholly forsaken; thence to Liampew, and after seventeene dayes (eight leagues a day) he came to Guauxitim, and forced it, committing therein cruell slaughters, to provide his Armie of necessaries by the spoyle thereof. * The next day hee came to Caixilo, which he medled not with being great and strong, having therein 50000. men, of which 10000. were Mogores, Cauchims, and Champaas, better Souldiers then the Chinois. Thence hee passed to the walls of Singrachirou, and the next day to Xipator, and then sent away most of his Souldiers, spending seven dayes in the pay, and execution of Justice on Prisoners. Thence discontent, hee went to Lançame by water, (with onely one hundred and twentie Laulees, in which were some

Tartars losse. Consultation.

Siege of Pequim breakes up.

The Kings returne into Tartaria.

Lançame.

ten or twelve thousand men) where sixe dayes after hee arrived in the night without any pompe.

There he stayed sixe and twentie dayes, till all his companie were come both of horse and foot, after which hee went to a greater city called Tuymican, where he was personally visited by confining Princes and Ambassadours from remoter Kings, Xatamas of Persia, Siammom Emperour of the Gueos, which within the Countrey confine with Brama of Tangu, the Calaminhan Lord of the brute force of Elephants, the Sornau of Odiaa, (intituled King of Siam) whose Segniorie comprehendeth seven hundred leagues of coast, from Tanauçarim to Champaa, containing seventeen Kingdomes; the King of the Mogores whose Kingdome lyes within land, betwixt Corazan neere Persia, and the Kingdome of Dely and Chitor, and an Emperour called Caran, whose Segniorie confineth within the Mountaines of Goncalidan, with a Nation which the Naturals call Moscoby, of whom wee saw some in this Citie, ruddie, of bigge stature, with shooes, and furred cloathes, having some latine words, but seeming rather for ought wee observed Idolaters then Christians, and much given to unnaturall lust. To the Ambassadour of that Prince Caran, better entertainment was given then to all the rest. Hee brought with him one hundred and twentie men of his guard, with Arrowes and gilded quivers, all cloathed in Shamois skinnes murrie and greene; and twelve Porters on horsebacke with Maces of Silver, leading twelve Horses in their right hands with rich embroidered Furnitures. After whom followed twelve men of high and Giant-like stature, cloathed Savage-like in Tygers skinnes, leading great Grey-hounds in chaynes and collers of Silver, muzled. Then came twelve Boyes, faire and well proportioned of equall stature in gallant array, & next them Leixigau the Ambassador himselfe, in a Chariot (they call it a Pirange) with three wheeles on a side, garnished with Silver and a Chayre of the same, attended with fortie Foot-men in murrie and greene, yeelding a goodly sight,

Tuymican.

The Mogor is now much altered, & since that time Lord of India.

Caran.

all things manifesting the greatnesse of his Lord. Wee were one day in his lodging with Mitaquer, who was sent to visit him, where amongst other strange things, we saw five roomes hanged with Tapestrie of Frogges very rich, like that used amongst us, as if they had come from one place; the Canopies, Silver-tables, Furniture and State, all rich. This Ambassadour came not only to welcome home the Tartar, but to treate also of a Marriage for his Lord, with one of the Tartars Sisters, named Meica Vidau, a woman of thirtie yeeres, very charitable to the poore, whom wee have often seene in their Festivall dayes.

A Marriage treated on betwixt the Caran and Tartar.

Mitaquer at our request mentioned us to the King, who sayd, he would send us with his Ambassador shortly to Cauchenchina; and caused us to be brought againe to his presence with great ceremonie of State and Majestie as before at Pequim, where hee questioned us, if we would serve him, which we excused saying, we had Wives and Children in our owne Countrey; and asking George Mendez, hee accepted. Eight of us were commended to the Ambassadour which was to goe to Uzanguee in Cauchenchina & we went in the same Barke. We set forth from Tuymican the ninth of May, and came to a Schoole or Universitie called Guatipamor, where wee lodged in a Temple (or Monasterie) called Naypatim. Next morning wee followed our voyage downe the River, and two houres within night came to Puxanguim, a small Citie, well fortified with Towers and Bulwarks after our fashion, with store of Artillerie of wood, like the Pumps of ships, the stocks where the Barrels were fastned being plated with Iron, and carrying a bullet as bigge as a Falcon: which invention they say, they received of a people called Alimanis, of a land named Muscoo, which by a great and deepe lake of salt water, came thither with nine Barkes of oares, in companie of a Lady, which was sayd to bee exiled out of her Countrey by a King of Denmarke. The next day wee came to Linxau, and five dayes after we continuing our course downe the River, came to Singuafatur, a huge Temple,

They depart from Tartaria.

Uzanguee.

An Universitie.

Puxanguim.

Guns of wood.

[III. ii. 281.]

Linxau.

Singuafatur Temple and superstitions.

more then a league in compasse; in which space were built one hundred and sixtie foure large and long houses full of Skuls, the other bones lying without in great piles. On a Hill compassed with nine grates of Iron, was standing against a strong stone wall, a monstrous statue of Iron thirtie braces high, and six broad, in both his hands holding a bullet sixe and thirtie spannes about, of cast Iron also. (This to wound the Serpent which came to robbe them) himselfe beeing hee which should one day restore the flesh to their owne bones, if they gave Almes, otherwise to the most unable and putrid: his name Pachinarau Dubeculem Pinanfaque, who 74000. yeeres agoe, was borne of a Tortoyse named Migania, and of a Sea-horse one hundred and thirtie braces long, named Tibremoucan. The Ambassadours told us, that of his Confraternities, there arose to him of annuall rents above 200000. Taeis, and as much more of the Sepulchers of the Nobles, which were by themselves; that there belonged to him twelve thousand Priests preying on him, and praying for the dead, who might not without their Superiours licence depart out of that Circuit. These Priests once a yeare may defile themselves in fornication within that Circuit; without, as oft as they will, without sinne, the Chisangues permitting egresse. There are many women also enclosed, who by their Libangús or Prioresses leave, permit themselves to those Priests.

Monkes and Nuns, chaste in the Devils name.

The second day after, wee came to a great Citie on the River side called Quanginau, where the Ambassadours stayed three dayes for provision, and by reason of a Feast at the entrance of Talapicor of Lechune, who is there as a Pope: who had priviledged these inhabitants to be all Priests, authorised to Sacrifice and give Bills of exchange for money to bee repayed in Heaven. He gave the Ambassadour grace to legitimate in his Countrey for money, and to give tytles of Honour; which hee recompenced, giving to the Priests all that he could make, and two thousand Taeis the King had given us, for which he gave us fifteene in the hundred. Foure

Quanginau.

A Gentile Pope.

Lechune. dayes wee passed downe the River to Lechune, the mother Citie of that false Religion of Gentilitie, as Rome is with us, wherein is a sumptuous Temple, in which are seven and twentie Tartar Emperours buried in rich Chappels lyned with Silver, having abundance of silver *Idols.* Idols. On the North-side a little from the Temple, was a notable strong great wall, within which were built *Monasteries.* two hundred and eightie Monasteries, of men and women; in which were sayd to bee two and fortie thousand religious professed, besides servitours. In those Houses are many Brazen pillars with Idols of their Saints thereon, so much more gilded as esteemed. In one of them was the Kings Sister a widow, which had beene wife of Raja Benan, Prince of Pafua, after whose death shee entred Religion with sixe thousand women. The Ambassadour visited her, and kissed her foot as a Saint.

Departing thence downe the River five dayes, wee *Rendacalem.* came to a great Citie called Rendacalem, in the confines of Tartaria. And thence forwards began the Segniorie *Xeinaleygrau.* of Xinaleygrau, thorow which wee travelled foure dayes, and then came to a Towne called Voulem, where the Ambassadours were well received, and provided of Pylots for those Rivers; which wee descended seven dayes without seeing anything of note, and then came to a straight called Quatanqur, into which the Pylots entred to escape a Pyrat, which had spoyled the most part of *Singapamor Lake, or Cunabetee.* the Countrey. Thus wee came to the Lake Singapamor, called by the Naturals Cunebetee, and sayd to contayne sixe and thirtie leagues in Circuit. Foure Rivers runne *Ventrau.* thence, Ventraw Eastward thorow Siam, entring the Sea *Chiabata.* by the barre of Chiatabu, in twentie sixe degrees; Jan- *Janguma,* gumaa Southwards by the Laos and Gueos, and part of Dabambu enter the Sea at Martavan, in the Kingdome *Pumfileu.* of Pegu; Pumfileu runnes thorow all Capimper and Sacotay, and all the Empire of Monginoco, with part of Meleytay and Souady, and so to the barre of Cosmim, neere Arracan. Of the fourth River the Ambassadours could give us no instructions, but some thought it to

bee Ganges. In seven dayes more, wee came to a place called Caleypute, where they threw stones at us, and would not suffer us to land. Thence we sayled by another larger River nine dayes, and came to Tarem a good Towne, subject to the Cauchim, where we were well received: and in seven dayes more came to a good Citie called Xolor. There were Silver mines, in which one thousand men were at worke, whence they sayd was yeerely taken sixe thousand Pikes, which makes eight thousand Quintals of ours. Thence wee went other five dayes by that great River, the Countrey being well peopled, and came to the Citie Manaquileu at the foot of the Hills Comhay in the borders of China, and Cauchim; thence to Tinamquaxy. Thence they sent their foure Barkes to Huzamguee, the chiefe Citie of Cauchim, and went by Land to Fanaugrem, where the King was.

Caleypute. *Tarem.* *Xolor.* *Comhay.* *Huzamguee.*

Their entertainment there and journey thence to Japan, I omit, with their following long Pilgrimage in that Easterne world; wherein I am afraid to wander in places and affaires so uncouth. Wearie alreadie of things so strange, and therefore uncertaine, I will passe to other Authors; and first to the Philippina's and Spanish Commerce of China. The Voyage of Legaspi, is taken out of a Latine Manuscript, the rest out of Mendoza, his Spanish discourse of China, and certayne Friars which went thither; the two Letters except, borrowed of an Italian author.

[III. ii. 282.]

Chap. III.

Spanish plantation of the Philippinas, and what entercourse hath thence hapned betwixt them and the Chinois.

§. I.

First discoverie of the Philippinas: written by Frier Ivan Gonzales de Mendosa.

Magelane straights.

Agalianes, was the first that discovered these Ilands, having passed the straight (which unto this day beareth the tytle of his name) and came unto the Iland of Zubu, whereas they did Baptise certaine of the Inhabitants, and afterwards in a banquet, the same Ilanders did kill him, and other fortie of his companions, which was the occasion that Sebastian de Guetaria, a naturall Biskin borne, for to escape with his life, did put himselfe in a ship that remayned of the voyage (which afterwards was named the Victorie) and in her, and with a few people that helped him, with the favour of God hee came unto Sivill, having compassed the whole world, from the Orient unto the Ponent; a thing which caused unto all men great admiration, but in particular unto the Emperour Charles the fift of famous memorie, who after he had given many gifts and favours unto the sayd Sebastian de Guetaria, he gave order that a new Armie should bee made readie, and to returne againe in demand of the sayd Ilands, and to discover that new world.

The second Voyage.

So when all things were in a readinesse, for to depart on their Voyage (the which was done with great brevitie) they ordayned for Generall of all that fleete, one Villa Lobos, commanding him to goe by the Nuova Espania, The Villa Lobos, arrived at the Ilands of Malucas, and at those of Terrenate, and at other Ilands joyning unto

Villa Lobos.

them, the which Ilands were layd to gage by the aforesayd Emperour unto the Crowne of Portugall. In these Ilands they had great warres by meanes of the Portugals, and seeing themselves with little helpe and small resistance, for to goe forwards with their conquest, they left it off, and went to the most part of them with the aforesayd Portugals, unto the India of Portugall, from whence afterwards, they sent them as prisoners unto the sayd King of Portugall, as offenders, that had entred his Ilands without his licence: who did not onely leave to doe them any harme, but did intreate them very well, and sent them unto their owne Countrey of Spaine, and gave them all things necessarie for their journey, and that in abundance.

Then certaine yeeres after, Don Philip King of Spaine, being very willing that the discovering should goe forwards, which the Emperour his father had so earnestly procured, sent and commanded Don Luys de Velasco, who was his Vice-roy of the Nuova Espania, that hee would ordayne an armie, and people for to returne and discover the sayd Ilands, and to send in the sayd fleete for Governour, of all that should bee discovered. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who did accomplish all that his Majestie had commanded, and made the discoverie thereof as followeth, to bee declared.

When the Spaniards came unto them, they were without Lord or head, or any other to whom they should shew dutie, but hee which had most power and people, did most command: so that this (and that there were so many of equall power) was the occasion that civill warres continued, without any respect of nature, kindred, or any other dutie, but like unto bruite Beasts, killing, spoyling, and captiving one another, the which was a great helpe unto the Spaniards, for to subject that Country with so great ease unto the King, and called them the Ilands Philippinas, in respect of his name. They did use amongst them, to make Captives and Slaves, such as they did take in unlawfull warres, and for trifling matters,

the which God did remedie, by the going thither of the Spaniards: for you should have a man with fortie or fiftie friends in his companie, or servants, that upon a sodaine, would goe and set upon a small Village of poore people and unprovided, and take and binde them all, and carrie them away for Slaves, without any occasion or reason, and make them to serve them all the dayes of their life, or else sell them to other Ilands. And if it so chanced, that one did lend unto another, a basket or two of Rice (the which might bee worth a Ryall of plate) with condition, to returne it againe within ten dayes: if the debtor did not pay it the same day, the next day following hee should pay it double, and afterward to double it every day, so long as he did keepe it, which in conclusion, would grow to bee so great, that to pay the same, hee is forced to yeeld himselfe for Captive and Slave.

But unto all such as were captived in this order, or in such like, the King of Spaine hath commanded to give libertie, yet this just commandement is not in every point fulfilled and accomplished, because such as should execute the same, have interest therein. All these Ilands were Gentiles and Idolators, but now there is amongst them
[III. ii. 283.] many thousands Baptised, unto whom the King hath shewed great mercie, in sending unto them the remedie for their soules in so good time: for if the Spaniards had stayed any more yeares, they had beene all Moores at this day, for that there were come unto the Iland of Burneo, some of that Sect that did teach them, and lacked little, for to worship that false Prophet Mahomet, whose false, perverse and corrupt memory, was with the Gospel of Christ easily rooted out.

In all these Ilands they did worship the Sunne and Moone, and other second causes, figures of men and women, which are called in their Language Maganitos, at whose Feasts (which they doe make very sumptuous, with great Ceremonies and Superstition) they doe call Magaduras. But amongst them all, they have in most veneration an Idoll, whom they called Batala, the which

reverence they had for a Tradition, yet can they not say what should be the occasion that he should deserve more then any of the rest, to be had in so great estimation. In certayne Ilands not farre off, called the Illocos, they did worship the Devill, and made unto him many Sacrifices, in recompence of a great quantitie of Gold he had given unto them, but now by the goodnesse of God, and the great diligence put and done by the Fathers of the Order of Saint Austin (who were the first that passed into those parts, and lived worthily) and also by the Friers of Saint Francis, which went thither ten yeares after, all these Ilands or the most part of them are baptized, and under the Ensigne of Jesus Christ: and the rest which doe remayne and are not, is more for lacke of Ministers and Preachers, then for any obstinacie of their parts. There is now gone thither certayne Fathers of the Order called Jesuits, who will be a helpe unto them with their accustomed zeale and labour. And now goeth thither many other Religious men, very well learned and Apostolike, of the Order of Saint Dominicke, who will doe their endevour to convert them unto Christ, as it behooveth Christians to doe.

The Devil was worshipped.

They of these Ilands were accustomed to celebrate their Feasts aforesaid, and to make Sacrifices unto their Idols, by the order of certayne women which were Witches, whom they doe cal in their Language Holgoi, that were had in as great estimation amongst them, as be the Priests amongst Christians. These did talke ordinarily with the Devill, and many times in publike, and doe Devillish Witch-crafts both in wordes and deedes: into whom it is to bee beleeved that the Devill did enter, for that straight-wayes they did answere unto all things that were demanded of them, although for the most part they would tell a Lye, or else such words that might be given divers interpretations of, and of divers understandings. They did also use to cast Lots, they were great Agorismers, or observers of times: in so much that if they beginne any Journey, and at the beginning they meete with a

Witches.

Cayman or Lizard, or any other savage Worme, they know it to be a signe of evill fortune, whereupon they would straight-wayes leave off their Journey, although it did import them very much, and returne unto their Houses, saying, that the Heaven will not that they should goe forwarde on that Journey: but all these lyes and falsenesse have beene taught them, and they perswaded to by the Devill, or overthrowne and taken away by the Law of the Gospel (as aforesaid) and have now amongst them many Monasteries full of Religious men, of the Order of Saint Austine, Saint Francis, and of Jesuits. According unto the common opinion, at this day there is converted and baptized more then foure hundred thousand soules, which is a great number: yet in respect of the quantitie that are not as yet converted, there are but a few. It is left undone (as aforesaid) for want of Ministers, for that, although his Majestie doth ordinarily send thither, without any respect of the great charge in doing the same, yet by reason that there are so many Ilands, and every day they doe discover more and more, and being so farre off, they cannot come unto them all, as necessitie requireth. Such as are baptized doe receive the faith with great firmenesse, and are good Christians, and would be better, if that they were holpen with good ensamples: as those which have beene there so long time are bound to doe: that the lacke thereof doth cause some of the Inhabitants so much to abhorre them, that they would not see them once painted upon a wall. For proofe whereof (and for to moove such as have power and authoritie to put remedie in the same,) I will declare unto you here a strange case, the which royally did passe of a truth in one of these Ilands, and is very well knowne amongst them: that is, there chanced to dye an Ilander, a principall man amongst them: a few dayes after that he was baptized, beeing very contrite for his sinnes, the which he had done against God before he was baptized, and after hee dyed. So after by the Divine permission of God he appeared unto many of that Iland whom hee

Spaniards hated in the Philippines.

did perswade forthwith to receive the Baptisme, with reasons of great efficacie, and declared unto them (as one that had experienced the same) the reward of that good deed which without all doubt should be given unto them, if they would receive the same, and live after conformable, and according unto the Commandements of Christ, for the which he told them, and said, that forthwith so soone as he was dead, he was carried by the Angels into glory, there whereas all things were of delight, pleasure, and content, and did communicate onely in the sight of God, and that there was none that entred therein, neither could enter, except he were baptized, according unto the preaching of the Spaniards, of whom and of others that were like unto them, there was an infinite number. Therefore, if so be that they would goe and enjoy of those benefits and delights, it is necessary that first they should be baptized, and afterwards to observe and keepe the Commandements that be preached unto them by the Fathers, that are amongst the Castillas, and therewith he vanished away, and they remayned treating amongst themselves, concerning that which they had heard, and was the occasion that some of them forthwith received the Baptisme, and that others did delay it, saying, that because there were Spaniard Souldiers in glorie, they would not goe thither, because they would not be in their company. All this hurt is done by one perverse or impious man, and with one evill ensample, the which amongst many good, as you have in those parts: but especiall amongst them in particular, it ought to bee reprehended and punished severely with rigour.

Spanish report of a Vision.

[III. ii. 284.]

The Indians would not goe into Heaven because there were Spanish Souldiers.

These Ilands at the first discovery of them, had the fame to be Mal Sanos, or unwholesome, but since experience hath shewed and proved it to the contrary: It is a Countrey marvellous fertill, and yeeldeth very much Rice, Wheate, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Buffes, Kine, and great store of Hogges, whose flesh is so savourie as the Mutton they have in Spaine: there be also many Cats that yeeld Civet, great store of fruits which be very good and savourie:

Civit.

Honey. great abundance of Honey, and Fish, and all sold at so small a price, that almost it is sold for nothing. Also *Cinamon.* there is great store of Cinamom, but no Oyle of Olives, but that which is carried thither out of the Nuova Espania: *Linseed Oyle.* they have much Oyle of Algongoli, and of Flaxe-seed, the which they doe spend ordinarily in that Countrey, so that the Oyle of Olives is not missed with them.

There is great store of Cloves, Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and many other Drugges: great store of Cotton and Silke of all colours, the which is brought unto them by Merchants of China, every yeare a great quantitie, from whence commeth more then twentie ships laden with pieces of Silkes of all colours, and with Earthen Vessell, Powder, Salt-peter, Iron, Steele, and much Quick-silver, Brasse, Copper, Wheate, Flowre, Walnuts, Bisket, Dates, Linnen Cloth, Counting Chests very gallantly wrought, Calls of Net-worke, Buratos, Espumillas, Basons and Ewres, made of Tinne, Parchment Lace, Silke Fringe, and also of Gold, the which is spunne and twisted after a fashion never seene in all Christendome, and many other things of great curiositie, and all this aforesaid is sold very good cheape. Likewise such things as the Ilands doe yeeld, are sold very good cheape, for you shall have foure Roves of Wine, which commeth of the Palme-tree for foure Rials of Plate (the which for lacke of that made of Grapes is very good) twelve Haneges of Rice for eight Rials of Plate, three Hens for one Riall, a whole Hogge for eighteene Rials, a whole Buffe for foure Rials, a Deere for two Rials, and yet it must bee both great and good, foure Roves of Sugar for sixe Rials, and the like.

§. II.

First Plantation of the Philippinas, by Michael Lopez De Legaspi.

Michael * Lopez de Legaspe, Generall of the Spanish Armada, on Tuesday the one and twentieth of November, Anno Dom. 1565. set forth of the Haven of Nativitie in New Spaine, and sayled betwixt the South and the West, and after West-ward, till he came in nine degrees: in that height seeking the Ilands de los Reyes, thence to make for the Philippinas. After eight dayes, the ship called Saint Luke was missing, the Captayne whereof was Alfonsus de Arellano, suspected to have maliciously with-drawne himselfe. The Fleet continuing their course in nine and ten degrees, after fiftie dayes had sight of an Iland of Fishermen and many other small Islands not inhabited, which they passed by. It was agreed that they should heighthen their course to thirteene degrees, in which way they came on Monday the seventeenth of January, 1566. to one of the Ilands of Theeves, called Goean, and sayling toward it, sixe miles off, fiftie or sixtie Paraos swift sayling Barkes with eight or ten men quite naked met them and invited them to their Habitations, where at night they anchored. The next morning, sixe hundred of their Paraos came about them with victuals to sell, Rice, Honey, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Fruits of divers kinds, and Ginger whereof there groweth great store naturally. Their principall desire in barter was Iron Nailes, giving a large sacke of Rice for a Naile; their sackes deceitfully filled with gravell and chaffe, with Rice in the top. These people are well proportioned and strong. They fought with the Spaniards which were watering, and in the time of fight would be trucking with the ships, as senslesse of their danger. A Mariner which stayd behind was slaine, whose death they revenged with many of the Savages slaine in the night,

**This I translated out of a Manuscript Latine which I found with M. Hak.*

Nativity Port.

Islas de los Reyes.

IslasLadrones.

one of them being taken and sent into New Spaine. Their name fits their Theevish disposition.

The Philippinas called also the Ilands of the Ponent or West. Eleven dayes after the fleet renewed their Voyage, and course in thirteene degrees eleven dayes longer, and then had sight of the Philippinas, having sailed from the Port of Nativitie, eight thousand miles. They anchored in a faire Bay called Baia de Sibabas, and there rode seven dayes; whiles two Boats went to discover, one to the North, the other Southward.

Baia de Sibabas.

[III. ii. 285.] A Gentleman of one of them was slaine by an Indian, rashly leaping on shoare. These Indians have Iron Launces, with a head or tongue a handfull and halfe long. They have also shields, Bowes and Arrowes. In making peace each man takes two or three drops of bloud of his arme or brest and mixe both in some Vessell together, which is drunke with Wine and Water. Many Paraos came to the Spaniards with a white flag in the Prow, in token of peace, and the Admiral erected the like in her Poope to signifie their leave to enter These Indians are clothed, but barefoot. The Spaniards demanded provision, which the other promised, but gave only to the Captayne a sucking Pigge and an Egge. These people are very timorous, perfidious, and therefore suspicious. The Ilands beare Hogges, Goats, Hennes, Rice, Millet, Potatoes, Pome-citrons, Frisoles, Cocos, Plantans, and many sorts of fruits. They weare Bracelets, and Earings, and Gold Chaines, and whithersoever the Fleet went, was shew of Gold in the Land, whereof they digge but for necessary uses: the Land is their Money bagge.

Gold.

The Fleet departed hence, and two dayes after came to the Port of the Ile Tandoia, where a small River enters; up which they went in Boats, and came to a Towne called Camungo. There they were well entertayned, and had victualls set them: which whiles they were eating, an Indian spake some Spanish words, and asked for Antonie Baptista Villalobos, and Captaine Cabeça de Vaca: for which the Lord of the place was angrie with him, and hee appeared no more. The next day the Spaniards returning

Tandoia.

Camungo.

found them armed, threatning them if they came on shoare. They minding not to deale cruelly, Martin de Goyte was sent to discover some convenient harbour, who saw the City Tandaya, and other Townes of other neere Ilands, and having gone sixtie miles found the great Bay where was Cabalia a Towne well inhabited. Thither went the Fleet, and the Inhabitants fled. Onely Camatuan the sonne of Malataque a blind man, chiefe of that place, came to them, whom they detayned thinking thereby to get some provision; but in vaine. He sent forth Souldiers which brought him five and fortie Hogs, leaving in lieu somwhat for exchange, and dismissing Camatuan, who had taught the Captaine the names of the neighbouring Iles and of their Governours. Hee brought them to Mesagua two and thirtie miles off, and then was sent away apparelled and joyfull. The Iland Masagua hath beene frequent, but then had but twentie Inhabitants, which would not see the Spaniards. They went to another Iland where the people were fled with their goods. Then went they to Butuan which is subject to the Ile Vindena or the Ilands Corrientes. The winde drave them to Bohol, where they anchored. The next day they saw a Junke and sent a Boat to it, which wounded some of their men. They had Arrowes and Lances and a Base, and two brasse Peeces. They cryed to the Spaniards abordo, abordo. The Spaniards sent out another Boat better fitted, which tooke eight, the rest were slaine or fled, having fought valiantly. In the Junke they found white sheets painted, Silke, Almayzarez, Callicos, Iron, Tin, Brasse, and some Gold. The Junke was of Borneo, and so were these Moores. All was restored (their intent being to get friends, and the Burneois satisfied.

Tandaya.

Masagua.

Bohol.

The Captaine sent the Saint John to discover the Coast of Butuan, and learne where the Cinamon was gathered, and to find some good Port in fit place to build. The Burneois told the Captaine the cause of the Indians flight, that about two yeeres before some Portugals bearing themselves for Spaniards, had comne thither from the

Wicked policy, an Indian pestilence which since hath infected others.

Molucas, and having made peace with them, set on them and slue above a thousand Indians, the cause of that depopulation. This the Portugals did to make the Spaniards odious, that if they came thither, they might not be admitted. The Captaine sent a well furnished ship to search the Coast, which came to a place where the Borneo Governour said he had friends, and leaping on shoare hee was slaine of the Indians. The Saint John returned from Buthuan, which said, they had seene the King, and two Junkes of Moores in the River at anker, and that the Iland was great and rich, and exchanged with them fine Gold for Testons, one for six in equall weight. *Moores cosenage.* They bought Wax of the Moores but had Earth inclosed in the Cakes; they also incensed the Indians against the Castilians, which would have made purchase of them, but were forbidden by the King. They said, they had there seene Wax, Cinamon, Gold, and other precious things.

On Easter Even the other ship returned to their great joy, which had thought her lost, having staid twentie dayes longer then her limited time. They had sailed about the *Igla.* Iland Igla the space of six hundred miles: and in their *Subo.* returne came to Subo a well peopled Iland, and plentifull of all things. The Captaine determined to goe thither to buy provision, or else to force them. For Magelane had beene there; and the King, and most of the Inhabitants were baptised, and acknowledged the Catholike King; *See tom. 1. l. 2. c. 2.* Magelane also dying in their defence, and thirtie other Souldiers in Matan. They also had broken league and slaine some of Magelane Souldiers. On Friday April twentie seven, the Fleet arrived at the Port of Subo, and one came from King Tupas to them, saying, that Hee with ten chiefe men would come to them. The Captaine expected them a whole day and the next, in which space the Ilanders hid their goods in the Woods. The third day the Captaine sent his brother Andrew and the Camp-master, to admonish the King in the Malayan tongue, to receive them, as Vassals of the Spanish King. Which not succeeding, hee resolved to use force. The Indians out

of other Ilands had assembled together to the number of two thousand, which provoked our men, but at the report of the Ordnance ran away, and the Spaniards wan the Towne. Many signes of Gold and Gemmes appeared in the Iland. And being situate so neere to the richest Regions, the Governour hopeth accesse thereby to the increase and glorie of the Spanish Crowne, if Spanish Colonies be there planted. The Captaine from the Citie of Subo sent the Admirall ship with his brother Andrew de Urdanera, to certifie the L. Lewys de Velasco, the sonne of the Vice-roy, what had beene done. [III. ii. 286.]

This which followeth is taken out of Fray Juan Gonzales de Mendosa his Spanish Relation of China, & is here much abbreviated.

Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, Generall of the Fleet, and Governour of the Countrey which they should discover, dyed in the said Ilands with the Title of Adelantado, having first peopled some of them to the use of His Majestie, especially that of Manilla, which is five hundred leagues in circuit; in which is seated the Citie of Luson (called also Manilla) as the Metropolitan of all the Iland, where the Gouvernours have settled their residence ever since the first discoverie. They have there founded a Cathedrall Church, and Friar Dom. Domingo de Salachar was consecrated the first Bishop thereof in Madrid, 1579. At this present there be three Monasteries of Religious men in that Iland, the one of the Order of Saint Austine, and were the first that by the Commandement of his Majestie did enter into this Ilands, preaching the Law of the Gospell, which was great profit unto their soules, yet great travell unto them, & cost many of them their lives in doing it: the other Monasterie is of barefoot Friers of the Order of S. Francis of the Province of S. Joseph, who have bin great Examples, with great profit unto them of those Parts. The third are of the Order of S. Dominicke, or Preachers, who have done their dutie in all things so well as the other. These three Orders were alone in those Ilands for certayne yeares, till now of late time have gone thither Jesuits, which have bin a great ayde and helpe unto their Religion.

Manilla.

When these Spaniards were come unto these Ilands,

they had straight-wayes notice of the mightie Kingdome of China, as well by the relation of them of the Ilands (who told unto them the marvels thereof) as also within a few dayes after, they did see and understand, by ships that came into those Ports with Merchants, that brought Merchandize and other things of great curiositie from that Kingdome, and did particularly declare the mightinesse and riches thereof. This being knowne unto the Religious people of Saint Austin, who at that time were alone in those Ilands: but in especiall unto the Provinciall, Frier Martin de Herrada, seeing the great capacitie or towardnesse which the Chinois had more then those of the Ilands in all things, but in especiall in their gallantnesse, discretion and wit: hee straight-wayes had a great desire to goe thither with his fellow to preach the Gospell unto those people, of so good a capacitie to receive the same: who with a pretended purpose to put it in ure and effect, he began with great care and studie to learne that Language, the which he learned in few dayes: and did make thereof a Dictionarie. Then afterwards they did give great entertaynment and Presents unto the Merchants that came from China for to procure them to carrie them thither, and many other things, the which did shew their holy zeale: yea, they did offer themselves to bee slaves unto the Merchants, thinking by that meanes to enter in to preach: but yet none of these diligences did take effect, till such time as the Divine Majestie did discover a better way, as shall bee declared unto you in this Chapter following.

§. III.

Of Limahon a China Robber and Rover, by whose occasion the Spaniards sent into China.

THe Spaniards did enjoy their neere habitation of Manilla in great quietnesse & in obedience unto the Christian King Don Philip, and in continuall Traffick with the Chinois. But being in this securitie and

quietnesse, unlooked for, they were beset with a mightie and great Armada or Fleet of ships, by the Rover Limahon, of whose vocation they are continually on the Coast, the one by reason that the Countrey is full of people, whereas of necessitie must be many idle persons: and the other and principall occasion, by reason of the great tyrannie that the Governours doe use unto the Subjects. This Limahon came upon them with intent to doe them harme as you shall understand. This Rover was borne in the Citie of Trucheo, in the Province of Cuytan, which the Portugals doe call Catim. He was of meane Parentage, and brought up in his youth in libertie and vice, he was by nature Warlike and evill inclined. He would learne no Occupation, but was given to rob in the high-wayes, and became so expert that many came unto him and followed that Trade. Hee made himselfe Captaine over them which were more than two thousand, and were so strong that they were feared in all that Province where as they were. This being knowne unto the King and to his Councell, they did straight way command the Vice-roy of the Province whereas the Rover was, that with all the haste possible he should gather together all the Garrisons of his Frontiers, to apprehend and take him, and if it were possible to carry him alive unto the Citie of Taybin, if not his head. The Vice-roy incontinent did gather together people necessary, and in great haste to follow him.

Limahon a China Rover.

Where Limahon was borne.

[III. ii. 287.]

The which being knowne unto Limahon the Rover, who saw, that with the people hee had, he was not able to make resistance against so great a number as they were, and the eminent danger that was therein, hee called together his Companies, and went from thence unto a Port of the Sea, that was a few leagues from that place: and did it so quickly and in such secret, that before the people that dwelt therein, could make any defence (for that they were not accustomed to any such assaults, but lived in great quietnesse) they were Lords of the Port, and of all such ships as were there: into the which they

imbarked themselves straight-wayes, weighed Anchor and departed to the Sea, whereas they thought to be in more securitie then on the Land (as it was true). Then he seeing himselfe Lord of all those Seas, beganne to rob and spoyle all ships that hee could take, as well strangers as of the naturall people: by which meanes in a small time he was provided of Mariners, and other things which before hee lacked, requisite for that new Occupation. He sacked, robbed and spoyled all the Townes that were upon the Coast, and did very much harme. So hee finding himselfe very strong with fortie ships well armed, of those he had out of the Port, and other that hee had taken at the Sea, with much people such as were without shame, their hands imbrued with Robberies and killing of men, he imagined with himselfe to attempt greater matters, and did put it in execution: he assaulted great Townes, and did a thousand cruelties. So he following this trade and exercise, he chanced to meete with another Rover as himselfe, called Vintoquian, likewise naturally borne in China, who was in a Port void of any care or mistrust, whereas Limahon finding opportunitie, with greater courage did fight with the ships of the other: that although they were threescore ships great and small, and good Souldiers therein, he did overcome them, and tooke five and fiftie of their ships, so that Vintoquian escaped with five ships. Then Limahon seeing himselfe with a fleet of ninetie five ships well armed, and with many stout people in them, knowing that if they were taken, they should be all executed to death; setting all feare apart, gave themselves to attempt new inventions of evill, not onely in robbing of great Cities, but also in destroying of them.

Vintoquian a Rover robed by this Rover.

For the which, commandement was given straight-wayes unto the Vice-roy of that Province (whereas he used to execute his evill) that with great expedition he might be taken, who in few dayes did set forth to Sea, one hundred and thirtie great ships well appointed, with forty thousand men in them, and one made Generall over them

One hundred and thirtie great ships of Warre with forty thousand men.

all, a Gentleman called Omoncon, for to goe seeke and follow this Rover with expresse commandement to apprehend or kill him. Of all this provision, Limahon had advertisemant by some secret friends, who seeing that his Enemies were many, and he not able to countervaile them, neither in shippes nor men, determined not to abide their comming, but to retyre and depart from that Coast: so in flying he came unto an Iland in secret, called Tonznacaotican, which was fortie leagues from the firme Land, and is in the right way of Navigation to the Ilands Philippinas. *Omoncon.*

From this Iland they did goe forth with some of their ships robbing and spoyling all such as they met with Merchandize, and other things that they carried from one Iland to another, and from the Iland unto the firme, and comming from thence amongst them all, they caused to take two ships of China which came from Manilla, and were bound to their owne Countrey. And having them in their power, they searched them under hatches, and found that they had rich things of Gold, and Spanish Rials, which they had in trucke of their Merchandize, the which they carried to the Ilands. They informed themselves in all points of the State, and fertilitie of that Countrey, but in particular of the Spaniards, and how many there were of them in the Citie of Manilla, who were not at that present above seventie persons, for that the rest were separated in the discovering and populing of other Ilands newly found, and understanding that these few did live without any suspition of Enemies, and had never a Fort nor Bulwarke, and the Ordnance which they had (although it was very good) yet was it not in order to defend them nor offend their Enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleete and people, for to destroy and kill them, and to make himselfe Lord of the said Iland of Manilla, and other adjacent there nigh the same. So with this determination hee departed from those Ilands whereas hee was retyred, and went to Sea, and sayling towards the Ilands Philippinas,

Illocos. they passed in sight of the Ilands of the Illocos, which had a Towne called Fernandina, which was new founded by the Captayne John de Salzedo, who at that instant was in the same for Lieutenant to the Governour: Foure leagues from the same they met with a small Galley, which the said John de Salzedo had sent for victuals. He cast about towards her, and with great ease did take her, and did burne and kill all that was in her, and pardoned one of them. This being done, hee did prosecute his Voyage according unto his determination, and passed alongst, but not in such secret but that he *Fernandina.* was discovered by the Dwellers of the Towne of Fernandina, who gave notice thereof unto the Lieutenant of the Governour aforesaid, as a wonder to see so many ships together, and a thing never seene before at those Ilands. Likewise it caused admiration unto him, and made him to thinke and to imagine with great care what it might be, he saw that they did beare with the Citie of Manilla, and thought with himselfe, that so great a [III. ii. 288.] fleet as that was, could not goe to the place which they bare in with, for any goodnesse towards the dwellers therein, who were voide of all care, and a small number of people, as aforesaid: Wherewith he determined with himselfe with so great speed as it was possible, to joyne together such Spaniards as were there, which were to the number of fiftie foure, and to depart and procure to get the fore-hand of them, to advertise them of Manilla, and to aide and helpe them to put their Artillerie in order, and all other things necessarie for their defence.

This Limahon was well provided of provision, and all other things necessarie, and having the wind faire, hee was alwaies in the fore-front, and came in the sight of 1574. Manilla upon Saint Andrewes Eve, in the yeere 1574. whereas hee came to an anchor that night with all his whole estate.

For all the contradiction of the winde this same night the foure hundred Chinois did put themselves within a league of the Citie, upon Saint Andrewes day at eight

of the clocke in the morning, whereas they left their Boats and went on land, and in great haste began to march forwards in battel aray divided in two parts, with two hundred Harquebusses afore, and immediatly after them other two hundred Pike-men : and by reason that they were many, and the Countrey very plaine, they were straightwaies discovered by some of the Citie, who entred in with a great noise, crying, Arme, arme, arme, the Enemies come. The which advice did little profit, for that there was none that would beleeve them : but beleeved that it was some false alarme done by the people of the Countrey for to mocke them. But in conclusion, the Enemies were come unto the house of the Generall of the Field, who was called Martin de Goyti, which was the first house in all the Citie that way which the Enemies came. And before that the Spaniards and Souldiers that were within the Towne could be fully perswaded the rumour to be true, the Enemies had set fire upon his house, and slue him and all that were within.

Martin de Goyti slaine.

At this time, by the order of his Majestie was elected for Governour of these Ilands Philippinas, Guido de Labacates, after the death of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who understanding the great fleet and power of Lymahon the Rover, and the small resistance and defence that was in the Citie of Manilla, with as much speed as was possible he did call together all their Captaines and dwellers therein : and with a generall consent they spared no person of what qualitie and degree soever he was, but that his hand was to helpe all that was possible, the which endured two dayes and two nights, for so long the Rover kept his ships and came not abroad. In which time of their continuall labour, they made a Fort with Pipes and Boards filled with sand and other necessaries thereto belonging, such as the time would permit them : they put in carriages, foure excellent Peeces of Artillerie that were in the Citie. All the which being put in order, they gathered all the people of the Citie into that little Fort. The night before the Enemie did give assault unto

Guido de Labacates Governour.

A fort erected.

the Citie, came thither the Captaine John de Salzedo, Lieutenant unto the Governour. The Rover in the morning following, before the breake of the day (which was the second after he gave the first assault) was with all his fleet right against the Port, and did put aland sixe hundred Souldiers, who at that instant did set upon the *Citie burnt.* Citie, the which at their pleasure they did sacke and burne. They did assault the Fort with great cruelty, as men fleshed with the last slaughter, thinking that their resistance was but small. But it fell not out as they did beleeve, for having continued in the fight almost all the day, with the losse of two hundred men, that were slaine in the assault, and many other hurt, he straightwaies departed from thence, and returned the same way that he came, till they arrived in a mightie River, fortie *Pangasinan.* leagues from the Citie of Manilla, that is called Pangasinan, the which place or soyle did like him very well, and where he thought he might be sure from them, who by the commandement of the King went for to seeke him. There hee determined to remayne, and to make himselfe Lord over all that Countrey, the which he did with little travell, and built himselfe a Fort one league within the River, whereas he remayned certaine dayes, receiving tribute of the Inhabitants thereabouts, as though he were their true and naturall Lord: and at times went forth with his ships robbing and spoyling all that he met upon the coast. And spred abroad, that he had taken to himselfe the Ilands Philippinas, and how that all the Spaniards that were in them, were either slayne or fled away. With this consideration they entred into counsell, and did determine to joyne together all the people they could, and being in good order, to follow and seeke the Rover. Then the Governours commanded to be called together all the people bordering thereabouts, and to come unto the Citie whereas hee was. Likewise at that time hee did give advice unto such as were Lords and *Pintados.* Governours of the Ilands, called Pintados, commanding them to come thither, with such ships as they could spare,

as well Spaniards as the naturall people of the Countrey. The Generall* of the field with the people aforesaid, did depart from Manilla the three and twentieth day of March, Anno 1575. and arrived at the mouth of the River Pagansinan upon tenable Wednesday in the morning next following, without being discovered of any. Then straightwaies at that instant the Generall did put a-land all his people and foure Peeces of Artillerie, leaving the mouth of the River shut up with his shipping, in chayning the one to the other, in such sort, that none could enter in neither yet goe forth to give any advice unto the Rover of his arrivall: he commanded some to goe and discover the fleet of the Enemie, and the place whereas he was fortified, and charged them very much to doe it in such secret sort, that they were not espied: for therein consisted all their whole worke. Hee commanded the Captaine Gabriel de Ribera, that straightwaies he should depart by Land, and that upon a sudden he should strike alarme upon the Enemie, with the greatest tumult that was possible. Likewise he commanded the Captaines Pedro de Caves and Lorenso Chacon, that either of them with forty Souldiers should goe up the River in small ships and light, and to measure the time in such sort, that as well those that went by land, as those that went by water, should at one instant come upon the Fort, and to give alarme both together, the better to goe thorow with their pretence: and he himselfe did remayne with all the rest of the people, to watch occasion and time for to aide and succour them if need be required. This their purpose came so well to passe, that both the one and the other came to good effect: for those that went by water, did set fire on all the fleet of the Enemie: and those that went by land at that instant had taken and set fire on a Trench made of timber, that Limahon had caused to bee made for the defence of his people and the Fort: and with that furie they slue more then one hundred Chinos, and tooke prisoners seventy women which they found in the same Trench, but when that Limahon understood the

*John de Salzedo who succeeded Goyti, and was Nephew to Michael Legaspi.

[III. ii. 289.]

rumour, hee tooke himselfe straightwaies to his Fort which hee had made for to defend himselfe from the Kings Navie, if they should happen to finde him out.

The next day following, the Generall of the field did bring his Souldiers into a square battell, and beganne to march towards the Fort, with courage to assault it if occasion did serve thereunto: hee did pitch his Campe within two hundred paces of the Fort, and found that the Enemie did all that night fortifie himselfe very well, and in such sort, that it was perillous to assault him, for that he had placed upon his Fort three Peeces of Artillerie, and many Bases, besides other Engines of fire-worke. Seeing this, and that his Peeces of Artillerie that hee brought were very small for to batter, and little store of munition, for that they had spent all at the assault which the Rover did give them at Manilla, the Generall of the field, and the Captaines concluded amongst themselves, that seeing the Enemie had no ships to escape by water, neither had he any great store of victuals for that all was burnt in the ships, it was the best and most surest way to besiege the Fort, and to remayne there in quiet untill that hunger did constraine them either to yeeld or come to some conclusion: which rather they will then to perish with hunger.

Limahon after three moneths siege escapeth.

This determination was liked well of them all, although it fell out cleane contrarie unto their expectation; for that in the space of three moneths that siege endured, this Limahon did so much that within the Fort he made certaine small Barkes, and trimmed them in the best manner he could, wherewith in one night he and all his people escaped.

It happened upon a day, that there came to the Campe a ship of Miguell de Loarcha, wherein was Friar Martin de Herrada Provinciall of the Augustine Friars. Seven leagues after they were out of the mouth of Pagasinan, they met with a ship of Sangleyes, who made for the Port, and thinking them to bee Enemies, they bare with them (having another ship that followed them for their defence)

and had no more in them but the said Provinciall and five Spaniards, besides the Mariners. This ship of Sangley seeing that hee did beare with them, would have fled, but the winde would not permit him, for that it was to him contrary, which was the occasion that the two ships wherein the Spaniards were, for that they did both sayle and rowe, in a small time came within Cannon shot. In one of the ships there was a Chino, called Sinsay. This Sinsay went straightwaies into the fore-ships, and demanded what they were, and from whence they came: and being well enformed, hee understood that hee was one of the ships of warre that was sent out by the King of China, to seeke the Rover Limahon, who leaving the rest of the fleet behind, came forth to seeke in those Ilands to see if hee could discover him to bee in any of them: and the better to bee enformed thereof, they were bound into the Port of Buliano, from whence they came with their two ships: from whom they would have fled, thinking they had beene some of the Rovers ships. Being fully perswaded the one of the other, they joyned together with great peace and friendship: the Spaniards straightwaies entred into their Boat, and went unto the ship of the Chinos, and carried with them the aforesaid Sinsay, for to be their Interpreter, and to speake unto the Chinos. In the said ship came a man of great authoritie, who was called Omoncon, who brought a Commission from their King, and shewed it unto the Spaniards, and unto the Father Provinciall: in the which the King and his Counsell did pardon all those Souldiers that were with Limahon, if that forthwith they would leave him and returne unto the Kings part: and likewise did promise great gifts and favour unto him that did either take or kill the aforesaid Rover. Then did Sinsay declare unto him of the comming of the Rover unto the Ilands, and all that happened in the siege of the Citie, as aforesaid; and how they had him besieged in the River of Pagansinan, from whence it was not possible for him to escape.

The Captaine Omoncon rejoyced very much of these

newes, and made many signes of great content, and did embrace the Spaniards many times, and gave other tokens whereby hee did manifest the great pleasure hee received, [III. ii. 290.] and would therewith straightwaies depart unto the rest of the fleet. And for that they looked every day for the death or imprisonment of the Rover, the better to enforme himselfe: hee determined (for that it was so nigh hand) to goe and see the Generall of the field in Pagansinan, and carrie with him Sinsay, one that was known both of the one and the other: by whose meanes they might treate of such things that best accomplished the confirmation of the peace and friendship betwixt the Chinois and the Spaniards, as also of the death or imprisonment of Limahon. With this resolution, the one departed unto Pagansinan, whereas they arrived the same day, and the others unto Manilla, whither they went for victuals.

Omoncon remayned there certaine dayes, after the which he seeing that the siege did long endure, and that his staying might cause suspicion of his death: and againe, that the whole fleet did tarrie his comming to his intelligence of the Rover, being fully perswaded and certaine, that he could not escape the Spaniards hand: they had him in such a straight, and that they would without all doubt, send him unto the King alive or dead (as they promised him) hee was determined to returne unto China, with the good newes that hee had understood, with a determinate intent, to returne againe and carrie the Rover, after that they had him prisoner. With this resolution in the end of certaine dayes hee went unto the Governour, certifying him of his pretence, whereby hee might give him licence to put it in execution. The Governour did like well of his pretence, and did promise him the same, the which the Generall of the field did offer unto him: and which was, so soone as the Rover should be taken prisoner, or slayne, to send him unto the King without any delay, or else, to put him whereas he should be forth-comming, and to give them advertisement to send for him, or come himselfe: and did offer him more,

that for his voyage he should bee provided forthwith of all things necessarie, without lacking of any thing. Omoncon did give him great thankes for the same, and in recompence thereof did promise unto the Governour, for that he understood, and had intelligence of the Fathers, of Saint Augustine, that his Honour, and his Antecessor, and the Adelantado, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, had desired many times to send unto the Kingdome of China some Religious men, to treate of the preaching of the Gospell, and to see the wonders of that Kingdome, and how that they never could put this their desire in execution, for that those Chinois which came thither, although they did offer them whatsoever they would demand, fearing the punishment that should be executed on them according unto the Lawes of the Kingdome: hee did promise him, that he would carrie them with him unto China, such Religious men as his Honour would command, and some Souldiers, such as would goe with them: hoping with the good newes that hee carried, to runne in no danger of the Law, neither the Vice-roy of Aucheo to thinke evill thereof, and for a more securitie that they should not bee evill entreated, hee would leave with him pledges to their content.

Omoncon promiseth to carrie the Friers unto China.

The Governour being very joyfull of these newes, did therewith send for the Provinciall of the Augustine Friers, who was elected but few dayes past: his name was Frier Alonso de Alvarado, unto whom hee declared the offer that the Captaine Omoncon had made unto him, whereat he rejoyced. They determined that there should goe but two Religious men, by reason that at that time there was but a few of them, and two Souldiers in their companie. The Religious men should be, Frier Martin de Herrada of Pamplona, who left off the dignitie of Provinciall: and in companie with him should goe, Frier Hieronimo Martin, who also was very well learned, and of the Citie of Mexico: the Souldiers that were appointed to beare them companie were called, Pedro Sarmiento, chiefe Sergeant of the Citie of Manilla of Vilorado, and

A good pretence.

The Friers names that went to China.

Miguel de Loarcha, both principall men, and good Christians, as was convenient for that which they tooke in hand. These Fathers did carrie them for this purpose, that if they did remaine there with the King, preaching of the Gospell, then they should returne with the newes thereof, to give the Governour to understand of all that they had seene, and happened unto them : and likewise unto the King of Spayne, if need did so require. And

A token that fine cloth is esteemed.

the Governour in token of gratitude, did give unto the Captaine Omoncon in the presence of them all, a gallant Chaine of Gold, and a rich Robe of crimson in graine : a thing that hee esteemed very much, and much more esteemed in China, for that it is a thing that they have not there. Besides this, they did ordayne a reasonable Present for to send unto the Governour of Chincheo, hee that dispatched Omoncon by the commandement of the King, to goe and seeke the Rover : also another Present for the Vice-roy of the Province of Ochian, who was at that present in the Citie of Aucheo. And for that Sinsay should not finde himselfe agreeved (who was a Merchant well knowne amongst them, and perhaps might bee the occasion of some evill and disturbance of their pretence) they gave unto him also another Chaine of Gold, as well for this, as also for that hee was ever a sure and perfect friend unto the Spaniards. Then straightwaies by the commandement of the Governour there were brought together all such Chinois as were captive and taken from Limahon out of the Fort aforesaid, at Pagansinan, and gave them unto Omoncon, to carrie them free with him : and gave likewise commandement that the Generall of the field, and all such Captaines and Souldiers that were at the siege of the Fort, should give unto him all such as did there remaine : binding himselfe to pay unto the [III. ii. 291.] Souldiers, to whom they did appertaine, all whatsoever they should bee valued to bee worth.

Spanish bounty.

They departed towards China.

Upon a sunday at the break of day, being the five and twentieth of June, after they had prayed unto God to direct their voyage, they set sayle with a prosperous

wind: there were with the Friars, Souldiers and men of service, twentie persons, besides the Chinos, that were captives, and the people of the Captaine Omoncon. They were not so soone off from the coast, but the wind abated, and they remayned becalmed certaine dayes: but afterwards they had a lustie gale, that carried them forwards. The Chinos doe governe their ships by a compasse divided into twelve parts, and doe use no Sea Cards, but a briefe description or Ruter, wherewith they sayle: and commonly for the most part they never goe out of the sight of Land. They marvelled very much when that it was told them, that comming from Mexico unto Philippinas, they were three moneths at the Sea and never saw Land. Upon the Sunday following, we had sight of the Land of China: so that wee found all our Voyage from the Port of Buliano, from whence wee had last departed, unto the firme Land to bee one hundred and fortie leagues; and twentie leagues before they came in the sight thereof, they had sounding at threescore and ten and fourescore fathom, and so waxed lesse and lesse untill they came to the Land: which is the best and surest token they have to bee nigh the Land. In all the time of their Voyage the Captaine Omoncon with his Companie shewed such great courtesie and friendship to our men, as though they had beene the owners of the said ship: and at such time as they did embarke themselves, hee gave his owne Cabine that was in the sterne to the Friers, and unto Pedro Sarmiento, and to Miguel de Loarcha, hee gave another Cabine that was very good, and commanded his companie in the ship that they should respect them more then himselfe: the which was in such sort, that on a day at the beginning of their Voyage, the Fathers found them making of Sacrifice unto their Idols, and told them, that all which they did was a kinde of mockage, and that they should worship but onely one God: and willed them to doe so no more. Who onely in respect of them did leave it off, and not use it after in all the Voyage: whereas before they did use it every day many times.

China Compasses divided into 12. parts.

Chinois meane Mariners.

Sounding.

They leave the worshipping of one Idoll to worship another.

Besides this, they would worship the Images that the Friers did carrie with them, and kneele upon their knees with great shew of devotion: who now having sight of the firme Land, in so short time, and passed that small Gulfe so quietly, which was wont to bee very perillous and full of stormes: they did attribute it unto the Prayers of the Friers, their companions and Souldiers. As they drew neerer the Land, they might discover from the Sea, a very gallant and well towred Citie, that was called Titubul, whereas the King hath continually in Garrison ten thousand Souldiers, and is under the governement of the Province of Chincheo. The next day wee came unto a Watch-towre, which was situated upon a Rocke at the entrie into a Bay, who had discovered our ship, and knew the Standard or Flagge to bee the Kings: and made a signe unto seven ships which were on the other side of the Point, which was part of a companie ordayned for to keepe and defend the coast, which were more then foure hundred. Straightwayes the Captaine of the seven ships came forth to know what wee were. Hee issued forth from behind the Point, with three ships that did rowe with Oares very swift: and when he came nigh unto them, he shot at them to make them to amaine: the which Omoncon would not doe, for that he supposed (as afterwards hee did confesse) that he should be some man of little estimation, and not the Generall of the coast. But as he drew nigher unto him, he did know him by the Flagge hee bare on the sterne, in the Foist wherein he was himselfe with his Souldiers, and straightwaies caused to amaine his sayles, and tarried for him. The Generall did the like, and stayed behind, sending a Boat for to bring the Captaine unto him, and to declare what hee was, and from whence hee came. Omoncon did forthwith embarke himselfe into his Boat without any resistance, but rather with feare that he should be punished for that hee did flee from him. The Generall gave him good entertainment.

Titubul in the Province of Chinchea.

This Generall was a goodly man of person, and was

very well apparelled, and did sit in a Chaire in the sterne of his ship, the which was all covered to keepe away the Sunne: he commanded the Captaine Omoncon to sit downe by him upon the hatches, without Chaire or any other thing, who did obey him, although first he did refuse it with great modestie, as not worthie to have that honour, which was not esteemed a little. After that he was set, hee gave him to understand in effect of all his voyage and successe, and in what extremitie hee left Limahon, and also how that he carried with him the Friars and other Spaniards, which went to carrie the newes, and to treat of peace with the Vice-roy of Aucheo: unto whom, and unto the Governour of Chincheo, he carried presents, sent from the Governour and Generall of the field of the Ilands Philippinas. When the Generall had heard this relation, he commanded the Boat to returne and to bring them before him, that he might see what manner of men they were of person, and the use of the apparell: and likewise to satisfie himselfe of other desires that came into his mind by that which Omoncon had said of them. The Fathers and their companions did obey the commandement, and did embarke themselves in the Boat, and came unto the ship whereas the Generall received them with great courtesie after his fashion.

§. IIII.

[III. ii. 292.]

Friar Martin De Herrada, and other Spaniards entertaynment in China, and their returne to the Philippinas.

WIthin a little while after, Omoncon and his companie arrived at the Port of Tanfuso hard by, upon Wednesday in the evening, being the fift day of July. This Tanfuso is a gallant and fresh Towne of foure thousand Housholders, and hath continually a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, and compassed about with a great and strong wall, and the gates fortified with

Tanfuso, or Tansuso.

plates of Iron, the foundations of all the houses are of Lime and Stone, and the walls of Lime and Earth, and some of Bricke: their houses within very fairely wrought, with great Courts, their streets faire and broad all paved. Before that Omoncon did come unto an anchor, they saw all the Souldiers and the people of the Towne were gathered together upon the Rockes that were joyning unto the Port, all armed ready unto the battell, amongst whom there was a principall Captaine, and three more of his companions, that were sent him by the Governour of Chincheo, whom they doe call in their language, Insuanto, who had understanding of the comming of Omoncon. When the ship entred into the Port, Omoncon did salute the Towne with certaine Peeces of Artillerie, and discharged all his Harquebusses sixe times about, and therewithall tooke in her sayle, and let anchor fall. Then straightwaies the Captaine whom the Insuanto had sent, came aboord the ship, who had expresse commission, not to leave the companie of our people after that they were disembarked, till such time as they came whereas he was, but to beare them companie, and to provide them of all things necessarie: the which he did accomplish.

Ensignes to know the Loytias.

All these Captaines and Ministers of the King doe weare certaine ensignes for to be knowne from the common people, to wit, broad Wastes or Girdles embossed after divers manners: some of Gold and Silver, some of the Tortois shell, and of a sweet wood, and other some of Ivorie, the higher estates hath them embroidered with Pearles and precious stones, and their Bonnets with two long eares, and their Buskins made of Sattin, and unshorne Velvet.

Board-licence.

Then after, so soone as they were come to an anchor in the Port, the Justice did send them a Licence in writing for to come forth of the ship, as a thing necessarie, for that without it the Waiters or Guards of the water side, will not suffer them to put foot on land. This Licence was written upon a boord whited, and firmed by the Justice, whose charge it is to give the Licence. Then

when they came ashoare, there were the Souldiers that were appointed by the Insuanto in a readinesse to beare them companie, and did direct and leade them unto the Kings houses of the said Citie: the like hath every Citie almost throughout all the Kingdome, and there they bid lodge them. These houses are very great and very well wrought, and gallant, with faire Courts below, and Galleries above: they had in them Stanges or Ponds of water full of fish of sundry sorts. *The first landing of the Friars.*

The people of the Citie did presse very much to see these strangers, so that with the presse, as also with the great heate, they were marvellously afflicted: which being perceived by the Justice, he gave order that they might bee eased of that trouble, and caused Sergeants to keepe the doore, and their Yeomen to make resistance against the people. When night was come, the Justice of the Citie did make a Banquet according to the fashion of the Countrey: and it was in the fashion following. They were carried into a Hall that was very curiously wrought, wherein were many Torches and waxe Candles light, and in the midst thereof was set for every one of the Guests a Table by himselfe, as is the use and fashion of that Countrey; every Table had his covering of Damaske or Sattin very well made, the Tables were gallantly painted, without any Table-clothes, neither doe they use any, for they have no need of them, for that they doe eate all their victuals with two little stickes made of Gold and Silver, and of a marvellous odoriferous wood, and of the length of little Forkes, as they doe use in Italie, with the which they do feed themselves so cleanly, that although their victuals be never so small, yet doe they let nothing fall, neither foule their hands nor faces. They were set downe at these Tables in very good order, and in gallant Chaires, in such sort, that although they were every one at his Table by himselfe, yet they might see and talke one with another, they were served with divers sorts of cates, and very well dressed, both of flesh and fish, as gamons of Bacon, Capons, Geese, whole Hens, *The use of their banquets.*

and pieces of Beefe, and at the last, many little baskets full of sweet meats made of Sugar, and Marchpanes all wrought very curiously. They gave them Wine of an indifferent colour and taste, made of the Palm-tree. All the time that the supper lasted, there was in the Hall great store of Musicke of divers Instruments, whereon they played with great consort, some one time and some another. The Instruments which they commonly doe use, are Hoybuckes, Cornets, Trumpets, Lutes, such as be used in Spaine, although in the fashion there is some difference. There was at this Banquet (which endured a great while) the Captaine that was ordayned for their Guard, and the Captaine Omoncon, and Sinsay. When Supper was done, they were carryed into very faire Chambers, whereas were faire Beds, where they slept and eased themselves.

Wine of a Palme tree.

[III. ii. 293.]

The next day in the morning, was brought unto them their ordinarie victuals, and that in abundance, as well of Flesh as of Fish, Fruits and Wine, to be dressed unto their owne content, and according unto their manner: they would take nothing for the same, for so they were commanded by the Insuantes. This was brought unto them every day, so long as they were there, & in the way when as they went unto Chincheo. The same day arrived a Captayne of fortie Ships in the same Port, and so soone as hee was ashoare, he went straight-wayes unto the Palace for to see the strangers: who being advertised of his comming, came foorth and received him at the Palace gate, whereas was used betwixt them great courtesie. The Captayne came with great Majestie, with his guard of Souldiers and Mace-bearers before him, with great musicke of Hoy-buckes, Trumpets and Drums, and two Whiffelers, or Typ-staves, that made roome, putting the people aside: also there came with him two executors of Justice, having each of them in their hands a Set made of canes, which is an instrument wherewith they doth whip and punish offenders. When this Captayne came unto the Palace gate, whereas the father Friars and their companions did

Captaine of fortie Ships.

Sergeants.

receive him, he was brought on the shoulders of eight men very richly apparelled, in a chayre wrought of Ivorie and Gold, who stayed not till they came into the inner Chamber, whereas he did alight from the chayre, and went straight under a Cloath of estate, that was there ordinarily for the same purpose, and a Table before him: there hee sate downe, and straight-wayes arose up, and standing he did receive the strange ghests, who did courtesie unto him according unto their fashion, which is to joyne their hands together, and to stoope with them and their heads downe to the ground: hee gratified them againe, with bowing his head a little, and that with great gravitie. These speeches being finished, there was brought foorth certaine pieces of blacke Silke of twelve vares long a piece. And his Officers did put on the Friars shoulders each of them two, which was for either shoulder one, and was brought about their bodies and girt therewith: the like was done in order unto the Spanish Souldiers, and unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, and to their Interpreter. But unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, was given unto either of them a branch or Nosegay made of Silver, which was set upon their heads, which is accustomable honour, that is done unto such as have done some great enterprise, or such like. After that this ceremonie was done, they played upon the Instruments aforesayd, which came with the Captayne. In the meane time of their musicke, there was brought foorth great store of Conserves, March-panes, and things made of Sugar, and excellent good Wine: and so being on foote standing, hee caused them to eate, and hee himselfe from the Chayre whereas he sate, did give to them to drinke every one in order, without rising up, which is a ceremonie and token of great favour, and of love.

This being done, hee arose from the chayre under the Cloath of state, and went and sate downe in that which was brought on mens backes, and with declyning of his head a little, hee departed out of the Hall and out of the house, and went unto his owne house, whereas by the

counsell of Omoncon, and Sinsay, within an houre after they should goe and visite him, the which they did: hee received them marvellously well and with great courtesie: who marvelled at his great Majestie and authoritie, for that Omoncon and Sinsay, when they did talke with him were upon their knees, and so did all the rest. Hee gave them againe in his owne house a gallant banquet, of divers sorts of Conserves and Fruits, and excellent Wine of the Palme-tree, and did talke and reason with them in good sort, and was more familiar than at his first visitation.

After that the Fathers with their companions had remained two dayes in the Port of Tansuso, the third day they departed in the morning towards Chincheo. At their going forth of the Town, they were accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both Harquebusses & Pikes, and before them a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums, and Hoy-bucks, till such time as they came unto the Rivers side, whereas was a Brygandine provided and made readie in all points, to carrie them up the River: all the streets alongst whereas they went, there followed them so much people that it was innumerable, and all to see them. All alongst the Rivers whereas they went, was seated with Villages very gallant and fresh, both on the one side and on the other.

At the end of the two leagues, they came unto a great Bay, where was at an Anchor a fleete of more then one hundred and fiftie Ships men of warre, whose Generall was this Captaine, whom wee have spoken of. At such time as the fleete did discover them, they began to salute them, as well with great pieces of Artillerie, as with Harquebusses, and other kinde of pastimes, which commonly they doe use at such times.

Our Spaniards did travell up the River more than three leagues, having continually both on the one side and on the other, very many and faire Townes, and full of people. In the end of the three leagues, they went aland halfe a *Tangoa.* league from the Towne of Tangoa, whereas straight-wayes all such things as they carryed with them, were taken

upon mens backes, and carryed unto the Towne before them, whereas they were tarrying their comming, for to give them great entertaynment. At their going ashoare, they found prepared for the two Religious men, little Chayres to carrie them upon mens backes, and for the Souldiers and the rest of their companions horse. The Fathers did refuse to bee carryed, and would have gone a foot, but Omoncon, and the other Captayne would not [III. ii. 294.] consent thereunto. The Fathers obeyed their reasons, and entred into the Chayres, and were carryed with eight men a piece, and the other their companions with foure men a piece, according unto the order given by the Governour. Those that carryed the Chayres, did it with so good a will, that there was striving who should first lay hands to them. This Towne of Tangoa, hath three thousand Souldiers, and is called in their language Coan: at the entring in, it hath many Gardens and Orchards and a street where through they carryed the Spaniards unto their lodging, they affirmed to bee halfe a league long, and all the street whereas they went, was full of boards and stalles whereon was layd all kinde of Merchandise very curious, and things to bee eaten, as fresh Fish and salt Fish of divers sorts, and great abundance of Fowle, and Flesh of all sorts, Fruits and greene Herbes in such quantitie, that it was sufficient to serve such a Citie as Sivill is. They were brought unto the Kings house, which was very great, marveilously well wrought with stone and bricke, and many Halls, Parlours, and Chambers, but none above, but all below. So soone as they were a foote, there was brought from the Captayne or Justice of the Towne, whom they doe call Ticoan, a message, bidding them welcome, and therewith a present, which was great store of Capons, Hennes, Teales, Duckes, Geese, Flesh of foure or five sorts, fresh Fish, Wine, and fruits of divers sorts, and of so great quantitie, that it was sufficient for two hundreth men. All the which they would have given for a little coole ayre, by reason that it was then very hot weather; and againe, the great number of people that

came thither to see them did augment it the more. In the Evening the two Spanish Souldiers went foorth into the streets to walke abroad, and left the two Friars within their lodging, unto whom afterwards they did give intelligence of all things that they had seene, which did cause great admiration: the wall of the Towne was very broad, and wrought with lyme and stone, full of loope-holes and watch-towers. And as they passed through the streets there came foorth of a house a very honest man, as it seemed, who was very well apparelled and stayed them, for that in the same house, there were certayne Dames principall personages, that did see them a farre off, and not content therewith, they did request them with great courtesie for to enter into the house, that they might the better see them: the which they did straight-wayes accomplish, and entring in, they were brought into a court, whereas was set Chayres for them to sit downe, and the Ladies were there a little from them, beholding them with great honestie and gravitie. Then a little after, they set them a banquet with March-panes and sweet meats made of Sugar, which they did eate without any curiositie, and drunke after the same. The banquet being done, they made signes and tokens unto them, that they received great content with their sight, and that they might depart when that their pleasure was, the which they did, after that they had made great curtesies with thankes, for their friendship received of both parts. So after they had taken their leave, they went to see a House of pleasure, that was hard by the Towne-wall, wrought upon the water, with very faire galleries and open lodges to banquet in, made of Masons worke, and therein many Tables finely painted, and round about it Cisterns of water, wherein was store of Fish, and joyning unto them Tables of very faire Alabaster, all of one stone, and the least of them was of eight spannes long: and round about them were brookes of running water, that gave a pleasant sound in the meane time they were banquetting, and nigh thereunto many Gardens full of all sorts of Flowers. And a little from that place they

China Women.

House of pleasure.

saw a Bridge all of Masons worke, and the stones very well wrought and of a mightie bignesse, they measured some of them, that were twentie and two and twentie foote long, and five foot broad, and seemed unto them, that it was a thing impossible to bee layd there by mans hands. Of this bignesse, yea and bigger they did see layd upon many other Bridges, in the discourse of their voyage, going to Chincheo and Aucheo. The next day in the morning when they were up and readie, they found in the house all things in a readinesse and in very good order, for their departure, as well their little Chayres, and Horse, as for men to carrie their stuffe and apparell, which did not a litle make them to marvell, how that every one of them with a waster upon their shoulders, did divide their burthen in two parts, sixe roves before and sixe roves behinde, and did travell with the same with so great ease and swiftnesse, that the Horse could not indure with them. They went unto the Ticoan his house. They found him with great Majestie, but yet gave them great and good entertaynment. Hee did likewise put upon each of them, two pieces of Silke, in the same order as the Governour of Tansuso did. *Stone-bridge.*

From this Towne of Tangoa unto Chincheo, is thirteene leagues, and so playne way that it giveth great content to travell it: in all the way they could not see one spanne of ground but was tilled and occupied. The like they doe say, is of all the ground that is in the whole Kingdome: it is full of people, and the Townes one so neere to another, that almost you can not judge them to bee many Townes but one, for that there was but a quarter of a league distant, one Towne from another, and it was told unto them that in all the Provinces of the Kingdome, it is peopled in the same order. All their ground they till is watred, which is the occasion of the fruitfulnesse thereof, so that they doe gather fruit all the yeere long, and our Spaniards did see in all places whereas they came, that they were gathering of Rice, some new sprung up, some with eares, and some ripe. They doe plough and till their *Thriftie tillage.* *Plowing with Buffalos.*

[III. ii. 295.] ground with Kine, Bufalos, and Bulls, which are very tame, and although they bee very great, yet be their hornes but of a spanne long and turning backwards to the tayle, in such sort that they cannot doe any hurt or harme with them: they doe governe them with a coard that is made fast to a ring that is in their nose, and in like sort doe they governe the Bufalos. They doe feed them commonly in the fields of Rice, for that they have no other grasings, and all the time that they are feeding, a Boy doth ride on every one of them to disturbe them, that they doe no harme therein. But to eate the weedes and grasse that doe grow in the Rice.

Pasturage.

All the high-wayes are covered with the shadow of very faire Orchards, which doe garnish it very much, and they are planted in very good order: and amongst them there are Shops, whereas is sold all manner of Fruits, to the comfort of all such as doe travell by the way, which is an infinite number, some on foote, some on horse-backe, and others in little chayres. Their waters by the high-wayes, are very good and light. The same day when they had travelled halfe way, they saw a farre off comming marching towards them in very good order, a squadron of Souldiers, which at the first caused them to marvell, and to bee afrayd, till such time as they drew nigher, it was told unto them, that it was the Captayne of the guard unto the Insuanto, or Governour of Chincheo, who came by his order to receive them with foure hundred Souldiers, very well armed with Pikes and Harquebusses, and well apparelled. So soone as the Captayne came unto them, hee was mounted on a bay Horse, but of small stature, as they for the most part bee in all that Province, hee alighted and came unto the Fathers, and his companions (who likewise did alight from their little Chayres) and did salute the one the other with great courtesie.

The Captayne came very well apparelled with a Chayne of gold about his necke, a man of a good audacitie and understanding. Hard unto his stirrop hee had a Page

that went with him, and carryed a great Tira sol, made of Silke, that did shadow him all over. Hee had before him great musicke of Trumpets and Hoybuckes, whereon they played in great concord. This Captayne with his foure hundreth Souldiers, did continually guard them for pompe, not necessitie; for the people may not weare weapons but the Souldiers. In this high-way continually there went and came many packe-Horses, laden with Merchandise and other things, but the most part of them were Mules. The high-wayes are very broad, that twentie men may ride together on a ranke, and one not hinder another, and are all paved with great stones.

A thing to keepe away the Sunne.

High-wayes.

UPon a Saturday being the eleventh of July, came our Spaniards unto the Citie of Chincheo, foure houres before it was night. This Citie is of the common sort in that Kingdome, and may have seventie thousand housholds. It is of great trafficke and well provided of all things, for that the Sea is but two leagues from it: it hath a mightie River running alongst by it downe into the Sea, by which is brought by water and carryed downe all kinde of merchandise. There is a Bridge over the sayd River, which is supposed to bee the fairest that is in all the world: it hath a draw bridge to serve in time of warres, or for any other necessitie: the Bridge is eight hundred paces long, and all wrought with stones of two and twentie foote long, and five foote broad, a thing greatly to bee marvelled at: at the entrie thereof, there were many armed Souldiers readie to fight, who when they came within Harquebusse shot did salute them in very good order. There was nigh unto the sayd bridge in the River riding at anchor, more then a thousand Ships of all sorts, and so great a number of Boates and Barkes, that all the River was covered, and every one full of people that had entred into them for to see the Castillas, for so they did call the Spaniards in that Countrey, for the streets in the Suburbes, nor in the Citie could not hold them, the number was so great, yet

Chincheo hath seventie thousand housholds.

Faire Bridge.

A thousand ships in one River.

their streets are as broad as our ordinary streets in any Citie in all Spaine. This Citie is compassed with a strong Wall made of stone, and is seven fathom high, and foure fathom broad, & upon the Gates many towers, wherein is placed their Artillerie, which is all their strength, for that they doe not use in their Kingdome strong Castles, as they doe in Europe. The houses of the Citie are all built after one sort and fashion, but faire, & not very high, by reason of the Earthquakes which are ordinarily in that Country. All the streets (but especially that wherin they passed at their comming thither) have on the one side and on the other, Sheds, under the which are shops, full of rich Merchandise and of great value, and very curious. They have in equall distance the one from the other, many triumphant Arches which doe set out the streets very much, and is used in every principall street throughout all the Kingdome, in the which they have excellent Market-places, whereas is to bee bought all things that you will desire to be eaten, as well of Fish, as of Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Comfits, Conserves, and all things so good cheape, that it is almost bought for nothing.

They have no use of Castles.

Earthquakes in this Countrey.

Rich Merchandise.

Triumphant Arches.

The Insuanto. The Insuanto or Governour of the Citie, did send that forthwith they should goe unto his House, for that hee had great desire to see them. In the midst of the streete, where was no lesse number of people then in the other, whereby they entred into the Citie, they met with a Loytia, that came to entertaine them with great Majestie, and had carryed before him many Banners, Mace-bearers, and Tipstaves, and others which carryed Sets or Whips, which they did trayle after them, made fast unto long stickes, which were the Executioners, the which doe goe alwayes making of way, parting the people before the [III. ii. 296.] Loytias, as you have heard. The majestie and company wherewith he came was so great, that they verily did beleeve him to be the Insuanto: but being certified, they *An Assistant.* understood that it was one of his Counsellors that came from the Governours home to his owne house, which was

in the same street whereas hee met with them. This Counsellor was carried in a Chaire of Ivorie, garnished with Gold and with Curtaines of Cloth of Gold, and on them the Kings Armes, which are certayne Serpents knotted together (as hath beene told you). But when he came right against the Spaniards, without any staying he made a signe with his head, and commanded that they should returne backe againe unto his house, which was hard by: the Captaines did straight-wayes obey his commandement, and returned with them. The Counsellor entred into his house, which was very faire, hee had in it a faire Court, and therein a gallant Fountaine and a Garden. After him entred the Spaniards all alone, the rest remayned without in the street at the Loytias commandement, hee entertayned them with very good words of semblance, and commanded a Banquet to be brought forth, and Wine to drinke, he began first both to eate and drinke. Then he commanded to call in the Captaine, unto whom was given the charge to beare them companie, and did chide with him very sharpely and severely, because he did carrie them on foot (they could not understand whether it were done for a policie, or of a truth, although the effects wherewith hee did chide seemed of a truth) hee straight-wayes commanded two rich Chaires to bee brought forth to carry the Fathers, and to give unto their companions Horses: the which beeing done, hee willed them to goe and visit the Governour, who did tarrie their comming: and that another time at more leisure he would see and visit them.

Serpents knotted the Kings Armes.

They followed their way all alongst the street, which seemed unto them to bee more fairer then the other wherein they entred, and of more fairer houses and triumphant Arches: and also the shops that were on the one side and on the other, to bee better furnished with richer things then the others, in so ample sort, that what therewith, as also the great number of people which they saw, they were so amazed, that they were as people from themselves, thinking it to bee a Dreame. To con-

Goodly sight.

clude, after they had gone a good while in that street, delighting their eyes with new things never seene of them before: they came into a great place, whereas were many Souldiers in good order with their Harquebusses, Pikes and other Armour in a readinesse, apparelled all in a Livery of Silke, with their Ancients displayed. At the end of this place, was there a very faire and sumptuous *The Palace.* Palace, the gate was wrought of Masons worke of stone, very great and full of figures or Personages, and above it a great window with an Iron grate all gilt: they were carried within the gates, the Soulders and the people which were without number, remayned without and could not be avoyded but with great difficultie. When they were within the first Court, there came forth a man very well apparelled and of authoritie, and made signes with his hand unto them that brought the Spaniards, that they should carrie them into a Hall that was upon the right hand, the which was straight-wayes done. The Hall was very great and faire, and at the end thereof there was an Altar, whereon were many Idols, and all did differ the one from the other in their fashion: the Altar was rich and very curiously trimmed with burning Lampes: the Altar-cloth was of cloth of Gold: and the fruntlet of the same.

After awhile that they had beene there whereas the Idols were, there came a Servant from the Governour and said unto them in his behalfe, that they should send *State-ceremonie.* unto him the Interpreter; they straight-wayes commanded him to goe. And the Governour said unto him that he should advise the Fathers and the rest of his companions, that if they would talke and treate of such businesse as they came for, that it must be done with the same ceremonie and respect, as the Nobles of that Province doe, use to talke with him, which is upon their knees (as afterwards they did see many times used) if not that they should depart unto the House whereas they were lodged, and there to tarrie the order that should be sent from the Vice-roy of Aucheo.

The Spaniards were of divers judgements, striving amongst themselves a good while, but yet in conclusion, the Religious Fathers, whom the Governour of the Ilands had ordayned and sent as principals in this matter, and whose judgement they should follow, said, that they ought to accept the condition, seeing that by no other meanes they could not come unto that they pretended: and not to leave it off for matters of small importance, for that therein they make no offence unto God, and it may be a meane unto the converting of that mightie Kingdome.

When that the Insuanto understood that the Spaniards would enter with the reverence accustomed, and in such order as was declared unto them, hee straight-wayes commanded that they should come into the Hall whereas hee was, they entred into another Hall as bigge as the first: whereas were many Souldiers with their weapons in their hands in very good order, and richly apparelled, and next unto them were many Tipstaves and Sergeants, with different Ensignes or Badges, all apparelled with long Robes of silke, garded and embroydered with Gold, and every one of them had a Helme on his head, some of silver and other some of Tinne gilt over, which was a gallant thing to see: all had long haire and died yellow, which hung downe behind their eares upon their backes: they were placed in very good order, and made a lane that the Spaniards might passe thorough: then they came into a Gallerie, which was joyning unto the Chamber where the Governour was, and there they heard such a noyse of Instruments of divers sorts, which endureth a [III. ii. 297.] good while, and was of so great melodie, that it seemed unto them that they never before heard the like: which caused unto them great admiration to see so great *Great Majesty.* Majestie amongst Gentiles. When the Musicke was ended, they entred into the Hall aforesaid, and had not gone many steps, when as they met with the Counsailer that met with them in the street afore-said, and with him other two of his companions all on foot and

bare-headed before the Governour, and their Ensignes of Majestie left off: which is generally used in all the Kingdome, the inferiour to make any shew when that he is before his Superiour. Then they made signes unto them for to kneele downe, for that the Insuanto was nigh at hand in a rich Towre, under a Canopie of great Riches, and did represent so great Majestie as the King himselfe: hee did entertayne them with tokens of great love, and humanitie, and told them by their Interpreter, that they were very well welcome, and that hee did greatly rejoyce to see them, with many other words of great favour. This Governour was a man of goodly person, well favoured, and of a merry countenance, more then any that they had seene in all that Countrey. Hee caused to bee put upon the shoulders of the Fathers and of the Souldiers that were with him, every one of them two pieces of silke, which was crossed about them like Skarfes, and likewise to either of them a branch of silver: the like courtesie he did unto the Captaine Omoncon, and unto Sinsay, and commanded to give unto all their Servants every one of them a Mantle of Cotton painted. This being done, the Fathers did give unto him the Letters which they carried from the Governour and Generall of the field, and a note of the Present that was sent him: craving pardon for that it was so small, but time and oportunitie would not serve as then to send unto him a thing of greater price and valour: certifying him, that if the friendship which they pretended did goe forwards, and come to be established, that then all things should be amended and amplified. Hee answered unto their proffers with words of great favour, and made signes unto them to arise, and to goe and take their rests there, whereas they were lodged: the which they did, and found all things in very good order and well furnished, as well of Beds as of all other necessaries, which was done by the commandement of the Governour. Before they departed out of the Palace the Captaine of the guard did carrie them unto his Lodging, which was within the Court, and

The Insuantos person and entertaynment.

there he made them a Banquet with Conserves, and Fruits in abundance: the which being done, hee and other Gentlemen of the Palace did beare them company until they came to their Lodgings, which they greatly desired, for that they were wearie of their Journey, and also with the trouble of the great presse of people that pressed on them in the streets, & otherwise for to see them: the which Captaine of the guard did appoint a Company of Souldiers for to guard them both night and day, the which was done more for Majestie then for necessitie or securitie of their persons. They had a Steward appointed to provide them and all their company of all things necessary, and that in abundance, and not to take of them any thing, which was given by particular commandement by the Governour.

The next day, many of the Gentlemen of the Citie did goe unto the Spaniards to visit them, and such as could not goe themselves did send their Servants, bidding them welcome. The Spaniards did make answere, and gratified them all, in the which visitation they spent all the whole day, having great admiration to see the good behaviour, nurture, and gallant demeanour of those Gentlemen, and the great discretion they had in the demanding of any thing they would know as also in their Answeres made to our requests. The next day the Insuanto sent a commandement wherein he willed the two Fathers to remayne in their Lodgings and take their ease: but the two Souldiers Pedro Sarmiento, and Miguel de Loarcha, should come and speake with him, and that they should bring with them their Interpreter, for that hee had one there with him who was a Chino, and understood the Language of the Philippinas, but so badly, that they could not by his Interpretation talke of any matter of importance. So when they came thither, they were brought whereas he was, but with lesse ceremonie, he requested them to declare unto him the whole circumstance of the comming of Limahon the Rover, unto the Ilands, and how the Spaniards dealt with him: that although he had beene

informed particularly in all things, by the Captaine Omoncon and Sinsay, yet he was in a jealousie that they told him not the truth. Hee was nothing deceived in that he suspected, for after that our Souldiers had made a true Relation of the comming of the Rover unto Manilla, and of all the rest, hee found that they differed very much, the one from the other, for that they did attribute it *Vaine glory.* wholly unto themselves to get honour and benefit: but the Insuanto like a wise man straight-ways understood their pretence. But when that he perceived that Limahon was neither dead nor Prisoner, but onely besieged, he offered unto them that if they would returne againe unto Pagansinan upon him whereas he was, he would give unto them five hundred ships of warre, with people sufficient to serve both by Sea and Land, and more if they would request. They answered him, that all such cost and labour were but in vaine, for that the Generall of the field who hath him in siege, with the people and ships that he hath are sufficient to end that Enterprize, *Boasting.* and to send him hither alive or dead, and that long before that their fleet should come thither. And besides this, their Ilands were poore of victuals, and could not sustaine so great an Armie many dayes. Beeing satisfied with these reasons, he gave place that the Interpreter which [III. ii. 298.] they brought should come in where as they were, for he remayned at the doore without, for that hee would bee fully certified to avoid the suspitious doubt he had before he come in presence, yet he did helpe them very much. So when their Interpreter was come in, the Spaniards seeing good occasion and oportunitie for to declare that *Mortified Friers.* which passed the day before, betwixt them and the Fathers, touching the speaking unto him on their knees: and seeing, as it seemed unto them, that he was at that time in a good mind for to heare them, they did utter unto him all the whole contention (after that they had declared many reasons of great consideration, to give them to understand that it was not convenient to doe it, but especially to religious men, who were there as principals

over the rest, unto whom the King of Spaine (their Lord) himselfe doth stand on foot, when as they doe intreate of any matter, although it be but of small importance: for that they are Priests and Ministers of God, whom he doth worship and reverence.

The Insuanto with a merry countenance did answere them, that unto that time hee understood no more of them, then in that he was informed by the Captaine Omoncon, and did not acknowledge them to bee any other but Castillas; without knowing wherefore they came, nor from whom, for lacke of the Letters sent from their Governour, and Generall of the field, the first time that hee spake with them: neither had hee any knowledge of the custome of their Countrey: yet notwithstanding, that which hath passed heere, without any exception of person, if they would take it in good part, in that which is to come shall be amended: and from that day forwards, at all times whensoever it were their pleasure to come of themselves, or at such time as they were sent for, for to talke with them as they doe use in Castilla or Spaine, unto such of their dignitie and vocation, the which hee granted with a very good will: although hee would not grant unto any that pre-eminence, no not unto a Vice-roy, except he were an Ambassador sent from some King.

The next day, the Governour called a Gentleman of his House unto him, and commanded him to go and visit the Spaniards, and to informe himselfe of them if that they lacked any thing. And also that he should in his name invite them for the next day following to dine with him in his House. This Gentleman went unto them and accomplished his message: and the Spaniards answered, kissing his hand for the great care he had of them: they were carryed into a Hall that was below in the second Court, whereas were many Chaires of Velvet and Tables that were painted with their frontals before. *Spaniards feasted.* In the first Chaires they caused the Friers to sit downe, every one at a Table by himselfe, and each of them other *Table-rite.*

sixe Tables, placed in order, compassing round like a Circle: then were the Spanish Souldiers set in the same manner, and each of them had five Tables, and next unto them the Captaine of the guard belonging unto the Governour, and two other Captaines: and every one of them had three Tables. For that it is the custome of that Countrey to make a difference in the qualitie of the guests, by the number of the Tables. All these were placed in circle or compasse (as aforesaid) that they might see one another. In the midst betwixt them there was a round compasse, whereas was represented a Comedie with much pastime, and indured all the Dinner time, and a good while after. There was also great store of very good and excellent Musicke, accompanied with gallant voyces, also Jesters with Puppets, and other things of great pastime, to drive the time away. On the first Table was set to every one of the guests, little Baskets wrought with Gold and Silver wyre, full of sweet meates made of Sugar, as March-panes, Castles, Pitchers, Pots, Dishes, Dogges, Buls, Elephants, and other things very curious, and all gilt: besides this there were many Dishes full of flesh, as Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, Gamons of Bacon, pieces of Beefe, and other sorts of flesh wherewith all the Tables were replenished, saving that whereat they did sit to dine, which was replenished with victuals that was dressed (for all the other was raw) and was of so great abundance, that there was at times more then fiftie dishes, and they were served with great curiositie. They had Wine of divers sorts, and of that which they doe make in that Countrey of the Palm-tree, but of so great excellencie, that they found no lacke of that which was made of Grapes. The Dinner endured foure hours, in so good order that it might have beene given unto any Prince in the World.

A Comedy & other sports.

The Viands.

Their Servants and Slaves that they brought with them at the same time, did dine in another Hall nigh unto the same, with so great abundance as their Masters. When Dinner was done, the Governour commanded the people

to come unto him, with whom hee did talke and common with great friendship, and good conversation, and would not consent that they should kneele downe, neither to be bare headed. So after that he had made unto them tokens of friendship, and detayned them a while, in demanding of many things, lastly, he told them that there was an order come from the Vice-roy of Aucheo, that they should goe thither with great speed. So hee tooke his leave of us with great friendship and courtesie. At their going forth out of the Hall, they found the Captaine that did dine with them, and with him many other Gentlemen that tarried their comming for to beare them company unto their Lodging: going before them many Servants, that did carrie the raw meate, that was upon the other Tables over and above that which they did eate on, the which was done for great Majestie, and a Ceremonie very much used in that Kingdome, so many times as they doe make any Banquet.

When they came unto their Lodging they found that [III. ii. 299.] the Insuanto had sent them a very good Present, in the which was for every one of them foure pieces of silke, and counting chists with other things, and certayne painted Mantles for the Servants and Slaves. After they had taken their leave of the Captaines and Gentlemen that did beare them company home, they beganne with great joy to put all things in order for their Journey the next day following.

THe next day in the morning, before that the Spaniards were stirring, there was within the House all things necessary for their Journey, as well of Litter chaires, as of Horses and Men for to carrie them, and their stuffe, the which they did with so good a will (as aforesaid) that they did fall out and strive amongst themselves, who should be the first that should receive their burthen. So all things beeing in good order, they departed, having in their company the same Captaine and Souldiers, that unto that time had beene their guard, untill they came unto

Aucheo. the Citie of Aucheo, whereas the Vice-roy was. This day by reason they understood that they should depart, the prease and multitude of the people was so great, that although they had Tip-staves before them, to beate the people away and to make roome, yet was it almost night before they could get out of the Citie: so that they were constrained to remaine in a Towne there hard by all that night, whereas by the commandement of the Governour they were very well lodged, and their Supper made readie in very good order, as it was in seven dayes together, till such time as they came unto Aucheo, without taking for the same, or for any other thing necessarie for their sustentation, any price or value. There went continually before them a Post with a provision from the Governour, written in a great board wherein was declared who they were, and from whence they came, and commanding that there should be provided for them all things necessarie in abundance, upon the Kings cost, which was the occasion that so much people came for to see them, that in the high-waies they were many times disturbed with great trouble, the third day they came unto a Citie which was called

Megoa a great Citie spoyled by Japanders. Megoa, which was sometimes the head government, the which was of forty thousand housholds, but a great part thereof was dispeopled: the occasion thereof they told us (and was) that about thirtie yeares past, the Japones, who brought for their Guides three Chinois, came upon

Stratagem. that Citie (to revenge themselves of an injurie that was done unto them) the which they put in execution with so great secrecie and policie, that they made themselves Lords of the Citie without any danger or hurt unto themselves: for that fiftie Japones, men fit for that purpose, did apparell themselves in Chinois apparell without being knowne, and came unto a Gate of the Citie, whereas the Souldiers that had the charge thereof were void of all suspition. And within a little while after that, followed two thousand that did dis-imbarke themselves in a secret and unknowne place, and came in very secret order, because they would not be discovered, and did beset that gate of the Citie,

whereas their companions were, which they sent before: who so soone as they saw them nigh at hand, drew out their weapons, the which they carried hid under their apparell, & set upon the Soldiers (that were void of feare and unarmed) with so great furie and force, that they being amazed were easily slain, so that they were Lords of the Gate, whereas they left very good guard, and followed their victorie, and made themselves Lords of the Citie, without any danger unto their persons, and did possesse the same certaine daies, and did sacke the same in spite of them all, with great harme and losse unto the Inhabitants thereof, untill such time as the Vice-roy of Aucheo did levie an Armie together of threescore and ten thousand men, but they seeing that they could not defend themselves against so many, in one night they left the Citie and went unto their ships, whereas they had left them in very good order, and carried with them the spoile of the Citie, leaving it beaten downe.

So soone as they came thither, the Friers remayned in their Lodgings, but Pedro Sarmiento and Miguel de Loarcha went to visit the Governour, using the Spanish courtesie with him: and he received them with great joy and courtesie. After they had taken their leave and returned unto their Lodgings, the Governour sent to visit them El Tyu, who is the ancientest of his Councell. At their departure from this Citie, travelling towards Aucheo, they passed over a mightie great River, by a Bridge all made of stone: the goodliest and greatest that ever they had seene, whose greatnesse did cause wonderfull admiration, so that they stayed and did measure it from one end to another, that it might be put amongst the wonders of that Countrey, which they tooke a note of. They found that it was one thousand and three hundred foot long, and that the least stone wherewith it was built, was of seventeene foot, and many of two and twentie foot long, and eight foote broad, and seemed unto them a thing impossible to bee brought thither by mans art, for that all round about so farre as they could see, was plaine ground without

Admirable stone bridge.

any Mountaines: by which they judged them to be brought from farre. When they were passed that Bridge, they travelled all the rest of the day till night upon a Cawsie that was very broad and plaine, and on both sides many Victualling Houses, and the fields sowed with Rice, wheate, and other Seeds: and so full of people as in the streets of a good Towne or Citie.

Suburbs of Aucheo.

After they had travelled more then halfe a league in the Suburbs of the Citie of Aucheo, they met with a Post that came from the Vice-roy: who brought order that [III. ii. 300.] they should remayne in a house that was appointed for them in the sayd Suburbes. So soone as they were alighted, there came a Gentleman to visite them, sent from the Vice-roy to bid them welcome, and to know how they did with their journey, and also to see that they were well provided for that night, of all things necessarie, and that in abundance. After this Gentleman, came other Captaynes to visite them, and brought with them great store of Conserves, Wine and Fruit: which is a common custome amongst them, when that they goe in the like visitation, and it is carryed by their servants in little Baskets very curiously wrought, or else in Barrels made of earth all gilt. Within two houres after their comming thither, there came another messenger from the Vice-roy, with many men laden with Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, gamons of Bacon, and Conserves of divers sorts, and of great abundance, sufficient for one hundred men to suppe that night, and for their dinner the next day. The next day in the morning very earely, there came much people unto their lodging, sent by the Vice-roy, and brought with them two rich Chayres, for to carrie the Fathers in, and the Curtaines tyed up, that they might the better bee seene, and for their companions very good Horses, sadled after the fashion which they doe use. They foorthwith made haste for to depart, and although they made great speed, yet were they a good houre and a halfe, before they could come unto the gates of the Citie, and seemed unto them that they had travelled two leagues in the Suburbes:

well peopled, faire houses, and many shops full of Merchandise.

Before they came unto the Gates, they passed a mightie River three times over Bridges, that were great and very faire, and the River so deepe, that great Ships came up the same, but their mastes stooping downe, to passe under the bridges. This Citie is the head Citie of all the Province, verie rich and fertile, and many Townes belonging unto it, and but eight leagues from the Sea. They had no leasure to tell the Souldiers, but they saw that from the Gate untill they came unto the Vice-royes Palace on both sides, which was a good way, to bee full of them, and all richly apparelled and of one colour. The people that were at the windowes and in the street, betwixt the houses and the Souldiers were so great a number, that it seemed to be doomes day, and that all the people in the world were there joyned together in that street. When they came unto the Palace which was two houres after day, the Gentlemen that were their guides, did cause the Spaniards to enter into a roome which was hard by, till such time as the Gate was open, for that it is open but once a day, and so continue no longer time then the audience endureth, which is done by the Vice-roy once every day, and that is but a small time. But first, before he doth enter into audience, there is shot off foure peeces of Artillerie, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums and Waytes. And there is no day that passeth without audience, as our people did see by experience so long as they were there, and were likewise informed of others. The houre being come, and the ceremonie done as aforesayd, the Gates were opened, and there was in the Court many Souldiers, apparelled in the same liverie that those were of in the street. From the midst amongst them came foorth a Gentleman, who was as it was told them, the Captayne of the guard of the Vice-roy, who came with great gravitie and authoritie, towards the place whereas our people were, and after they had saluted the one the other, hee made signes unto them, that they should goe towards the gates of the Palace.

Palace open once a day.

State.

When they were within the first Court, which was great and wrought with mightie pillars, there was a great number of Souldiers, and many Sergeants, that entred into another great court, and mounted up a payre of stayres that was on the one side, whereas all the people were with great silence, saving the Captayne of the guard, who went with our people till they came to the gates of the Hall, where was the Vice-roy, at which gate hee stayed with his head discovered, and made signes unto ours that they should doe the like.

Ceremonie. Then straight-wayes came foorth of the Hall a man apparelled in a long Robe, of good personage, and asked of the Spaniards, if they would speake with the Vice-roy, and they answered, yea: then asked hee againe from whom they came, and by whom they were sent, they answered, that they were sent by the Governour of Philippinas, who was servant unto the mightiest King in all Christendome. When he had this answer, he returned againe into the Hall, and within a little while after he came foorth, and bad them come in, but gave them to understand, that in entring into the hall whereas the Vice-roy was, that they should kneele downe, and talke with him in that order, till hee commanded to the contrarie, if they would use this Ceremonie, that then they should come in, if not, that they should returne backe againe. They sayd, that they would observe the order given unto them. Therewith hee went in, who seemed to bee the Master of ceremonies, making a signe that they should follow after him, and doe that which hee willed them to doe. At the entring in at the doore, they stayed a little, and then kneeled downe right over against there whereas

Vice-royes state. the Vice-roy sate, in a Chayre very high like unto a Throne, with a Table before him, and was in so darke a place that almost they could not see his face very well. On the one side of him, there were some like unto Heralds of Armes, with Scepters in their hands, and on the other side, two men of a gallant comlinesse armed with Corslets, made of scales of Gold downe to the calfe of their legges,

with Bowes in their hands of gold, and Quivers at their backs of the same. Both the one and the other were upon their knees. There was upon the Table before him, paper and all things necessarie to write: which is an ordinarie use amongst them at all times, when there is any publike audience, and on the one side of the board a Lion made of blacke wood, which was (as after they understood) the Armes of that Province. So straight-wayes hee made signes unto them to draw neere, which they did, and kneeled downe a little from the Table which was whereas the Master of Ceremonies did will them. In this sort they began to talke with him by their Interpreter, and told them the occasion of their comming into that Citie and Kingdome, and from whom and unto whom they were sent. But hee made signes unto them that they should arise, the which they did with a very good will, and did persever in their intent. But the Vice-roy did cut them off before they could make an end, and asked if they had brought any Letter from their King, unto the King his Lord, whom they would goe to see and talke with: but when they answered no, hee straight-wayes tooke his leave of them, saying, that they were welcome, and that they should depart unto their lodgings and to take their ease, for that afterwards they should have occasion to declare their mindes unto him, and hee would give them their answer, for that the King was farre off, and it requireth a long time to come whereas hee is, but he would write unto him, and according unto his commandement, he would make them answer. And therewith hee tooke the Letter, and the memoriall of the present, and commanded in his presence, to put about the neckes of the Friars in manner of a scarfe, to either of them sixe pieces of Silke, and unto the Soldiers their companions, and unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, each of them foure pieces, and to every one of their servants two a piece, and to give unto the two Friars and the Souldiers, Omoncon, and Sinsay, every one of them two branches of Silver.

[III. ii. 301.]

Lions the Armes of that Province, perhaps this deceived Pinto, who mistooke them (seeing them common on pillars, &c.) to be the Kings Armes, which were but of some places.

With the Silke about their neckes, and with the

branches in their hands, they returned out of the Hall and downe the stayres the way they came, and so through the court into the streets, from whence they saw them shut the Court gate with so great a noyse, as when they did open it. From thence at the request of Omoncon, and *Totoc.* Sinsay, they went unto the house of Totoc, who is the Captayne generall of all the men of Warre, and unto the *Cagnitoc,* house of Cagnitoc, who is the chiefe Standard-bearer: their houses were nigh the one the other, very faire and great. They found them with as great Majestie as the Vice-roy, and in the same order, with a Table before them, and had on each side of them armed Souldiers, kneeling on their knees. Yet did they not use our men with the courtesie that the Vice-roy used, to cause them to stand up, which was the occasion, that straight-wayes they made a show that they would depart and bee gone, complaining of Omoncon, and Sinsay, for that they did carrie them thither, and told them with anger, that the Governour of Manilla, did intreat them in a different sort, who was there resident for the mightiest Prince in all the world, and they but easie Merchants, neither was their going thither to bee equalled, unto the benefite that they came thither for. This discontent the which they received, was the occasion that they would not goe to make any more visitations, although the sayd Omoncon, and Sinsay, for their owne interest, would have carryed them to the houses of other Officers, and Gentlemen of the Court.

At their comming thither, they found all their stuffe in good order, and their dinner marveilous well provided, and the whole house hanged and trimmed, as though it had beene for the Kings owne person, with many wayting men and Souldiers, those which did guard them both day and night, and hanging at the doore two tables or boards (commanded by the Vice-roy) whereon was written who they were, that were there lodged, and from whence they came, and wherefore, and that none whosoever, should bee so hardie as to offer them any wrong or disturbance, upon payne to bee for the same offence severely punished. In

this house they were more in quiet, then in any other place, whereas they had beene, neither did the people give them so much trouble, by reason of the great care which the Judges had in putting order for the same, by the commandement of the Vice-roy, yet was it the greatest Towne and most populed, of all that Province (although in other Provinces there bee that be much bigger) and is affirmed that the Citie of Taybin or Suntiem, (there whereas the King and his Court is resident) hath three hundred thousand housholds, and yet there is a bigger Citie in the Kingdome called Lanchin.

Reports of Pequin, called Taybin also and Suntiem. Lanchin for Nanchin, or Nanquin. See Ricci.

This Citie of Aucheo, hath a very faire and strong Wall made of stone, which is five fathom high, and foure fathom broad, the which was measured many times by our people, for that they had a gate out of their lodging that did open to the same. This wall is all covered over with tyles to defend the rayne-water for hurting of it, which could not to the contrarie but receive damage, for that there is no lyme used in the whole wall. They have not one Castle in all this Citie, neither is there any used in all that Kingdome, for all their force and strength is in their Gates, the which bee made very strong, with a double wall, within very broad, betwixt the which are continually many Souldiers, such as doe keepe watch and ward both day and night. Upon these gates they have much Ordnance, but very ill wrought. The whole wall is full of battlements, and thereon written the names of such Souldiers as are bound to repayre thither in the time of necessitie. At every hundred paces they have lodgings, the which are very huge and great: there whereas in the time of necessitie doe remayne and dwell their Captaynes, so long as their troubles doe indure, all the wall is fortified with two great motes or ditches, the one within and the other without, the which they doe fill at all times when they please, by sluces which they have from the River for the same purpose, and doe serve of water almost all the houses in the Citie, whereas they have their stanges for the most part full of Fish. This mightie Citie is situated in a great

Aucheo described.

Ordnance bad.

[III. ii. 302.]

The Citie double moted.

playne, and compassed round about with mightie Rockes and Mountaines, which is the occasion that it is not so *Unwholsome.* healthfull, and the Inhabitants say, that it is by reason of *Inundations.* the Mountaines, and many times it is over-flowen in the winter, by spring-tydes from the River. And in that yeere that this doth happen, it doth destroy and ruinate a great part of the Citie, as it was at that time when our people did see it, for that in the winter before they were troubled with these great tydes, which did them much harme.

Vice-royes Feast. The next day after that our people came into the Citie, the Vice-roy did send to invite them to dinner to his owne house, whereas he made them a great banquet in the forme following. At their comming unto the Palace there came forth a great number of Gentlemen, servants unto the Vice-roy, to bid them welcome, with great store of musicke and tokens of mirth. Being entred into the first Court, they brought them into a mightie Hall that was marvellously well trimmed, wherein was a great number of Tables set in such order, as they were in the banquet that was made them by the Governour of Chincheo, (as hath beene told you) although the number and furniture did farre excell the other. But before they did sit downe, there came unto them two Captaynes principall men, unto whom the Vice-roy had committed the charge of the banquet, to doe all things in his name, for that it is a custome in that Kingdome, that Noble men must not be present in their banquets they make. So the charge was given unto them, to make them be merrie, & to bid his ghests welcome. When they came unto them they used great courtesie, and passed away the time in gallant discourses, till it was time to go to dinner, and that they began to bring in their victuals. Then before they did sit downe, the Captaynes did take each of them a cup in his hand, in manner of a Sorlue, as they doe use, and being full of Wine, they went together whereas they might *Idolatrous rite to the Sunne.* discover the Heaven and offered it unto the Sunne, and unto the Saints of heaven, adding thereunto many words

of prayers: but principally they did request that the comming of their new ghests might be profitable unto them all, and that the friendship which they did pretend to establish, might be for good both unto the one and to the other. This their prayer being done, they did spill out the Wine making a great courtesie, then were they straight-wayes filled againe, and making reverence unto their ghests every one by himselfe, they set the Cups downe upon the Tables whereas the Fathers should dine, whereas they were set everie one by himselfe. This being done, the first service was set upon the boards, and the Captaynes were set at other Tables. The time which the banquet indured (which was very late) there was great store of musicke of divers Instruments, as of Vials, Gitterns, and Rebuckes, and with them many Jesters did make them merrie at their dinner. The which being done, the sayd Captayns did beare their ghests companie out of the Palace, whereas they did anew invite them to dinner for the next day, in the same Hall: they obeying their request did come, whereas was made unto them a banquet more notable than the first. This day at the banquet was present the Totoc. In this second banquet they had as the day before, very much musicke, and a Comedie that indured long, with many prettie and merrie jests: there was also a Tumbler, who did his feates very artificially, as well in vauting in the ayre, as upon a staffe that two men did hold on their shoulders. Before the Comedie did begin, by their Interpreter the signification thereof was told them, that the better they might content themselves in the conceiving.

Comedies.

Tomblers.

Taybin or Paquin; diversly called, either by reason of divers languages; or because they give appellative names (as the Tartars call the same Citie Cambalu, that is, the Royall Citie) thereto.

The next day they sent the present, and those who carryed it in, did afterward give our people to understand that in opening the present, there was a note thereof taken before a Notarie, and straight-wayes put in againe where it was taken out, before the sayd Notarie and other witnesses, the which being done, hee sealed it up, and sent it unto the Citie of Taybin, unto the King and his Counsell, for that they have a rigorous Law in that King-

dome, that doth prohibite all such as have any office of Government, to receive any present of what qualitie soever it bee, without licence of the King or of his Counsell. This is conformable unto that, which the Governour of Chincheo did in the presence of our people.

The next day following the Vice-roy did send to visite them, and to aske of them a Sword, a Harquebusse and a Flaske: for that hee would cause others to bee made by them, the which they did send, and afterwards understood, that they had counterfeited the same, although not in so perfect manner.

Then after a time our people seeing, that their being in that Citie seemed to be long and like to be longer, they did procure to drive away the time in the best manner they could, and went abroad into the Citie, and did by either of them that which they thought best. Whereof they found great abundance, and of so small price, that they bought it almost for nothing. They bought many Bookes that did intreat of divers matters, which they brought with them to the Ilands. The next day they went to see the Gates of the Citie, and all such curious things as were to bee seene, so farre as they could learne or understand, which were many. But amongst them all, they saw a sumptuous Temple of their Idols, in whose chiefe Chappell they counted, one hundred and eleven Idols, besides a great number more that were in other particuler Chappels, all were of carved worke, very well proportioned and gilded: but in especiall three of them that were placed in the midst of all the rest, the one had three heads proceeding out of one bodie, the one looking on the other in full face, the second was the forme of a Woman with a Child in her armes, the third of a Man apparelled after the forme and fashion, that the Christians doe paynt the Apostles. Of all the rest some had foure armes, and some had sixe, and other eight, and other some marvellous deformed monsters. Before them they had burning Lamps, and many sweet perfumes and smels, but in especiall, before the three above specified.

All things good cheape.

III. *Idols in one Chappell.*

[III. ii. 303.]

Three headed Image.

A woman with childe.

But when that the Vicé-roy did understand, that our people did goe viewing the Citie gates and Temples (and perceiveth that they that gave him the notice did suspect it, that it was to some ill intent) therewith hee straight-wayes commanded, that they should not goe forth of their lodging, without his licence: and likewise commanded the Captayne that was their guard not. to consent thereunto, as he had done, and likewise that none should carrie them any thing for to sell, for he that did it should be punished with whipping. Yet notwithstanding, they had every day very sufficient necessaries for their personages in such ample wise, that there did always remayne, and not lacke. In this closenesse and keeping in, they suffered many dayes with much sadnesse, and oppressed with melancholicke humours, to see that their purpose wherefore they went thither seemed to be long, and every day was worse and worse. Yet notwithstanding they did passe it over in the best wise they could, in committing it with heartie zeale unto God, for whose honour and glory they did attempt that voyage, and prayed unto him for to moove their hearts to consent, that the religious Fathers might remayne in that Countrey, for to learne the language (as they had begun many dayes before) by which meanes their soules might be saved, and clearely delivered from the tyrannie of the Devill, who of truth had them in possession. So after many dayes, that they had remayned in that close estate, as aforesayd, they determined for to goe and talke with the Vice-roy, and to bee fully resolved, either to tarrie or returne from whence they came, but were not permitted.

Vice-royes jealousie.

In this order they remayned in the Citie certayne dayes, and for to conclude, either to stay there, or depart the Kingdome, they were resolute, and determined to write a Letter unto the Vice-roy. They could finde none that would write this letter for them, although they would have payed them very well for their paines. Till in the end, by great request and prayings, the Captayne Omoncon did write it for them, and straight-wayes

Ampin. departed unto the Citie of Ampin, that was not farre off, to put away the suspition they might conceive, that hee did write the letter, if that peradventure the Vice-roy would take it in ill part. Their letter being written, they *People in great subjection.* found great difficultie in sending the same, for that there was none that would carrie it, neither would they consent, that our men should enter into the Palace to deliver it. But in conclusion, what with requests and gifts, they perswaded their Captayne of their guard to carrie it, who did deliver the same unto the Vice-roy, in name of the Castillos, saying, that he tooke it of them to bring it unto him, for that they did certifie him, that it was a thing that did import very much. Having read the letter, he answered, that he would give the King to understand thereof, as hee said at the first time. And in that, touching the Friars remaining in that Countrey to preach, at that time he could make them no answer, for that in such matters, it was first requisite to have the good-will of the Royall Counsell. Yet would hee make answer unto the Letter they brought from the Governour of Manilla, and that they might depart, and returne againe at such time as they brought Limahon prisoner or dead, the which being done, then shall the friendship be concluded which they doe pretend, and to remayne and preach at their will. With this answer they remayned without all hope to remaine there, and did incontinent prepare themselves for to depart from Manilla, and bought many bookes to carrie with them, wherein was comprehended all the secrets of that Kingdome. By reason whereof, they might give large notice unto the royall Majestie of King Philip. The which being understood by the Vice-roy, who had set spyes to watch their doings, he did send them word that they should not trouble themselves in the buying of bookes, for that he would give them freely, all such bookes as they would desire to have: the which afterwards hee did not accomplish.

In the meane time that they stayed in this Citie, amongst all other things that they understood, to drive

away the time was one, it was given them to understand that in one of the Prisons, there was a Portugall prisoner, who was taken in a ship of the Japones, with others of his Nation, who were all dead in the Prison, and none left alive but hee alone. Our people being very desirous for to see him, and to learne of him some secrets of that Countrey, for that hee had beene there a great while, they did procure to talke with him, asking licence of the supreame Judge and Lieutenant unto the Vice-roy, who did not onely refuse to grant it them, but did make diligent inquirie who they were, that did give them to understand thereof, for to punish them.

A Portugall prisoner.

Upon a sodaine there came newes unto the Citie, that the Rover Limahon, was upon the coast of Chincheo, using his old accustomed cruelties, and how that he had spoyled and robbed a Towne upon the sea coast. This newes was throughout all the Citie, and appeared to bee true, touching the effect of the deed: yet false touching the person, for that the Rover was called Taocay, an enemie, and contrarie unto Limahon: but a friend unto Vintoquian, of whom wee have spoken of. But thereupon the Vice-roy, and all of the Citie, were conformable in the suspition that they had received, which was that our people were come into that Kingdome upon some evill pretence, and to see the secrets thereof, to some evill end, which was the occasion that from that time forwards, they shewed them not so good countenance as they did before. These newes was not so soone come, but straight-wayes the Vice-roy did send for Omoncon, (who was then returned from his visiting) and Sinsay, unto whom he had done courtesie, and given them the tytle of Loytias and Captaynes, and hee did reprehend them very sharpely for that they had brought over people thither, and sayd, that they had told him a lye, in saying that Limahon was besieged, in such sort that hee could not escape, neither had the Castillos burnt his Ships, and that all was but a made matter amongst themselves, and how that the Captives which they brought, and sayd that they had taken from Limahon,

[III. ii. 304.]

Taocay another Pirat, taken to bee Limahon.

Suspition of evill.

they had robbed from other places, and sayd that the Spaniards, were spyes that came to discover the secrets, and strength of the Kingdome, and that they had brought them thither, by force of gifts that they had given them. They answered him with great humilitie, in saying, that in all that which they had sayd they did speake the truth, and that it should appeare at such time, as the newes of the Rover should bee better knowne, the which if it shall appeare to be contrarie, they were there readie for to suffer whatsoever punishment that should bee given them. The Vice-roy being somewhat satisfied with this their justification, bad them to depart, remitting all things unto time for the true declaration thereof. Then Omoncon, and Sinsay, came straight-wayes to give the Spaniards to understand of all that had passed with the Vice-roy, and what they understood of him, which caused in them so great feare, that for the time which it indured (which was still such time as they understood the truth as aforesayd) they payed very well for their feasts and banquets the which they had made them. All this happened in the time that Omoncon, and Sinsay, were at variance, and spake many injurious words the one of the other, discovering their intents and devises, whereby it plainely appeared, that in all that which they had told unto the Vice-roy, they lyed, but in especiall Omoncon. Sinsay did dissemble, for hee sayd and told unto all people, that by his order and industrie, our people did fire the Ships of Limahon, and besieged him, with other speeches in the like sort, yet twentie dayes before his comming thither, all was ended and done as appeared. The occasion of their enmitie and falling out, was for that the Vice-roy had given unto Omoncon, a tytle and charge of more honour, then unto Sinsay, having made betwixt them a consort, that the reward or dignitie should bee equally divided betwixt them, and that the one should speake of the other the best they could, because the Vice-roy should doe them friendship. This condition and consort (as appeareth) was evill performed by Omoncon, being addicted unto selfe-

Omoncon and Sinsay, at variance.

love, and seemed unto him that Sinsay, did not deserve so much as hee did, for that he was a base man, and of the Sea, and hee of the more nobilitie, and had the office of a Captayne.

WIth this griefe and care remayned the Spaniards certaine dayes kept close in their lodgings, and were not visited so often as they were when they first came thither, which did augment very much their feare, till such time as they understood, that the Vice-roy either of his owne good-will, or else by some particular order from the King and his Counsell, had called together all the Governours of that Province of Aucheo, to intreat of matters touching Limahon, as also in particular, why and wherefore the Spaniards came thither, and to resolve themselves wholly in all things requisite for the same. So when that they were all come together, which was in a short time, and amongst them the Governour of Chincheo, who by another name was called Insuanto, they had particular meetings together with the Vice-roy, in the which they were all agreed to have a generall meeting, whereunto should bee called the Castillos, and to demand of them in publike audience, the cause of their comming and being heard, to give them their answer according as they had determined: for the which upon a day appointed they met all together (but not the Vice-roy) in the house of the Cagontoc, and commanded to come before the Castillos, who did accomplish their request with a great good-will, for that they understood that they were called to entreat of their matter, either to tarrie or depart. So when they came thither, they were commanded to enter into a mightie Hall, whereas they were all set in verie rich Chayres with great gravitie and majestie. The Insuanto seemed to bee the chiefest amongst them, but whether it was for that hee was the principallest next unto the Vice-roy (or as it was told them) for that it was hee that sent Omoncon, in the chase of the Rover Limahon, they knew not, but so soone as they were entred into the Hall, they were com-

Generall consultation.

manded to draw nigh, there, whereas they were all placed, without bidding them to sit downe, neither did they use any particular circumstances or courtesie. The Insuanto tooke upon him the charge, and demanded of the Spaniards (by meanes of the Interpreters) what was the occasion of their comming into that Countrey. The Spaniards answered as they thought: and supposed, that at that time it could not bee, but that Limahon was either [III. ii. 305.] taken prisoner or slaine. Then did the Insuanto conclude his speech, in saying unto them that they should returne unto their owne Countrey to the Ilands, and at such time as they did bring Limahon, they would conclude all things touching the friendship they requested, and also for the Preaching of the Gospell.

So from that day forwards, they did procure with all haste for to depart, and gave the Vice-roy to understand thereof, who answered them and sayd, that they should comfort themselves and receive joy and pleasure, and that hee would dispatch them, so soone as the Visitor of that Province was come to Aucheo, which would bee within ten dayes, for that hee had written unto him, that he should not dispatch them untill his comming, for that he would see them. From that day forwards, he commanded *New-moone Musters.* that sometimes they should let them goe foorth abroad to recreate themselves, and that they should shew unto them some particular pleasure or friendship. So one of them was carryed to see the Mustering of their men of warre, which they have in a common custome throughout all the Kingdome, to doe it the first day of the New-moone, and is sure a thing to bee seene: and they doe it in the field which is joyning unto the walls of the Citie, in this manner following. There were joyned together little more or lesse then twentie thousand Souldiers, Pike-men and Harquebusse shot, who were so expert, that at the *Their activitie, their Pieces, & hearts, are sayd to be naught.* sound of the Drum or Trumpet, they straight-wayes put themselves in battle aray, and at another sound in a squadron, and at another the shot doe divide themselves from the rest, and discharge their Pieces with very gallant

and good order, and with a trice put themselves againe into their places or standings: this being done, the Pikemen came foorth and gave the assault all together, with so good order and consort, that it seemed unto the Spaniards, that they did exceed all the warlike orders used in all the world: and if it were so, that their stomacks and hardinesse were equall unto their dexteritie, and number of people, it were an easie thing for them to conquer the dominion of all the world. If it so chance, that any Souldier should lacke in his Office, and not repayre to his place appointed, hee is straight-wayes punished very cruelly, which is the occasion, that every one of them hath a care unto his charge. This their Muster indured foure houres, and it was certified unto the Spaniards, that the same day and houre it is done in all Cities and Townes, throughout the whole Kingdome, although they are without suspection of enemies.

Souldiers are punished.

Five and twentie dayes after that the Insuanto had given the resolute answer unto the Spaniards, came the Visitor thither: and the whole Citie went foorth to receive him, who entred in with so great Majestie, that if they had not knowne who hee was, they could not have beene perswaded, but that he had beene the King. The next day following, the Spaniards went to visite him, for duties sake, as also for that hee had a desire to see them. They found him in his lodging, where he began to make visitation of the Citie. In their Courts were an infinite number of people, which came thither with Petitions and complaynts, but in the Halls within, there was none but his Servants and Sergeants. When that any came for to present his Petition, the Porter that was at the entrie made a great noyse, in manner of an O est, for that it was a good way from the place whereas the Visitor did sit, then commeth foorth straight-wayes one of his Pages, and taketh the Petition, and carryeth it unto him. At this time it was told him how that the Castillas were there: hee commanded that they should enter, and talked with them a few words, but with great courtesie, and all was

Visitors entrance in state.

Manner of his Courts.

touching the Imprisonment of Limahon, without making any mention of their departure or tarrying. So after a while that hee had beheld them and their apparell, he tooke his leave of them, saying, that by reason of the great businesse hee had in that visitation, he could not shew them any courtesie, neither to understand of them what their request and desire was, but gave them great thankes for their courtesie shewed, in that they would come to visite him.

Three dayes after the Visitor was come thither, the Insuanto departed for his owne house, with order that with all speed possible, hee should ordayne Ships wherein the Castillas should returne unto the Philippinas. Likewise the same day, all those that were there assembled by the order of the Vice-roy, departed unto their owne houses. And the Spaniards were commanded for to stay untill the full of the Moone, which should bee the twentieth of August, and that day they should take their leave of them: for on that day amongst them, it is holden for good to begin any thing whatsoever. Wherein they doe use great superstition, and doe make many banquets, as upon New-yeeres day.

Superstition.

Parting complement.

The day before the departure of the Spaniards, there came some in behalfe of the Vice-roy to invite them, and made them banquet in the order and fashion as at the first: although this (for that it was at their departure) was more sumptuous, wherein was represented a Comedie, which was very excellent and good, whose argument was first declared unto them. All the which they did represent so naturally, and with so good apparell and personages, that it seemed a thing to passe in Act. There was not in this banquet the Vice-roy, but those Captaynes which were there the first time: and another Captayne, unto whom was given the charge to bring the Spaniards unto Manilla, who was called Chautalay, a principall Captayne of that Province. When the banquet was ended, they were carryed with great companie from the Hall whereas the banquet was made, unto the house of the Cogontoc, who

was the Kings Treasurer, & dwelt there hard by, of whom they were marvellously well received with loving words and great courtesie: in saying that he hoped very shortly to see them againe, at such time as they shall returne with Limahon, and that as then their friendship should be fully concluded, and would intreat with them in particular of other matters. This being done, he gave unto them a Present for to carrie unto the Governour of Manilla in recompence of that which was sent unto the Vice-roy: the Present was forty pieces of Silke and twentie pieces of Burato, a Litter Chaire and gilt, and two Quitasoles of Silke, and a Horse. Likewise hee sent the like Present unto the Generall of the field, and to either of them a Letter in particular: these things were put in Chists which were very faire and gilt. Besides this he gave other forty pieces of Silke of all colours for to bee parted amongst the Captaines and other Officers that were at the siege of Limahon, with three hundred blacke Mantles and as many Quitasoles to be parted amongst the Souldiers. Besides all these, he gave unto the Friers each of them eight pieces of Silke, and unto the Souldiers their companions foure pieces of each of them, and to every one his Horse and a Quitasol of Silke; their Horses were very good to travell by the way. This being done, the Cogonroc tooke his leave of them, and willed them to goe and take leave and licence of the Vice-roy and the Visitor, that they might depart, for that all things were in a readinesse for their Voyage: the which commandement they did straightwayes accomplish, being very well content and satisfied of the great favours and courtesies, the which they received both of the one and the other: Likewise of the Tococ, or Captaine Generall, whom they also did visit and tooke their leave.

Treasurer. [III. ii. 306.]

Presents.

To keepe away the Sun.

The Spaniards departed from the Citie of Aucheo, upon a Tuesday, beeing the three and twentieth of August in the sight of all the people of the Citie, who came forth to see them with so great presse and throng, as they did when they first came thither into the Countrey: they were all

carried in Litter Chaires, yea, their very slaves, for that it was so commanded by the Vice-roy: the Friers were carried by eight men a piece, and the Souldiers by foure men a piece, and all their Servants and Slaves were carried by two men a piece. Looke so many men as was to carrie them, there went so many more to helpe them when they waxed wearie, besides foure and twentie that carried their Stuffe. There went alwayes before them a Harbinger for to provide their Lodgings, and with him went a Pay-master, whose charge was to ordaine and provide men for to carrie their Litter Chaires, and to give them for their travell that which is accustomed, and to pay all costs and charges spent by the Spaniard.

After that they departed from Aucheo, they made of two dayes Journey one, which was the occasion that they came to Chincheo in foure dayes. At their entring into the Citie they found a Servant of the Insuanto, with order and commandement, that they should proceed forwards on their Journey, and not to stay in the Citie, but to goe unto the Port of Tansuso, whither he will come the next day following. They obeyed his commandement, and made so much haste that in two dayes they came unto the Village of Tangoa, whereas they had beene before, and particular mention made thereof. In the same Village they were lodged, well entertayned and had great good cheere; from thence they went in one day to Tansuso, which was the first Port whereas they did dis-imbarke themselves, when as they came from the Ilands unto that firme Land: the Justice of the Towne did lodge them in the same House whereas they were first lodged, and did provide for them of all things necessary and needfull, and that in abundance, till the comming of the Insuanto, which was within foure dayes after, for that hee could not come any sooner (although his desire was) for that it was very foule weather.

Superstition. The third of September, the Insuanto sent and commanded the Spaniards that they should imbark themselves, for that it was that day the conjunction of the Moone

(although at that time the ships were not fully in a readinesse.) They obeyed his commandement, and the Insuanto himselfe went to the water side, in whose presence came thither certaine Religious men of their manner, and after their fashion they made Sacrifice with certaine Prayers, in the which they craved of the Heavens to give good and faire weather, and a sure Voyage and favourable Seas unto all those that saile in those ships. This Ceremony being done (which is a thing very much used in that Countrey) the Spaniards went unto the Insuanto, who was there with great company and Majestie: he entertayned them very friendly and with cheerefull words making an outward shew that he bare them great love, and that their departure was unto him a great griefe. Then he requested them to give him a remembrance of such things as was necessary and needfull for their provision for the Sea, for that he would give order for the providing of the same, the which hee did, and was with so great abundance that they had for the Voyage, and remayned a great deale to spare. He then commanded to be brought thither Cates to eate and drinke, and gave it them with his owne hands, as well the one as the other: he himselfe did eate and drinke with them, which is the greatest favour that can be shewed amongst them. The Banket being ended, he commanded them in his presence to goe aboard their ships, because that was a luckie day, and also to accomplish that which the Viceroy had comanded, which was that he should not depart from thence, untill they had first seene them imbarked. The Spaniards obeyed the commandement, and tooke their leave of the Insuanto, with great courtesie and reverence, and with outward shewes that they remayned indebted for the great courtesie & good will that they had received: and therwith they departed to the waters side, towards the Boat which was tarrying for them.

Plentifull provision.

Luckie day.

[III. ii. 307.]

As they passed by the Religious men (that before we spake of) they saw a great Table set, and upon it a whole Oxe with his throat cut, and hard by the same a Hogge

and a Goate, and other things to be eaten: the which they had ordained for to make Sacrifice, which they doe use in the like Affaires.

They being imbarked in the Boate, they were carried aboard the Admirall, which was the ship appointed for them to goe in: then presently they beganne to stirre the ship, from one place unto another with certaine Boats and Cables which they had there readie for the same purpose. The ship did not so soone begin to moove, but the Religious men ashoare did beginne their Sacrifice, the which did indure untill night, ending their Feasts and Triumphs in putting forth of the Citie, and upon their Gates many Cressets and Lights. The Souldiers shot off all their Harquabusses, and the shippes that were in the Port shot off all their Artillerie, and on the shoare a great noyse of Drummes and Bels: all the which being ended and done, the Spaniards went ashoare againe unto their Lodging: but first the Insuanto was departed unto his owne House, with all the company that he brought with him.

Insuantos farewell Feast.

The next day the said Insuanto did invite them unto a Banket, which was as famous as any which had beene made them unto that time. He was at the Banket himselfe, and the Captaine Generall of all that Province. There was abundance of meates and many pretie devises to passe away the time, which made the Banket to indure more then foure houres: the which being done, there was brought forth the Present which the Insuanto did send unto the Governour of Manilla in returne of that which was sent to him. The Present was fourteene pieces of silke for the Governour of Manilla, and ten pieces for the Generall of the field: he also commanded to be given unto the Friers each of them foure pieces, and unto the Souldiers each of them two pieces, and unto their Servants and Slaves certaine painted Mantels, and therewith hee tooke his leave of them very friendly, and gave unto them Letters, the which he had wrote unto the Governour, and unto the Generall of the field, answere unto those, the

which they had wrote unto him, and said that all things necessary for their departure was in a readinesse, with victuals for tenne moneths put aboard their ships, so that when as wind and weather did serve they might depart. *Ten moneths provision.* Also that if in their Voyage it should so fall out, that any of the Chinois that went in their ships, should doe unto them any evill, either abroad or at the Ilands: that the Governour thereof should punish them at his pleasure, and how that the Vice-roy will thinke well thereof: In conclusion, he said unto them, that he hoped to see them there againe very shortly, and to returne againe with Limahon, and then he would supply the wants which now they lacked. The Spaniards did kisse his hands, and said, that they had received in courtesie more then they deserved, and that in all things, there did abound and not lack, that they remained greatly indebted unto him for their friendship, and would give their King notice thereof, that whensoever occasion should be offered, to repay them with the like: and therewith the Insuanto departed to his owne House, leaving in the company of the Spaniards five Captains, those which should go with them in their company to Sea, and also Omoncon and Sinsay who were that day in the Banket, with the Habit and Ensigne of Loytias, for that the day before it was given unto them by the Insuanto.

Upon Wednesday which was the fourteenth of September, the wind came faire, wherewith they hoysed up their Sayles and went to Sea: at their departure there was at the waters side the Insuanto and the Justice of Chincheo to see them sayle, they sayled forwards directing their course towards a small Iland that was not farre off, with determination there to take water for their ships, for that it had in it many Rivers of very sweet water. Within a small space they arrived there, and it had a very faire and sure Port, wherein might ride in securitie a great Navy of ships. All Thursday they were there recreating and sporting themselves, for that it was a pleasant Iland, and full of fresh Rivers. Upon Friday being the sixteenth

of September, the day being somewhat spent, they made saile and tooke Port foure leagues from that place in
Laulo. another Iland called Laulo, for to put themselves in a new course, different and contrary unto that which they tooke when they came unto that Kingdome, for that the Chinois had by experience proved, that in those monethes
Monsons. the winds were more favourable then in other monethes, and for the most part North and North-east winds: all that night they remained in that Iland, and the next day following they sayled unto another Iland which was called
Chautubo. Chautubo, not farre distant from that of Laulo. This Iland was full of little Townes, one of them was called
Gautin. Gautin, which had five Forts of Towers made of Lime and stone, very thicke and strongly wrought: they were all foure square, and sixe fathome high, and were made of purpose for to receive into them all the people of those little Townes, to defend themselves from Rovers and Theeves that daily come on that Coast.

They very much noted, that although this Iland were rockie and sandie, yet was it tilled and sowed full of Rice, Wheate, and other Seeds and Graine. There was in it
Kine and Horse. great store of Kine and Horse, and they understood that
Common-wealth. they were governed, not by one particular man, to whom they were subject, neither by any other amongst themselves, nor of China, but in common: yet notwithstanding they lived in great peace and quietnesse, for that every
[III. ii. 308.] one did content himselfe with his owne. Upon Sunday in the afternoone they departed from this Iland, and sayled their course all that night, at the next morning they
Corchu. arrived at another Iland, called Corchu, which was twentie leagues from the Port of Tansuso, from whence they departed. The Spaniards seeing what leisure they tooke in this their Voyage, they requested the Captaines to command the Mariners that they should not enter into so many Ports or Harbours. The Captaines answered, and requested them to have patience, for that in making their Journies as they did, they doe accomplish and follow the order set downe by the Vice-roy and Insuanto, the Chinois

are very fearefull of the Sea, and men that are not accustomed to ingulfe themselves too farre, neither to passe any stormes.

Neere unto this Iland there was another somewhat bigger, which is called Ancon, wholly dispeopled and without any dwellers, yet a better Countrey and more profitable for to sow and reape then that of Corchu. The Spaniards being at an Anchor there, understood by the Chinois that in times past it was very well inhabited, unto the which arrived a great Fleet belonging to the King of China, and by a great storme were all cast away upon the same: the which losse and destruction being understood by another Generall that had the Guard of that Coast, suspecting that the dwellers thereof had done that slaughter, hee came to the shoare and slue many of the Inhabitants, and carried all the rest in their ships unto the firme Land, who afterwards would never returne thither againe, although they gave them licence after that they understood the truth of that successe: so that unto that time it remained dispeopled, and full of wilde Swine, of the brood that remained there at such time as they were slaine and carried away as you have heard. *Ancon.*

This Iland and the rest adjoyning thereunto (which are very many) have very excellent and sure Ports and Havens, with great store of fish. These Ilands endured untill they came unto a little Gulfe, which is five and fortie leagues over, and is sayled in one day, and at the end thereof is the Port of Cabite, which is neere unto Manilla. So when that winde and weather served their turne, they departed from the Iland of Ancon, and sailed till they came unto another Iland called Plon, where they understood by a ship that was there a fishing, how that the Rover Limahon was escaped in certaine Barkes, which he caused to bee made very secretly within his Fort, of such Timber and Boards as remained of his ships that were burnt, the which was brought in by night by his Souldiers, on that side of the Fort which was next unto the River, *A straight.*

and were not discovered by the Castillas, which were put there with all care and diligence to keepe the mouth that come in to helpe them. And towards the Land there whereas he might escape, they were without all suspection (they were so strong) and did not mistrust that any such thing should be put in ure, as afterwards did fall out, the which was executed with so great policie and craft, that when they came to understand it, the Rover was cleane gone, and in safeguard, calking his Barkes at the Iland of Tocaotican, the better for to escape and save himselfe, and they said, that it was but eight dayes past that he fled. With this newes they all received great alteration, but in especiall Omoncon and Sinsay.

After they had remained three weeks in that Harbour detayned with a mighty North-wind, that never calmed night nor day in all that time. The eleventh day of October two houres before day, they set sayle and went to Sea. Sixteene leagues from the Port, sailing towards the South, they discovered a mightie Iland very high Land, which was called Tangarruan, and was of three score leagues about, all inhabited with people like unto those of the Ilands Philippinas. Upon Sunday in the morning being the seventeenth day of October, they discovered the Iland of Manilla, of them greatly desired, they sayled towards the Iland that they so long desired to see, and came thither the twentie eight day of October, as aforesaid. So that from the Port of Tansuso, which is the first Port of China, till they came unto the Iland of Manilla, they were five and fortie dayes, and is not in all ful two hundred leagues, which may be made with reasonable weather in ten dayes at the most.

From the Philippinas to the China is 200. leagues.

I could have here added two other Voyages of Franciscans, to China, the one by Peter de Alfaro, and other three of his Order, 1579. the other 1582. by Ignatio, &c. both written at large by Mendoza. But I hasten to our Jesuites exacter Relations. Only I will conclude this Storie with Alfaros returne from China to the Philippinas; and his Relation of their Witch-crafts used in a Tempest

then happening: after that two Letters mentioning English ships on that Coast.

But it so fell out, as they were going alongst the Coast of the Iland for to enter into the Port of Manilla, and being within five leagues of the entry thereof, upon a sudden there arose the North-wind with so great furie, and caused so great a Sea, that they found themselves in a great deale more danger then in the other storme past, in such sort that they sponed before the winde with their fore-sayle halfe Mast high, shaking it selfe all to pieces, and in every minute of an houre readie to be drowned. The Chinois for that they are Superstitious and Witches, beganne to invocate and call upon the Devill, for to bring them out of that trouble (which is a thing commonly used amongst them, at all times when they find themselves in the like perplexitie) also they doe request of him to shew them what they should do to bring themselves out of trouble. But when the Spaniards understood their dealings, they did disturbe them that they should not persever in their Lots and Invocations, and beganne to conjure the Devils, which was the occasion that they would not answere unto the Invocation of the Chinois, who did call them after divers manners, yet they heard a Devill say, that they should not blame them because they did not answere unto their demand, for they could not doe it for that they were disturbed by the conjuration of those Spanish Fathers, which they carried with them in their ship.

A Tempest.

[III. ii. 309.]

Conjuring against conjuring.

So presently when the night was come, God was so pleased that the storme ceased, and became in few houres very calme, although it endured but a while, for as they began to set sayle to navigate towards the Port, and almost at the point to enter into the same, a new storme seized on them, and with so great force, that they were constrayned to returne unto the Sea, for feare to bee broken in pieces upon the shoare. The Chinos began anew to invocate the Devils by writing, which is a way that they never let but doe answere them, as they did at this instant,

Invocation by writing.

and were not disturbed by the conjurations of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding they lyed in their answer, for that they said, that within three dayes they should be within the Citie of Manilla, and after it was more then foure dayes.

In conclusion, having by the favour of almightie God overcome all their travels by the Sea, and the necessitie of the lacke of water and victuals, they arrived at the desired Port the second day of February, Anno 1580. whereas they were received by the Governour, and of all the rest with great joy, &c.

Two Letters taken out of Bartolome Leonardo De Argensola his Treatise, called Conquista de las Islas Malucas, Printed at Madrid, 1609, pagg. 336. 337. mentioning the comming of two English ships to China: which seeme to bee two ships of the fleet of *Benjamin Wood: The former written by the Visitor of Chincheo in China, unto the Governor of the Philippinas, Don Pedro De Acunna.

**See sup. l. 3. c. 1. §. 2.*

I found this translat. with Master H. Luzon.

TO the grand Captaine of Luzon. Because wee have understood, that the Chineses, which went to trade and trafficke into the Kingdome of Luzon, have beene slaine by the Spaniards, wee have made inquisition of the cause of these slaughters, and have besought the King to doe justice on him, that hath beene the cause of so great mischiefe, to procure a remedie for the time to come, and that the Merchants may live in peace and safety. In the yeeres past, before I came hither to be Visitour, a certaine Sangley, called Tioneg, with three Mandarines or Judges having the Kings Passe, came to Cabit in Luzon, to seeke Gold and Silver: which was all lyes: because he found neither Gold nor Silver. And therefore I besought the King, that he would punish this deceiver Tioneg, that the good justice that is used in China might be knowne.

Tioneg.

In the time of the former Vice-roy, and Capado, Tioneg and his companion Yanlion delivered this untruth. I afterward besought the King, that hee would cause all the Papers of the cause of Tioneg to be coppied out, and that he would send for the said Tioneg with his processes before himselfe: And I my selfe saw the said Papers, and caused it to appeare that all was but lyes which the said Tioneg had said. I wrote unto the King, saying, That by reason of the lyes which Tioneg had made, the Castillians suspected that wee sought to make warre upon them: and that therefore they had slayne above thirtie thousand Chineses in Luzon. The King did that which I besought him. And so he chastised the said Yanlion, commanding him to bee put to death. And hee commanded Tionegs head to be cut off, and to be put in a Cage. The people of China which were slayne in Luzon, were in no fault. And I with others negotiated this businesse with the King, that I might know his pleasure in this affaire: and in another matter, which was this: That there came two English ships to these coasts of Chincheo; a thing very dangerous for China: That the King might consider what was to bee done in these two matters of so great importance. Likewise wee wrote unto the King, that he would command the two Sangleys to be punished, which shewed the Haven to the Englishmen. And after wee had written these things aforesaid to the King, he answered us that wee should learne, wherefore the English ships came unto China? whether they came to robbe or no? That they should dispatch from thence a Messenger immediatly to Luzon: and that they should signifie to them of Luzon, that they should not give credite to the base and lying people of China: And that forthwith they should put to death those two Sangleyes, which shewed the Haven to the Englishmen. And touching the rest that wee wrote unto him, wee should doe as wee thought best. After wee had received this order, the Vice-roy, the Capado, and I sent this message to the Governour of Luzon: That his Lordship might know the greatnesse of

30000 Chineses slaine in the Philippinas.

Two English ships on the coast of Chincheo in China.

Jealousie of Strangers.

Danger of bringing ships to a China Haven.

China ambition.

the King of China. Seeing hee is so mightie, that hee governeth all that the Moone and Sunne doe shine upon. And also that the Governour of Luzon may know the great wisedome wherewith this mighty Kingdome is governed. Which Kingdome this long while none durst attempt to offend. And albeit the Japonians have pretended to disquiet Corea, which is under the Government of China: yet they could not obtayne their purpose: but they were driven out of it: And Corea hath remayned in great peace and safety, as at this day they of Luzon doe well understand.

Japonian attempt.

Corea is under China.

[III. ii. 310.] The Answer of Don Pedro De Acunna, Governour of the Philippinas, to the Visitour of Chincheo in China.

THe Governour answered these Letters by the same Messengers that brought them: using termes full of courtesie and authoritie. Hee rehearsed the rebellion of the Sangleyes, from the beginning: Hee justified the defense of the Spaniards, and the punishment that was executed upon the Offenders. Hee said, that no Common-wealth can be governed without chastising the bad, nor without rewarding the good. And therefore that he did not repent him of that execution: because it was done for repressing of them that thought to destroy us. That the Visitour should bee Judge, what hee would doe, if the like case should happen in China. That the griefe that he had was, that he could not save certaine Sangleyes Merchants Anhayes, which died among the offenders: But that this was unpossible to be remedied; because the furie of warre doth not give leave to kill some, and to save others, especially being not knowne of the Souldiers in the heate of battell. That using mercy to those that remayned alive, condemned them to rowe in the Galleyes: which is the punishment, which is ordayned among the Castillians for those that have deserved death. Yet if it seeme in China that it ought to be moderated, hee would

grant them libertie. But let it be considered, said Don Pedro, that this may be a cause, that in not chastising so great an offence, they may hereafter fall againe into the same. A thing that would shut up all accesse unto favour. That the goods of the Chineses that were slayne are in safe custodie. And that it may be seene, that no other affection moveth mee then that of justice, I will shortly send them to be delivered to the right Heires, or unto such persons as of right they belong unto. None other respect moveth mee to any of these things, but that of reason. Whereas you tell mee, That if I will not set at libertie those prisoners, licence will be granted in China to the kinsfolke of those which died in the Rebellion, to come with an Armie to Manila, it breedeth no feare in mee. For I hold the Chineses to be so wise, that they will not be moved to such things upon so weake a ground: especially none occasion thereof being given them on our part. And in case they should be of another minde, wee Spaniards are a People which know very well how to defend our Right, Religion, and Territories. And let not the Chineses thinke, that they are Lords of all the World, as they would have us thinke. For wee Castillians, which have measured the World with spannes, know perfectly the Countreyes of China. Wherefore they shall doe well to take knowledge, that the King of Spaine hath continuall warres with as mighty Kings as theirs is, and doth suppresse them, and putteth them to great troubles. And it is no new case, that when our enemies thinke that they have vanquished us, they finde us marching and destroying the Confines of their Land, and not to cease, untill wee have cast them out of their Thrones, and taken their Scepters from them. I would be much grieved with the change of the commerce: But I beleeve also that the Chineses would not willingly lose it, since that thereby they obtayne so great profit, carrying to their Kingdome our Silver, which never faileth in trucke of their merchandise, which are slight things, and soone worne out.

China pride retorted.

Spanish Silver carried to China.

The ships of the Englishmen, which arrived on the

coast of China, it was determined not to receive: because they be no Spaniards, but rather * their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to Manila, they shall be punished. Finally, because wee Spaniards doe alwaies justifie our causes, and doe boast our selves, that it cannot bee said in the world, that wee usurpe other mens possessions, nor invade our friends, that shall be fulfilled which is here promised. And from hence forward let them know in China, that wee never doe anything for feare, nor for threats of our enemies. Don Pedro concludeth, offering continuance of amitie by new bonds of peace with the Kingdomes of China: and that he will set at libertie in due time the Prisoners which he held in the Galleyes: albeit he thought to use them, as he did, in the voyage of Maluco; which he put in execution with speed. And all this he precisely performed.

**The English ships spoken of by Spaniards according to the mutuall hostilitie of those times.*

Chap. IIII.

The report of a Mahometan Merchant which had beene in Cambalu: and the troublesome travell of Benedictus Goes, a Portugall Jesuite, from Lahor to China by land, thorow the Tartars Countreyes.

Epist. Eman. Carvel. 1599.

JErome Xavere a Jesuite, in a Letter from Lahor in India, subject to the Mogoll, dated, August, 1598. relateth that an old man there knowne to have distributed 100000. Peeces of Gold at Mecca, affirmed to the Prince that he had lived in Xatai thirteene yeeres, in Xambalu the chiefe Citie; that the King thereof was mighty, and had in his Empire one thousand and fiftie Cities, some very populous; that he had often seene the King, with whom no man speakes but by a Supplication, nor is answered but by an Eunuch. And asked how hee had accesse thither, he said, he being a Merchant sustayned also the person

Xatai and Xambula, for Catai and Cambalu.

of the Embassadour of the King of Caygar, and being detained in the first Citie by the Magistrate, he shewed his Commission, and Poste was presently sent to the King, who returned in a moneth, riding ninety or an hundred courses a day, with change of Horses; bringing him Letters of admission. Hee said that they punish theeves severely: that these Xaitaians are white, long bearded, personable, and comely, therein to be preferred before the Rumes or Turkes; in Religion Isavites (Christians, so called of Jesus) some Musavites or Jewes, and many Mahumetans, insomuch that they hoped to bring the Christian King to that Sect. They had (he said to the Jesuite in another conference) many Temples, and Images painted and graven, and Crucifixes which they with great devotion worshipped; many Priests, much reverenced, each having his owne Church; to whom they offer their gifts, they lived single and kept Schooles; one supereminent: at the Kings charge were the Churches built and repaired; they ware blacke clothes, and on holidayes red, with Caps like the Jesuites, but greater; many Monasteries of both Sexes, and some in their owne houses, observing a single life; the Countrey rich, having many silver Mines; and that the King had foure hundred Elephants, which they said were brought from Malaca, and that Merchants resorted thither; the Voyage sixe moneths. Xaverius addeth, that in Caximir he heard of many Christians in Rebat, a Kingdome adjoyning to Catai, with Churches, Priests, and Bishops. These reports (sayth Trigantius) the Saracens made, either of purpose to deceive, after their wont; or were deceived by like shew of Holies in Images, Lamps, Altars, Priests vestments, Processions, Singings, and the like, which the Devill hath imitated among the Chinois like to our (Romish) Rites.

Caygar. [III. ii. 311.]

A Course or Cose is a mile and halfe, and sometimes two miles.

These reports caused the Jesuites in India to thinke of sending one of their Society into those parts. Pimenta the Father Visitour sent notice thereof to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine, who tooke Order with the Vice-roy to be advised herein by Pimenta. Benedictus Goez a

brother of that Society and Coadjutor to Xaverius, was thought fit for that designe, having the Persian tongue. And having come from Echebar (father of the present Mogol) who had lately taken Brampor, with his Legat, to Goa; hee was sent backe to Lahor, to accompanie the Merchants; which every fifth yeere, as that Saracen related, with title of Legats of the King of Persia, and other Easterne Kings (not otherwise admitted) went thither. In the yeere therefore 1602. he went to Agra, where Echebar applauded his purpose, and gave him foure hundred Crownes for his journey, besides a thousand Rupias hee had already spent. He changed his habite, and disguised himselfe like an Armenian Merchant, and so went to Lahor, calling himselfe Branda Abedula, whither he came on the eight of December. He went to the house of John Galisco a Venetian, and there provided himselfe of necessaries, wearing his haire and beard long, and Leo Grimone a Greeke, well skilled in Turkish and Persian, undertaking to be his companion, with Demetrius another Greeke, and Isaac an Armenian. Furnished with divers writings and a Catalogue of moveable Feasts till An. 1610. he set forth An. 1603. the sixth of Januarie from his Superiour, and in Lent after from Lahor, with the companie of Merchants which goe from the Mogols to Cascar, almost five hundred men, with many Camels and carriages.

De Christ. expedit. ap. Sinas l. 5. c. 11, 12, 13. Janic.thes.rer. Ind. t. 3. c. 24.

Athec.

In a moneths journey they came to a Citie called Athec, in the Province of Lahor; and after fifteene dayes, passed a River a flight shot broad, where they stayed five dayes, being told of theeves in great number at hand. Two moneths after they came to another Citie called Passaur, where they rested twentie dayes. Thence they going to another small Towne, met with a certaine Anchorite a stranger, by whom they understood that thirtie dayes off was a Citie named Capherstam, into which the Saracens are not permitted entrance, and if they enter are put to death. But Ethnike Merchants are admitted their Citie, yet not their Temples. Hee said, that the Inhabitants of that Region goe to Church all of them in blacke; their

Passaur.

Capherstam. Saracens not admitted.

Countrey fertile, and plentifull of Grapes. Hereby Goes supposed that they were Christians. In the place where they found this stranger, they stayed other twentie dayes. And because the way was infested with Theeves they received of the Lord of the place a Convoy of foure hundred Souldiers. In five and twentie dayes they came from hence to a place called Ghideli, all which way their carriages went at the foot of a Hill. The Merchants with Armes on the tops of the Hill made search for Theeves, which use to throw stones from thence on the Passengers, except thus prevented. In this place the Merchants pay Tribute. Being assaulted by Theeves many were wounded, and they had much adoe to save their lives and goods. Benedict escaped by flight into the Woods. At night they came againe together, and avoyded the Theeves. After other twentie dayes journey they came to Cabul, a Citie and Mart frequent, not yet having passed the Mogols Dominions. Here they stayed eight dayes: for some of the Merchants would goe no further, and others durst not, being so few. In this Mart the Sister of the King of Cascar, by whose Dominion they were to passe to Catay, happened on the Caravan. The Kings name was Maffamet Can; this his Sister was Mother to the King of Cotan, and called Agehanem (Age is a title given by the Saracens to those which have beene on Pilgrimage at Mecca, whence she now returned.) Being destitute of provision for her journey, shee demanded aide of the Merchants, promising to restore all faithfully with encrease when they were comne to her Kingdome.

Ghideli.

Assault of Theeves.

Cabul.

Goes thought it a fit occasion to procure the friendship of another King, his Mogoll Patents now wearing out. Hee lent her therefore on sale of some goods sixe hundred Crownes, refusing any contract of interest, which shee bountifully repayed in pieces of Marble much esteemed in China, the best merchandise for such as goe to Catay. Leo Grimane the Priest, wearied with the tediousnesse of the journey, went no further, and Demetrius stayed in this Citie on merchandising affaires. Goes held on with

[III. ii. 312.]

A kind of Marble much valued in China.

Isaac the Armenian, in the companie of other Merchants, which gave likelihood of better securitie. The first Citie they came at was called Ciaracar, in which place is great store of Iron. Here Goes was not a little troubled, the Mogols Seale in these his borders being neglected, which all this way hitherto had freed him from payment of Customes. Ten dayes after they came to a small Towne, called Paruam, the utmost of the Mogoll confines.

Ciaracar.

Paruam the extreme border of the Mogoll.

After five dayes stay, they had twentie dayes journey over high Mountaines into a Region named Aingharan. In fifteene dayes more they came to Calcia. The people of this Region hath yellow haire on head and beard like the Low-Countrey men, and dwell in divers Villages. Ten dayes after, they came to a place called Gialalabath, where the Bramanes exact Customes granted them by the King Bruarate. After other fifteene dayes they came to Talhan, where Civill broiles detayned them a moneth; the Calcians rebelling and endangering the wayes. Hence they passed to Cheman. Under Abdulahan King of Samarhan, Burgavia, and Bacharate, and of other neighbouring Kingdomes, is a small Towne, the Captaine whereof sent to the Merchants to containe themselves within the walls, the Calcians infesting all without. They answered, that they would pay their Customes, and pursue their journey by night. But hee forbad them, saying, that the Rebels had no Horses as yet, which if they could take from the Caravan, they would prove more mischievous: much better it were, if they would joyne with him to repell them. Scarcely were they comne to the walls, when the rumour came of the Calcians comming: at which newes the Captaine and his ranne away. The Merchants erected a sudden fortification of their packes, and carried into the same great store of stones to serve their turnes if Arrowes failed. The Calcians perceiving that, sent a message to the Merchants, that they should feare nothing, for they would accompanie and defend them. They durst not trust them, but resolved to flee to the next Wood, the Theeves taking out of the packes what they pleased, and

Aingharan. Calcia.

Gialalabath.

Cheman. Samarhan or Samarcand. Boghar.

then calling them forth, and permitting them with their emptied packes to enter the emptie walls. Benedict lost nothing but a Horse, for which also hee after received Cotton clothes. They lived within the walls in great feare. But at that time a great Captaine, named Olobet Ebadascan, sent his Brother out of the Bucharate Region to the Rebels, which caused them to permit the Merchants to goe freely: in all which journey the Rere was vexed with Pilferers. Foure of them set upon Goes, to escape whom hee threw amongst them his Persian Turbant, whereof they making a foot-ball, hee meane while set spurres to his Horse and overtooke his companie.

Eight dayes after with a tedious passage they came to Badascian, called Tengi, which signifieth A troublesome way: for there is space but for one to passe, and that on the high banke of a great River. The Inhabitants with a companie of Souldiers set upon the Merchants, and tooke from Goes three Horses, which he after redeemed with gifts. Here they stayed ten dayes, and thence in one day came to Ciarciunar, where they were five dayes detayned with raines in the open field, and were besides assaulted by Theeves. Ten dayes after they arrived at Serpanil, a place quite forsaken. They climbed into a high Hill, called Sacrithma, whither the strongest Horses were only able to passe, the rest going about. Two of Goes his Horses halted, and had much adoe to overtake their fellowes. In twentie dayes journey comming to the Province Sarcil, they there found many neighbouring Villages. After two dayes stay for refreshing, they in two dayes more came to the foot of a Hill, termed Ciecialith, which they ascended, thicke covered with Snow, wherewith many were frozen, and Goes was in great danger. For the Snow held them sixe dayes; after which they came to Tangetar, which belongs to the Kingdome of Cascar. There Isaac the Armenian fell from the banke of a great River into the water, and was eight houres space halfe dead. In fifteene dayes more they attayned the Towne Jaconich, such an ill way that Goes lost sixe

Tengi Badascian.

Ciarciunar.

Serpanil.

Sarcil.

Snowie way.

Tanghetar.

Jaconich.

Horses with the travell. In five dayes he got (hasting before the companie) to the chiefe Citie named Hiarchan, whence hee provided his companions of necessaries, who soone after arrived there in November, 1603.

Hiarchan.

Hiarchan the Seat Royall of the Kingdome of Cascar, hath great resort of Merchants, and is also well stored with variety of merchandise. The Caravan of Cabul here ends their Voyage: and from thence to Catay is a new one furnished, the Captainship whereof the King selleth at a great price, and conferreth on the Captaine Regall power over the Merchants thorow all that way. It was a yeeres space before they could all bee ready to so long and dangerous a journey, which required many persons. Neither is it performed every yeere, but by them onely which know they shall be admitted into Catay. There is no better merchandise (as before is said) then a certaine shining Marble, which wee are wont to call Jasper, for want of a fitter word; which the King of Catay buyeth at a great price; and what hee leaveth they may sell to others at exceeding rates. Of it they make divers ornaments for Vessels, Garments, Girdles, with leaves and flowers artificially engraven. The Chinois call it Tuscè; and of it are two kinds, one more precious which is taken out of the River Cotan, not farre from the Citie Royall, in manner as the Divers fish for Pearles, and is brought out like thicke flints; the other meaner is digged out of Hils, and is sawed into broad stones above two Ells wide, after fitted to the Voyage. This Hill is twentie dayes Journey from that Citie Royall, and is stiled Cansangui Cascio, that is, The stonie Mountayne. They are thence taken with incredible labour, both for the desertnesse of the place, and the inexorable hardnesse of the Marble, which they say is forced with fire made thereon to yeeld: the licence also to take it, is deere sold by the King to some one Merchant, who purchaseth the Monopoly; and when they goe thither they carrie a yeares provision for the Labourers, which in that space returne not.

Catay-Caravan.

Precious Marble.

[III. ii. 313.]

Mahamet Can King of Cascar.

Goes visited the King, whose name is Mahamethin,

and presented him with a Watch, a Glasse and other European Commodities, which made him very welcome. Hee would not at first tell him of going to Catay, but only spake of the Kingdome of Cialis East-ward from thence, and procured his grant thereto, assisted by the Sonne of his Sister the Pilgrime Queene before mentioned. Sixe moneths passed, and Demetrius one of his old Societie which staid at Cabul, came thither. At that time by the Kings License one of the Merchants was stiled Emperour as in jest, to whom the other Merchants after the custome gave Presents, which Demetrius refusing, was in danger to be imprisoned and beaten (for so large is his power) had not Benedict interceded and by a gift compounded the businesse. Theeves also brake into the House and setting a Sword to the Armenians brest terrified him from crying; but our Brother Demetrius hearing, cried out and scarred them away. Benedict was gone to the King of Quotans Mother for payment of his Debt: his Residence was ten dayes Journey thence, so that he spent a moneth therein before his returne. In this place the Saracens raised a report that he was dead, slaine by their Priests for refusing their holies. Now because he dyed intestate, they sought to seize on his goods, which was very troublesome to Isaac and Demetrius, both for defence of the goods, and losse of their Friend, which redoubled their joy at his returne with plentie of that Marble, and hee in thankfulnesse gave much Almes.

Cialis.

On a day as he was eating with other Saracens, one came in armed, and setting his Sword to his brest, charged him to invoke * Mahomet. He answered, that in his Law there was no such name invoked, and therefore refused: and by the company that mad fellow was extruded. The like zeale oft endangered him on like termes of Mahumetan profession. On another day he was called by the King of Cascar in the presence of his Cacises, the Priests, & the Mullas or learned men, and asked what Law he professed, whether that of Moses, or David, or Mahumet, and which way he turned himselfe in

**To use (as it seemes) those words La illah illalah, Mehumed resullalah, the Characteristical note of Mahumetan profession.*

praying. Hee answered, that hee professed the Law of Jesus, whom they call Isai, and turned any way when he prayed, beleeving that God was every where: about which rose amongst them great controversie, they using to turne to the * West: yet they concluded that our Law also might seeme good.

**To Mecca ward.*

Meane-whiles one Agiasi of that Countrey was named Captaine of the future Caravan, who invited our Brother to his House (having heard well of him) to a Feast, wherein they had Musicke after their manner. At the end, hee desired his company to Catay, which he much desired, but had learned by experience how to deale with the Saracens, and would be intreated, that he might seeme to doe, rather then receive, a Favour. The Captaine useth the Kings mediation, who desired him to accompany the Caravan Bassa, which he accepted upon condition of his Letters Patents for all that way. His Cabul companions were herewith offended, as loth to lose his company, and much disswaded him; but hee made shew as though hee were loth herein to displease the King, and for his sake had promised the Caravan Bassa, which now hee might not revoke. They said that these people were perfidious, and would devoure him and his: nor was their feare causlesse, for many of the Natives had told them, that those three Armenians (so they called all these three Christians) as soone as they were out of the walles would bee slaine. This terrified Demetrius from going further, who also disswaded Goez but in vaine, saying, he would not disappoint the hopes of so many, the Archbishop of Goa, and the Vice-roy to lose his expences, but would adventure his life in the Designe.

Caravan Bassa. See before in ChaggiMemet the like Journey and the same places.

Hee provided ten Horses for his Carriages, and for his fellow, having another at home. The Bassa was gone to his house five dayes Journey thence to make all readie, and thence sent to Goez to hasten.

Voyage to Catay from Hiarchan.

Anno 1604. about the midst of November, they came to a place called Jolci, where they use to pay Customes, and their Commissions are examined. Hence they went

to Hancialix Alceghet, to Hagabateth, to Egriar, to Mesetelec, to Thalec, to Horma, to Thoantac, to Mingieda, to Capetalcol Zilan, to Sarc Guebedal, to Cambasci, to Aconsersec, to Ciacor, to Acsu: in this way they spent five and twentie dayes, the way troublesome, both with store of stones or Rockes, and with Sands. Acsu is a Towne of the Kingdome of Cascar, the Governour whereof was Nephew to the King, then twelve yeares old. Hee would needs see Goez, who went and gave him childish Presents, Sugar and the like, and was gently entertayned of him. There being then a solemne dancing before him, he requested our Brother to dance, which to satisfie him, he did. *Places in the way.* *Goez danceth.*

He visited also his Mother and shewed her his Patent, which was with great reverence admitted: to her he gave a Chrystall glasse, a Calico cloth of India, and the like. The Childs Governour also, or Protector, which swayd the publike Affaires, sent for him. In this way one of Goez his Horses fell into a swift River, and escaped to the other side; and came againe of himselfe, the Name of Jesus being invoked. [III. ii. 314.]

In this way the Desert is passed called Caracathai, that is, The blacke Land of the Cathayans, in which they say the Catayans stayed long. In this Towne they stayed fifteene dayes for other Merchants, and then departing went to Oitograch Gazo, to Casciani, to Dellai, to Saregabedall, to Ugan, and after to Cucia, a small Towne where they stayed a whole moneth to refresh their beasts, which by the irksomnesse of the wayes, and weight of the Marble, and want of Barley were almost spent. Here the Priests demanded of Goez, why in their Solemne Fast (Lent) he fasted not, and almost forced him in hope of some Largesse or Fine. After they were gone hence in five and twentie dayes they came to the Citie Cialis, which was little, but well fortified. This Countrey was governed by a base Sonne of the King of Cascar, who hearing that Goez professed another Religion, began to terrifie him, saying, it was a bold part for a man of another profession *Caracthai, the first place of the Tartars Conquest.* *See before in F. Bacon, Rubr. &c. Acsui.* *Cialis.*

to enter those parts: for he might lawfully take from him his life and goods. But when he read his Letters Patents he was pacified, and with a Present was made also a friend. One night disputing about their Law, with the Priests and Learned men, he sent for Benedict into the Palace (whereupon suspition arose of some ill intent being at so unseasonable a time) hee went and being commanded to dispute, with force of Arguments silenced the Adversaries. The Vice-roy always protected him, approving his Sayings, and concluding that the Christians were the true Misermans, saying, that his Progenitors had professed the same Law. After the Disputation hee made him a Banquet, and caused him to lye that night in the Palace, so that Isaac was weeping at his returne, and almost in despaire to see him. In this Citie they stayed three moneths. For the Caravan Bassa would not depart without a great company (it being so much more gaine to him) nor suffer any man to goe before. Goez wearied with this tedious stay and chargeable expence, with a Gift obtayned leave of the Viceroy, the Caravan and Captaine being against it.

Musulmans, that is, right beleevers.

He then intended to proceed from Cialis, when the Merchants of the former Caravan returned from Catay. These faining an Embassage (after their wont) had pierced into the Royall Seat of Catay, and having convèrsed in the same Palace of Strangers with our (Jesuites) reported strange and certaine newes of Father Matthew and the Companie, to Goez, who wondred that Catay was become China. These Saracens were the same hereafter reported * of, which lived three moneths with ours, and told him that the Fathers had presented to the King, Watches, Pictures and other European Presents, and were much respected in the Palace, of the greatest, and (adding some lies) said that they had often spoken with the King. They reasonable well painted their faces, but knew not their names: by reason that after the China manner they had taken other names. And for further Argument they shewed a Paper written in Portugall, which they had taken out of the dust, when the Servant swept the Chamber, to

Newes of F. M. Ricius and the Jesuits.
**In Pantoia and Ricius.*

Names changed by the Jesuites.

shew in their owne Countrey. This cheared Goez hearing that Catay was China, and that Pequin the Royall Citie was Cambalu. *Cambalu.*

The Vice-roy gave him his Letters for securitie, and demanding whether he would be inscribed a Christian, he answered yea; for all this way he had comne, called by the Name of Isai, and so would hold out to the end. An old Saracen Priest hearing this, cast his Cap on the ground, applauding his resolute Zeale, saying, that theirs are reported to dissemble and alter their Religion with the Region. Goez went on with his companion, and a few others, and in twentie dayes came to Pucian a Towne of *Pucian.* the same Kingdome, where the Governour used him kindly and amply provided him out of his owne House. Thence they proceeded to Turphan, and staid a whole *Turphan.* moneth in that fortified Citie. Thence they passed to Aramuth, and after to Camul, a fortified place where they *Aramuth.* refreshed themselves another moneth, because they were well used in all the Kingdome of Cialis, which ends at this Towne. From Camul in nine dayes they came to the *Camul.* Northerne wals of China, to a place called Chiaicuon, *The wals of China.* where they staid five and twentie dayes for the Answere *Chiaicuon.* of the Vice-roy of that Province.

After this they were admitted entrance within the walles, and in one day came to Socieu a Citie, where they heard *Socieu in China.* much of Pequin, and other names knowne; so that now hee was out of all doubt that Catay and China differed only in name. All the way from Cialis to the borders of China, is infamous with incursions of the Tartars: and *Borderers theevish.* therefore Merchants passe these places with great feare, searching by day from the Neighbour Hils whether there bee any out-rode of Tartars, and if they judge the wayes secure they travell by night with silence. In the way they found many Saracens miserably slaine, having adventured to goe alone: although the Tartars seldome kill the Natives, saying, they are their Slaves and Herdsmen, from *Tartars customes in the borders.* whom they take away their flocks of Sheepe, and Herds of Bullocks. They eate no Wheate, Barley, nor Pulse, say-

ing, it is food for beasts, not men. They feed only on flesh, not sparing Horses, Mules, Camels, and yet are said to live one hundred yeares.

[III. ii. 315.] The Saracen Nations bordering on these parts of China, might easily by the Chinois bee subdued, as being not warlike men, if the Chinois cared to enlarge their Dominions. In this way one night Benedict fell from his Horse, his company going on and not missing him till they came to their Lodging, and then Isaac went backe to seeke him and found him by the sound of the Name Jesus, almost despairing to see his company any more.

These walls were built on the West of China, as it trends North-wards, about the space of two hundred * miles, where the Tartarian out-roads are now lesse dangerous. Against them are builded two fortified Cities with choise Garrisons. They have a peculiar Vice-roy and other Magistrates over them, which are commanded only from Pequin. In one of these (Canceu in the Province of Scensi) the Vice-roy resideth with other chiefe Magistrates. The other (named Soceu) hath a speciall Governour, and is distributed into two parts; in one of which the Chinois (whom the Saracens here call Catayans) in the other the Saracens, have their Habitation, which come from Cascar, and the like Westerne Kingdomes for Merchandizing Affaires. Some of them, as the Portugals at Amacao, in the Province of Canton, settle their abodes and have wives and children, accounted as Native subjects. But those Portugals live according to their owne Lawes, and have Magistrates of their owne, whereas these Saracens are governed by the Chinois, and every night are shut up by them within their owne Citie, inclosed with peculiar walls. The Law is, that he which hath stayed there nine yeares, may not returne to his Countrey. The Merchants come usually from the West to this Citie, which with fayned Embassage, by ancient leagues of seven or eight Kingdomes with that of China, have obtayned, that every sixth yeare seventie two in name of Legats should pay Tribute to the King, that shining Marble, pieces of

**This 200. is to bee understood of the Westerne part or perhaps all but so much is naturall of rockes or hils: or Trigantius a Dutchman might meane Dutch miles. The Map expresseth about 1000. miles. The reports are divers as from reports: for who could see it all? and what good would 200. miles doe, which horsemen in few dayes might passe.*

Diamonds, blue colour and other things; thence they goe to the Court at publike charge, and likewise returne. Their Tribute is rather by way of honour or homage then any way profitable; for no man payes dearer for this Marble then the King himselfe, who esteemes it a dishonour to take any thing of Strangers for nothing. And they are so entertayned at the Kings cost, that all things reckoned, they get every day above their necessarie charges a Ducket a man. Hence are many ambitious of this Embassage and purchase it of the Caravan Bassa (who hath the nomination) at great price: at that time counterfeiting their Kings Letters, acknowledging vassallage to the King of China. The like Embassages the Chinois admit from divers Kingdomes, from Cauchin-china, Siam, Leuchieu, Corea, and some of the Tartars Kingdomes, not without incredible expenses of the publike treasure: of which fraud the Chinois are not ignorant, but flatter with their King, as if all the World paid Tribute unto him, when as rather the Chinois in this manner pay Tributes to them.

Divers Embassages counterfeited.

At the end of the yeere 1605 our Benedict came to Soceu, growne wealthy by his long Journey; having thirteene Horses, five hired Servants, two Boyes which hee bought, and the most precious Marble of the rest, all valued at 2500. Duckets. Hee also and Isaac were well in health. In this Citie he lighted upon other Saracens returned from Pequin, which confirmed the former Reports of the Fathers, with other things beyond all measure of Faith, that the King of China paid them money daily by a certaine measure and not by weight. Hee writ presently to Father Matthew to Pequin, to acquaint him with his comming, and gave the Letters to certaine Chinois: but because he knew not the China name wherewith Ours were called, and the Region where they resided, and writ in European Characters, those Chinois could not deliver them. The next yeare at Easter, he sent againe by a Saracen Fugitive (for they may neither goe in nor out without the Magistrates leave) and

Reports of travellers to bee weighed.

writ to them of his Voyage and state, desiring them to take some course to free him from that Prison, that he might returne by Sea into India, the Portugall way. The Father had long before learned by Letters from India, of this intended Journey, and yeerely expected him, and made much enquirie of those counterfeit Embassadors, but could not till now heare of him. They were now therefore much joyed to read his Letters, which in *Novem.* 1606. November following came to their hands, and one was presently sent, to bring him by some meanes to Pequin, not one of the Societie lest one stranger should hinder another, but a Pupill which lately admitted, had not yet entred his probation, named John Fernandus a wise young man, with a companion, a new Convert, skilled in those parts. And if hee could not bring him thence by the Magistrates leave or by other Arts, he should stay there with him, and write to the Company, who by their friends would procure him passage.

This Journey was unreasonable in the hardest of Winter, being almost foure moneths Journey from Pequin. Yet would not Father Matthew deferre any longer, which if he had done, Goez would have beene dead before his comming. Hee and two others of the Societie writ to him. Meane-while Goez suffers more wrongs of the Saracens in this place then hee had done in the way, and was faine to sell his Marble halfe under the price for provisions, whence he made 1200. Duckets and paid his Debts, and sustained his Family a yeere. Meane-while, the Caravan came with their Captaine, and he with entertainments was againe forced to borrow, and because hee was chosen into the number of the seventie two, he provided him of some Marble pieces, without which had beene no going to Pequin. Hee hid one hundred pounds in the ground that the Saracens should not know thereof. Ferdinandus went from Pequin the eleventh of December, and his Servant ranne from him at Singhan, the Mother Citie of the Province of Sciansi, carrying away halfe their provision. At the end of March, 1607. he yet made shift

Caravan commeth.

[III. ii. 316.]

Singhan.

to get to Soceu, and found Goez lying on his Death-bed, who had dreamed that one of our company would come thither the next day, and sent Isaac into the Market who brought Ferdinandus to him. Having received the Letters, he brak into a Nunc dimittis, as seeming to have ended his Pilgrimage. Eleven dayes after Goez dyeth, *Goez dyeth.* not without suspition of Poyson from the Saracens. They had perpetuall Spies to watch and catch what he left, which they did most barbarously execute, and amongst the rest his Journall was lost which he had written in very small Letters. They sought for it to prevent payment of Debts there entred. They would have buried him like a Saracen, but Isaac and Ferdinand excluded them and buried him, with a recitall of the Rosarie, in defect of other Bookes. Thus died Benedict Goez, a man of great parts, which had after his admission done great service to the Societie (howsoever he was not a Priest) much esteemed by the Great Mogoll, whom he averted from the Warre of India. He disswaded before his death that Ours should not trust the Saracens, nor adventure this way, as unprofitable and dangerous. And although hee dyed without Confession in so many yeeres, yet he was cheerefull in the mercie of God, and professed that his conscience did not accuse him of matters of any moment.

By a Tartarian custome they divide the goods of the *Tartarean Tartars.* deceased amongst them all, and therefore bound Isaac threatning to kill him if he turned not Mahumetan; but Ferdinand put up a Supplication to the Vice-roy at Canceu, who subscribed that the Governour of Soceu should examine the businesse. He first was favourable, but corrupted by bribes threatned to whip him, and held him in Prison three dayes. But he sold his Garments for want of Money, and continued the Suit five moneths, not being able at first to conferre with Isaac for want of Language. Isaac only uttered a few Portugall words, and the Judge had thought they had spoken in the Canton Tongue. At last, Ferdinand learned to speake Persian, and was able to conferre with him. The Saracens pleaded

that Ferdinand was a Chinese by his countenance, the other a Saracen: hee answered that his Mother was a Chinese, whom he resembled. But nothing moved the Judge more then that he was an enemy to their Religion, and pulling a piece of Porke out of his sleeve, they both did eate it; whereupon with laughter of the Assembly, the Saracens abhominated both, spitting at the Armenian, and leaving the Suit, saying, that the Armenian was deluded by the China-coozener. For in all the way to *Isaacs journey.* prevent offence, Benedict and Isaac had abstayned from Porke. And thus all was by the Judges sentence restored to Ferdinand which had beene Benedicts: but nothing was found, save Marble pieces which had beene hidden in the ground, which was sold, and yeelded to pay their Debts and provision for their Journey to Pequin, whither both of them came. They brought a faire gilded Crosse-Picture and the Charters of three Kings, Cascar, Quotan and Cialis, which are reserved at Pequin for a memoriall. Isaac related all this Storie to Father Matthew upon credit of his memorie, and having stayed a moneth, was sent the wonted way to Amacao; where being well entertayned, hee in sayling thence to India, was taken by Hollanders, and lost both goods and libertie. But the Portugals of Malaca redeemed him, and he held on his course to India, and hearing of his Wives death, went not to the Mogols *Chaul.* Countrey, but staid at Chaul, and is now at the writing 1615. hereof alive.

Chap. V.

A Generall Collection and Historicall representation of the Jesuites entrance into Japon and China, untill their admission in the Royall Citie of Nanquin.

§. I.

Of Francis Xavier, Melchior Nunnes, Valignanus, Ruggerius and Pasius.

Forasmuch as we have sailed so lately from the Philippinas to China, and backe againe with our Friers, and have given you a Jesuits Land Journey, we thought it worthy our labour also to launch into the deepe of their Navigations, and to honour the Jesuits, (to whom in the following parts of this Historie we are so indebted) with observing their Observations of Japon, and the intercourse thereof with China; and from it (as the greatest and most glorious Easterne Jesuiticall Conquest) to ship our selves in their Barge to China. How Francis Xavier (now Sainted at Rome, together with Ignatius Loiola, first Founder of that Order) laboured the Conversions of Gentiles and Pagans to Christianitie, as in other parts of the Indies, so heere in Japan I willingly acknowledge; yea, so farre am I from envying either him or his Order, or any other Order stiled Religious, their Trophees of Conversions, that I could wish the Pope seated in Miaco, and all the Jesuits, & Friers, yea, all his Jesuited Clergie fully possessed of the Bonzian Colledges & Temples in Japan; whence a double good might issue; to the Ethnikes some light in stead of a totall darknesse, a diseased life being better then death; and to Europe, to be lightned of their burthen, where professing themselves Lights, they prove Lightnings, and raise so manifold combustions.

Ignatius and Francis canonized by Greg. 15. *March* 12. 1622. [III. ii. 317.]

And most especially could I wish this honour to my Countrey-men the English Jesuites, and Priests, Popish Emissaries of whatsoever Order, that they were there ordered, or (which fits their ambition better) ordering that Easterne World, rather then here disordered and disordering, playing the Lords of Mis-rule in the West. The very Name of Christ is sweet to mee, even in Japan, yea, from a Jesuites mouth, or a Jesuites Convert; and would God they taught them Jesus more, and lesse Jesuitish fancies of exchanged worship of Creatures, howsoever gilded with Christian Names, that the Japonians might learne to acknowledge Jesus and Maria truly, and not with Names and Images of they know not what, to worship Venus and her Sonne Cupid, in stead of the Blessed Virgin, and that incarnate Blessednesse her blessed Sonne, who is God over all blessed for ever.

This happened in Capt. Saris his ship. See to. 1. l. 4. c. 1. p. 367.

One told Cortes the Mexian Conqueror then speaking great words, that there is much difference in conquering Neighbours at home, and naked Americans; I adde, that a man may be Christened, and yet farre short of Christianitie, (even by Jesuites * testimonies) and that somewhat more is required to a Christian then Christian Names, given in Baptisme to hundreds at once, as some have done without further instruction. Devotion is rather to be prized by weight and worth, then by tale and numbers, as happens in their Beades here, and too often in their Conversions there: which were they indeed so much to be magnified and gloried in, would aswell prevaile in men of capacitie to overthrow strong holds and high imaginations, as here to worke on our silly women laden with sinnes, hoping for their Confession-cure; and there, with sillinesse it selfe, or such as Reason turnes Christians because they will not runne madde with their owne to such Monsters as their Bonzi teach them. Themselves confesse, that it is not much, they can prevaile with Mahumetans any where; or here in China: and Ours have found them to say more then they had done in that little.

**See sup. l. 9. c. 12. §. 5. and the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage.*

2. Cor. 10. 4.

See Sir T. Roe and M. Terry, sup. p. 1482. and 586. This Storie shewes that with Mogols & Chinois gifts are best Converters.

I should much rejoyce that their Reports were true, and

that as an Orator* of theirs hath solemnized the Canonization of Loiola, their Patriarke, and Xavier the Indian Apostle (so hee stileth them) this Saint Francis had converted three hundred thousand Soules, of innumerable Nations; yea, all Heretikes in neere sixteene hundred yeeres, had not converted so many, nay, had not perverted so many not Christians, to all their Heresies together, as he alone adjoyned to Christ in eleven yeeres. I am glad to heare it, and that which hee addeth, that all Heretickes whatsoever had not infected so many Languages and peoples, as those of which hee had illustrated many with Christian Truth and Pietie. Doth this man consider how much of the World hath beene Christian, and how much after that Hereticall? how many more Nations the Nestorian Heresie hath infected then Xavier saw, leavening, in manner, all Asia from Constantinople where it began, unto Tartaria? Cathay, or China, and the Indies, and hath not the Jacobite Heresie prevailed over Africa? and before that the Arrian; over all the World, which as Saint Hierome saith, groned and wondred to see it selfe growne Arrian? But these perhaps rather perverted Christians then any way converted Ethnikes! Yet the great Nations of the Gothes and Vandales were of Ethnikes made Arrians, the great Nations of the Lithuanians, Muscovites, Russes, &c. have not many hundred yeeres since of Ethnikes beene converted to the Greeke Church, which they hold not Catholike (that I mention not the Armenians, Georgians, and others) one of which numbreth many times three hundred thousand.

*Adol. Schulkenius. Colon. A. 1622. Jun. 26.

See before in Polo; Conti, &c. the truth hereof.

And that one Impietie of Mahumet hath more Followers many, then all whatsoever professions of Christianitie in all Languages, Nations, Rites whatsoever (I greeve to tell it) and that from perverse Ethnikes and perverted Christians. And although Luther and Calvin went not out of Germanie and France (which he objects) yet their sound, the Gospell which they preached hath gone over all the Earth, (as these our Relations shew in

the Voyages of English, Dutch, French, yea, the Apostles themselves) and they have shaken the Towres of Babylon in Europe, where they were strongest (where Antichrist hath his Throne, a Conquest more then Indian or *Apoc.* 18. Japonian) and when the Prophesie of Babylons utter ruine is fulfilled, the same word shall conquer (I hope) both Jewes and Gentiles; yea, these Jesuites and their Preachings, may by Divine Dispensation become Harbengers to the Gospell hereafter, as the Jewish Dispersions in the Translations of the Scripture and profession of the true God, were fore-runners of the Apostles preaching. Meane-while they find us worke at home to watch over *Acts.* 20. our Flockes, lest such grievous Wolves enter, and make us to leave the Pharisies glorie of compassing Sea and Land to winne Proselites to these their Heires and Successors in this, as in many other things. But I will leave them glorying of their Conversions, grieving that they are *Cic. pro Milone.* not herein better then their reports. I will follow them to these parts of China, and here for Chinas sake to Japon, [III. ii. 318.] and with that Rule of Cassius (Cui bono) observe them, in things not gainefull to their Religion, approve and applaud their industrie, yea, accept and thankfully acknowledge their authoritie. In their Conversions to the Faith, I suspend my faith in the qualitie, if I admit their quantitie. For how could one man well instruct so many in so little time, except hee could have given the Holy Ghost, as the Apostles in their conversions did.

How little in comparison was Pauls, from Jerusalem to Illyricum? Francis Xavier, in the yeere 1541. sayled from Lisbon, wintred at Mosambique, whence hee passed into India, after that to Malaca, and to Japonia, Et Cunctas oras (sayth the former Author) quas Oceanus ab Indico mari usque ad extremos Sinas, id est totius Orbis dimidium, circumfluit, Evangelica prædicatione illustravit & implevit, (Japon was first discovered and knowne to the Portugals by Mota, carryed out of his course to China thither by tempest, 1542.) Hee dyed, Anno 1552. the five and fiftieth of his Age, of his Indian peregrination the eleventh, in the Ile Sancian, on the Coast of China. This

was the Indian Standard-bearer to all of that Societie (beginning his travell to Lisbon the first yeere of their Confirmation 1540.) and now deified or Canonized, and invoked by Doctor Schulchenius, Chancellor of Collen his Orator, Ignati & Francisce vestris succurrite precibus, &c. A Letter of his written from Japon, in November, 1549. thus relateth.

Letter of Xavier.

Wee came by Gods grace in August to Japon, on the Feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Marie, having set foorth from Malaca on Midsommer day. The Master of the Ship was a Chinese, which had undertaken that office to the Captayne of Malaca, and sayled prosperously till the Master altered his minde (as those Barbarians are usually inconstant) and lingred long amongst the Ilands in the way. This troubled us in two respects principally, both for the losse of the season which God offered, and which being past, wee were compelled to winter on the Coast of China; and againe, because in the same Ship was carryed an Idoll of the Devill, to which the Mariners in sight and spight of us, sacrificed after the manner of their Countrey. They also by lots demanded answers thereof, touching their Voyage; which (as they sayd and beleeved) were sometimes good, sometimes bad. A hundred leagues from Malaca, holding our course to China, wee stayed at an Iland, where after many Ceremonies the Devill was consulted, what fortune wee should have, who answered, very prosperous: Whereupon with great alacritie wee set sayle: they worshipped the Idoll placed in the poope, with Candles burning and incense of sweet Wood; wee trusted in God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and in his Sonne our Lord Jesus Christ, desiring to carrie his Religion into those parts. When wee were under sayle, they demanded of the Devill, whether this Ship should returne from Japon to Malaca: the answer was made by the lot-casters, that it should goe to Japon, but not returne to Malaca; which made them alter their mindes, thinking it better to winter in China, and to deferre the voyage to Japon till the next yeere. You may

Devill worshipped by the Chinois.

well thinke how it grieved us, that the Devill must bee consulted touching our course. After this we came to Cauchinchina, where two adverse things happened, Emanuel Sina our companion, by the rolling of the Ship in the troubled Sea fell into the sinke, almost dead with the bruise and water, but in few dayes recovered: which before it was ended, the Masters Daughter with the like rolling of the Ship fell into the Sea, and in all our sight was drowned, and much lamentation followed. The Barbarians presently sought to pacifie the Devill, and without rest all the day and night, tooke paines to kill Birds to the Idoll, and to set dishes (of meate before it,) and by lots consulted to know the cause of that misfortune. The answer was, that if Emanuel which first fell in, had dyed, the Girle had not fallen into the Sea. You see in what danger the Devill hereby had cast us, if our Lord had not restrayned his rage, &c.

Canton.

The tempest being asswaged, wee came in few dayes to the Port of Canton in China. And there they purposed to Winter, notwithstanding all our intreaties and expostulations: but I know not how on a sudden they would goe to Chincheo, on the same Coast. And when wee were almost there, the Master was certified by some which sayled by, that there was store of Pirats at Chincheo; whereupon the winde being faire for Japon, and crosse for Canton, they brought us to Cangoxuma, the Countrey of our friend Paul, whose friends used us unkindly. There wee spent fortie dayes in learning the Elements of the Japonian tongue with great labour, and began to publish the Decalogue, and other heads of Christian learning, which Paul had accurately converted into his owne Language; and wee purposed speedily to Print them, whereby the knowledge of Christ is further and more easily founded, &c. The occasion of his journey thither, hee sheweth in another Letter, that some Portugals being lodged in a House possessed by Devils, compassed the sayd house with Crosses, and that there was great hope of good to bee done in those parts: whereupon, notwith-

Cangoxima in Japon Paul had beene in India, and was Baptised.

standing those Seas are very tempestuous, and much infested with Pirats, hee resolved to goe thither. *Seas tempestuous and Piraticall.*

Ricius and Trigantius, adde that the Japonian Priests alledged in defence of their Idolatries, the Chinois wisedome against him, whereupon hee returned to India, to advise with the Vice-roy to send an Ambassage into China, without which there was no entrance, and obtayned that James Pereira was named Legate, with whom he had before conferred about the businesse at Sancian, where the Portugals at that time used to trade with the Chinois, (Amacao not yet established) but Alvarus Taidius the Captayne of Malaca opposed. Xavier loath herein to bee crossed, used the Popes Bull, which constituted him Apostolicall Nuncio, and grievously Cursed all that should hinder his proceedings in promoting Religion. And when Alvarus would not otherwise relent, hee interdicted him and his followers. Soone after Alvarus was possessed with a Leprosie, and further contemning the Vice-roy, was taken and cast in Irons, and dyed miserably. Xavier burning with zeale of his China expedition, sought to get some Chinois by favour or reward, to conveigh him by stealth into China, and to expose him some-where on the Continent, although hee knew that imprisonment attended such strangers, as came into China without licence. Being admonished to take leave of the Captayne, What, sayd hee, should I goe to salute an Excommunicate person? I shall never see him, nor hee me, in this life, nor after, but when in the Vale of Josaphat I shall accuse him before the Judge, Christ. And praying for him, after with a countenance full of Majestie, hee put off his shooes, and shooke off the dust, according to the Evangelicall precept. Thus he came to Sancian a Desart Iland, where the Portugals used to make Boothes of boughes of straw, (for the time of their Trading with the Chinois) with whom hee consulted about some way to effect his desires, though with losse of libertie or life. At last he agreeth with a China Merchant, for as much Pepper (given him of the Portugall Merchants in

[III. ii. 319.]

Xaviers zeale.

Sancian thirtie leagues from the China shoare.

almes) as was worth above two hundred Duckets, to set him and his Interpreter on shoare secretly. Hee undertooke it, but either secretly terrified by other Portugals, or with his owne danger, his Interpreter forsooke him: and after that, the Merchant also vanished. He stayed yet wayting for him, till a Fever tooke him out of the world, in December, 1552. His corps was after translated to India.

Xaviers death. See Vita Xaverii. & F. Pinto. & Eman. Acosta Maffærius Ricius, &c.

The Portugals of those times, were very desirous of Trade with the Chinois, who on the other side were very suspitious of them, both by that which they saw of their Ships and Ordnance, and by that which the Moores at Canton reported of these Franks, (so the Mahumetans * call Europæns) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in Malaca and all India, under colour of Merchandise subjected to the Portugals. The Chinois at Canton call them still Falanks: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowell interposed. By the same name they call also the Portugals Ordnance. Yet desire of gaine prevayled, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye have heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to India. That course continued divers yeeres, till the Chinois growing lesse fearefull, granted them in the greater Iland a little Peninsula to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to bee seene, called Ama, whence the Peninsula was called Amacao, that is, Amas Bay. This Rocke indeed rather then Peninsula, began to bee inhabited not onely of Portugals, but of the confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of Europe, India, and the Moluccas, brought in Portugals Ships, and especially love of the Silver Coynes, brought the Chinois thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the Portugals made not onely contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the Chinois, and so the Peninsula was filled with private houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble Mart. And as gayne brought

**Since the Expedition of the Westerne Christians (the chiefe of which were Franks) to the conquest of Jerusalem.*

A Peninsula is compassed with water except on one part.

Beginnings of Amacao.

Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get soules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the Portugall Kings priviledged the place with the tytle of a Citie, and made it a Bishops See. There the Jesuites fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Ladie, and after that divers others. For it seemed convenient to their designes, the world of China lying to the North, the Moluccas to the South, Japon, and the Philippinas to the East, to the West Cochinchina, Camboia, Siam, and others.

From hence, many intended the China imployment without successe, those fields not then white to the harvest. Melchior Nunnes, (Anno 1555.) from Canton, writes of his accidentall going a shoare on China, in his voyage to Japan, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subject. They came in July to Sancian an Iland, thirtie leagues from Canton, being much indangered by the Rockes in the way, and there hee sayd Masse over the place where Xavier had beene buryed; and easily obtayned admission into Canton. This is reported to bee the least of all the Mother Cities of the Provinces, yet seeming to exceed Lisbone, in frequencie. The buildings are good, the walls strong: a thousand Arches with inscriptions are seene therein, which the Magistrates usually leave as Memorials at their departure. The people are given to their bellies, and to pleasure. The Government is admirable. The Chiefe Justice they call Hexasi, the Treasurer Ponchasi, the Admirall and Governour of Strangers, Aitan. The Chaens Ensignes, are a Hand and an Eye; his office is to see the Execution of the Kings Sentences, to order or deprive Magistrates. The Tutan is Vice-roy, conspicuous by his Cap and his Garments, wrought with a gilded Lion, which * is the Kings Armes: in State hee excelleth European Kings. The Portugall Captaynes and wee speake not to him, but aloofe on our knees. If any will speake with him, at every Gate of his sumptuous Palace, hee must aloud utter his businesse, before the Porter admits him. Hee hath many for his Guard. And

Melchior Nuni.

Canton least Metropolitan Citie. I take but a little of his relation, because you have so much before.

Aiton, Aitao, or Haitao.

**So Pinto also, but this is the Provinces Armes not the Kings.*

one hundred thousand men are sayd to bee maintayned at the Kings cost, for the keeping of this Province. His Officers goe two and two and make way with great cryes. Their Cane-whippings are terrible, the Canes burned at the end, a cubite long, foure fingers broad, &c. The Chinois are wittie and judicious, in matters of the world: but have little care of the soule, ignorant of its * immortalitie, of one God, and of eternall rewards and punishments. Their Priests have a kinde of Myter on the head, are shaven head and beard, otherwise contemptible. I could not with great diligence finde any that could shew mee their Ceremonies, and the lawes of their Holies. The Inhabitants all have Idols, which they incense; and divine by lots, beating the Idols if the Lots prove unluckie. I was twice at Canton, and spent two moneths there to redeeme Portugall prisoners. The Chinois kill or captivate the Portugals, which are wracked on that Coast, which yet they cease to doe, since they pay their Customes. I went thence in May to Japan.

**Some Sects acknowledge more, others lesse.*

[III. ii. 320.]

Valignanus.

Alexander Valignanus, was sent by the Jesuiticall Generall into India as Visitor, and having visited other parts, came to Amacao, in his way to Japon, forced to stay there ten moneths with the Jesuites. There hee more fully informed himselfe of the state of China, and raised the embers of the almost extinguished zeale of that expedition. Hee is thought to bee the Author of that treatise called Admiranda Regni Sinensis, contayning a summarie of the wonders in China, worthy heere to have beene inserted, but that wee rather ayme at things seene then heard, as having better certaintie. Oculatus testis unus prestat auritis decem. Upon the consideration of their wits, Peace, Policie, studies of Learning, hee conceived that if any were skilfull of their Language and Letters, he might doe some good for their Conversion. Hereupon hee resolved to imploy some that way, although many others of the companie which had experience of the China affayres, held it labour in vayne. Yet hee went on and because of the paucitie of ours at Amacao, and

Admiranda regni Sinensis extant with the Jesuites Epistles published by Jo. Hayus. Plaut.

none so fit for that designe, hee sent into India to the Provinciall, to send thither at least one Priest for that purpose. And he going to Japon, left order what hee which was sent should doe.

Mich. Ruggerius.

Michael Ruggerius, an Italian of the Kingdome of Naples, was sent, and came to Amacao, in July, Anno 1579. and applyed himselfe to learne the language which the Courtiers in China use, and is common thorow all China, (the Provinces having otherwise peculiar languages) also to learne to reade and write their Characters, which are as many as words. That language was verie hard both in it selfe, and for the want of teachers. For those Christian Chinois which lived at Amacao, in habit of Europeans, & those which came thither in Merchandise, were almost as ignorant of the Court tongue, as of the Portugall: and though they understood it, yet they could not well pronounce it. And for the Characters, they know those which belonged to their Merchandising and common use. Labor improbus omnia vincit. With pictures his teacher was often forced to supply characters. And whereas the Portugals twice a yeere in the Mart season have accesse to Canton, about Januarie and June, he went with them thither. For in time they obtayned this libertie, that not in a desart Iland, as first, nor in the Amacao Haven, but in the Metropolitan Citie two dayes up the River, they might have trading by day, but lye aboard at night, with so many eyes and watches on them, as it is manifest they are not altogether free of their former feares.

Portugall trade at Canton by day, and extrusion at night.

These Marts continue two moneths each of them, or longer, and have beene the onely meane of admitting the Jesuites into China, by the industrie and pietie of other Portugals. Ruggerius therefore with his merchandise also adventured with them, and found an impediment at first. Another Jesuite which before had gone thither had converted a youth, Disciple to a Priest, and closely conveyed him to Amacao. His Master made complaint and procured the Magistrate to fetch him backe by force, to the great trouble of Ours, and seeming discredit as if by ill

Rugg. first entrance.

arts they had seduced Children from their Parents, which is a thing at Canton, both usuall and Capitall. Ruggerius enterposed himselfe with great care and discretion, and appeased the Admirall or Hai-tao which hath the command of Strangers, who hereby had an opinion of his vertue, and delighted to see him studious of the China bookes. He therefore permitted him to stand at his side when others kneeled, and freed him also from the going aboard at night, and allowed him a place in the Palace, where the Ambassadours of the King of Siam were usually entertayned, bringing their present or tribute (such as you have heard in Goez) to the King. There hee studied night and day the China bookes, and on Sundayes and Holy-dayes, the Portugals came thither to him to Masse and to receive the Sacraments. This continued whiles they continued, for when the Mart ended hee was commanded to returne with them. The Father procured acquaintance also with the chiefe Captayne of the Souldiers of that Province (the Chinois call him Zumpim) to whom hee gave a watch. By this meanes many of those which came to Amacao, began to shake off their Ethnike darknesse, and the devout Portugals erected a House for the Catechumeni (new Converts to bee instructed in Christian mysteries before Baptisme) where hee instructed them, and more freely followed his China studies, by helpe of Interpreters. One businesse hindred another, and his Marts absence (which tooke up neere halfe the yeere) this Catechising, and a tongue is hardly learned by studie without use; and therefore the Visitor sent for Matthew Ricius out of India, (which had come out of Europe with Ruggerius, and now had finished his Divinitie course at Goa) to bee his yoake fellow, one to whom the China expedition is most indebted.

Ruggerius freed by the Hai-tao.

Ambassage of Siam.

Zumpim or Chumbim.

Mat. Ricius.

Anno 1582. Valignanus the Visitor, carryed certayne Japonian Princes sent to Rome to yeeld subjection to the Pope, in the name of those Kings which sent them, as you shall heare. He staying for the Monson at the Colledge of Amacao, tooke great paines to advance the

China businesse. And to that purpose hee instituted the Fraternitie or fellowship of Jesus in our House, with lawes fitting to New Converts; forbidding any Portugals to bee therein admitted, but onely Chinois, and Japonians, and those which were newly converted of other Nations: alway to bee governed by one of those Fathers which should bee assigned to the China Expedition, called, The Father of the new Converts, taking care not onely of their salvation, but their other affaires and poverty. *Fraternitie of Jesus.* [III. ii. 321.]

The Vice-roy of Canton Province is one of the chiefe Vice-royes, because his Province is farre from Pequin, and coasting on the Sea; infested therefore with often Piracies, especially Japonian. Hereupon the Canton Vice-roy exerciseth jurisdiction also in the adjoyning Province, Quamsi, if occasion require to levie more Souldiers, although Quamsi hath also a Vice-roy of her owne. For this cause the Canton Vice-roy resideth not at Canton, but at Sciauquin, a Citie bordering on both Provinces. At this time Cinsui borne in the Province of Fuquien, was Vice-roy, a covetous man, who to get money of the Amacaons sent thither his Writ for the Bishop and Captaine to come to his Court, understanding that they commanded all there. They thought it not agreeing to the Portugall honour to goe, nor to their safety to neglect his summons, and therefore by Valignanus his advise, Ruggerius was sent in the name of the Bishop, to see if hee could get a perpetuall Station in that Kingdome, and Penella the Auditor, in place of the Captaine. And to obtaine his favour, that he should not disturbe their merchandising, a Present was sent him at publike charge, of such things as the Chinois most regard, as waved garments of silke Damaske (which the Chinois then knew not how to make) Crystall Glasses, and other things valued at 1000. Duckets. The Vice-roy received them in great pompe, more to terrifie then honour them; but at the sight of the Presents (the scope of his purpose) hee became gentle and courteous, and decreed that they might live in his Port in manner as hitherto they had done, obeying the *Vice-roy of Canton.* *Quamsi.* *Sciauquin.*

Lawes of the China Magistrates: which words seeme formall, the Portugals living there after their owne Lawes; and other Nations, yea the Chinois themselves which are Christians in habite and religion, being subject to them. The other Chinois are subject to common Officers sent thither from Canton. The Vice-roy would have nothing, but hee would pay for it, which hee did because bribes and gifts are there severely punished: but privily hee sent to them, that money was given them to procure him as many other like.

Bribe trickes.

Ruggerius desired that which he came for, saying, he learned the China Tongue and read their Bookes, which he seemed much to like, and gave him hopes at his next returne to obtayne it. And having given them weight of Silver; with provision, great attendance of Magistrates and Souldiers, much Musicke of Hoybuckes and other Instruments, hee sent them pompously thorow the publike streets of the Citie to their shipping. So weighty is hope of gaine. In August had comne (as they use) Portugall ships to Amacao, in them of our Society not a few, and amongst others, Father Matthew Ricius, who brought with him an artificiall Watch from the Provinciall for the advancing this China businesse. About that time the Captaine of Amacao having made readie those things which the Vice-roy prescribed, sent backe the Auditor to Sciauquin, but Ruggerius unseasonably (or seasonably rather as the event manifested) fell sicke; yet sent word to the Vice-roy that he could not come to him as he had promised: and withall, that he had a Clocke-watch which did without any striker sound the houres, a thing even still of much wonder to the Chinois. Hearing of his sicknesse, hee seemed sorrowfull, but this Watch awaked him, and caused him to make his Secretarie presently write a Licence for the Father to come to him with that admirable worke, as soone as he should bee able. When this Charter was read at Amacao, it contayned more; for the Fathers were invited by publike Authoritie to erect a publike and private house in that Citie, which caused great joy. But

Mat. Ricius.

Clocke-watch.

the Visitor was afraid as yet to send Ruggerius, as not furnished fully for that designe; the beginning of a thing being the greatest part. The other Jesuites perswaded, and Father Francis Pasius bound for Japon, a man well qualified for governing was sent, and Ruggerius adjoyning his Colleague. Ricius was made Governour of the Colledge of the Catechumeni, and appointed to follow the other two, if occasion served. And if the businesse proceeded not, Pasius was to proceed to Japon, and the other two to attend better opportunitie in their China businesse.

Jesuites first China station. Three cornered Glasse.

Those two Jesuites went to Sciauquin, and offered their Watch with a triangle Glasse presenting variety of colours, a thing admired of the Chinois as a precious Jewell: both which were exceeding welcome to the Vice-roy, who assigned them a convenient station in a Suburbian Temple, called Thien-min-zu, whither he often sent them divers viands, and often admitted them in Visitation to his Palace. There they abode foure or five moneths, often visited in that Temple by principall men and Magistrates of the Citie, and were in hope of their perpetuall continuance, having obtayned licence of the Secretarie also for Ricius to come, who was preparing for the Voyage, when all was disturbed on a sudden, the Vice-roy being I know not for what fault, deprived of his place. He fearing least in the chiefe Citie the presence of Strangers might further hurt him, dismissed the Jesuites so, as hee permitted them to stay at Canton, commanding the Magistrate there to provide them a house and ground. The Chinois call that Citie Quam-cheu which the Portugals (by the name of the Province deluded) call Canton. They well knew that his commission was of no force, yet they went, and the Haitau, to whom the Charter was directed was absent, and no regard being had thereof, they were not permitted to ascend the bankes, and therefore with griefe returned to Amacao. Pasius presently sayled according to the Visitors appointment to Japon, and after divers yeeres labour there, was Under-provinciall of the China and Japonian Missions: and when both of those

Quam-cheu the true name of Canton.

[III. ii. 322.]

expeditions were by the Generals order made a Province, he was declared Visitour thereof, and came to Amacao, to take order for China, where within few moneths he died.

Pasius dieth long after.

§. II.

Japonian Embassage to the Pope; of Nabunanga and Quabacondono their government; Corai invaded, Embassage from China, Taicosamas Temple, and Ogoshosamas succession.

HAving mentioned that Embassage of Japonian Kings sent to the Pope by procurement of the Jesuites, out of their writings I have heere added for further illustration, the acts of the publike Consistorie in this forme of words.

Japonian Embassage to the Pope. Edidit Hen. Cuickius.

Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, sitting in the Hall designed for entertaynment of Kings, and their Embassages on the three and twentieth of March, 1585. in the morning, in a most ample Session of the Cardinals of the Holy Romane Church, and in a great assembly of Princes and Prelates with greatest industry, and most frequent attendance of all Orders: Mantius and Michael (who was also of the Prince of Omur) two Legates of Japonian Kings, were brought in, and one of the two Japonian companions of the same Embassage, of principall Nobilitie, to wit, Martine, for Julian the other of them was withholden by sicknesse.) After solemne adoration of the Pope, and the kisses of his blessed feet, received of him with great demonstration of benevolence and charitie, they went aside into a place appointed them with great modestie. Afterwards, the Letters of the Kings which they had brought are publikely read, being translated out of the Japonian Tongue into the Italian, and thence into the Latine. First, that of Francis King of Bungo, who therein professeth the Divine bountie in sending the Jesuites foure and thirtie yeeres before into those parts,

King of Bungos Letter.

whose seed had taken some rooting in his breast, which hee ascribes to the Popes prayers and merits. And had it not beene for his age, warres, and sicknesse, hee would have visited those holy places, and have kissed his holy feet, and set them on his head, and received his blessing, his breast crossed by his most holy hand: but so detayned, had thought to have sent his sisters sonne, the Lord Jerome, Sonne of the King of Fiunga his Embassadour, whose Cousin-german Mantius in his absence he now sent; thankes him for the Relikes sent him, &c. Jan. 11. 1582. Inscribed, To the great and most holy Pope to be adored, and holding on Earth the place of the King of Heaven. Subscribed, Francis King of Bungo, prostrate at your Blessednesse most holy feet. Not much unlike was the tenour of the second Letter, sent from Protasius King of Arima, who detayned by divers lets, had sent his Cousin-german in his roome, to his Holinesse, which with sincere and humble minde hee adoreth. Inscribed, To the great and holy Lord whom I adore, holding the roome of God. The Prince of Omur sent also the said Michael his Brothers Sonne with a Letter of like import, inscribed. With lifted up hands adoring I offer these to the most holy Lord the Pope, Vicar of the great God. Subscribed in substance as the first.

After this, silence was commanded; and in the name of the said Kings and Legates, Gasper Gonsalvas a Portugall Jesuite made an Oration unto the Pope, comparing and preferring this Embassage with that of certaine Indians to Augustus, and the conversion of Britaine by the first Gregorie with this of Japon, and other Ilands by the Thirteenth, succeeding * and exceeding that, now fallen from the Pope; applying Essays Prophecies of the Churches encrease to this Jesuiticall Harvest, and magnifying the great glories of that Pope, founder of Seminaries, and magnified extra anni Solisque vias. Antonio Buccapadulio answered in the name of the Pope, That Francis King of Bungo, Protasius King of the Arimans, and Bartholmew his Uncle, Prince of Omur, &c.

* *But that Hortus deliciarum Anglia was more worth then both Indies to the Pope. See sup. lib. 8. c. 6.*

hath sent you their kinsmen to him from the remote Japonian Ilands to the veneration of that power in presence, which by Gods bounty he holdeth, they have done godly and wisely. For there is one Faith, one Catholike Church, one made Governour over the said Church, and Pastor of Christs Flocke, that is, of all Catholikes thorow the World, in the succession of Peter, the Roman Bishop. That they acknowledge and professe this, together with the mysteries of the orthodoxe Faith, our most holy Lord rejoyceth, and giveth immortall thankes to the Divine bounty, and judges this to be the most true joy which proceedeth from the studie of Gods glorie, and the salvation of Soules. Therefore most willingly, together with these his venerable Brethren, Cardinals of the Roman Church, hee embraceth the testification of their Faith, Obedience, Devotion. He wisheth and prayeth that by their example other Kings and Princes also of those Iles, and of the whole World, rejecting the worship and errour of Idols, may know the true God, and whom he hath sent Jesus Christ; for this is life eternall.

This the most acceptable mysterie of Papall Faith.

This done, the Consistorie was dismissed. The Legates when they had attended the Pope, after the custome, into the inner roomes, were first entertayned of the Popes brothers sonne, the Cardinall of Saint Sixtus, with a Banket; after that admitted to the Popes private and familiar conference, they discoursed by Interpreters with him of many things, touching the Journey and Religion: then went to Saint Peters Church, and the holy Thresholds of the Apostles piously saluted, at night were honourably brought to their lodging.

[III. ii. 323.]

Extract. è literis Roma missis.

This was prepared and furnished in the Jesuites Colledge by the Popes appointment at their first comming to Rome, the two and twentieth of March, who also sent two troops of Horse to guard them. They went from their Charet to the Temple, and whiles they praised God, and worshipped at the greatest Altar, the Students of the German Colledge in a double Quire sang, Te Deum laudamus. The Legates next day had audience as yee

have heard; their Vestment was parti-coloured and embroidered, a short Sword on the left hand, an Arab Dagger on the right, the other part of their habite Japonian. The pompe of all sorts, and the Ordnance attended them to the Vatican, & there the Italian Garrison, and Helvetian Guard with their Peeces and military Musicke received them. Then were they lead into the Hall, and after all things there finished, the Legates carried the Popes traine at his departure. And on the five and twentieth day, festivall for the Annuntiation, the Pope going on solemne Procession, these Legates rode in the last place. What should I say more? (sayth our Authour) it cannot be told, how all magnifie the mercy of God which brings farre more at this time from the East and West to the Catholike Church, then the Devill hath seduced in the North.

See the last chap. of my Pilg. l. 9.

These Japonian Lords returned into India, 1586. as Valignanus writeth, and were much endangered by a tempest. Their returne into Japon is signified by the Letters of Michael to the Archbishop of Ebora, testifying their arrivall the one and twentieth of July, 1590. at Nangasach with the said Valignanus; and by the Letter of Don Sancius, Sonne and Successour to Bartholmew Prince of Omur to Pope Xistus the fifth, with thankes for the wood of the Crosse, and the Sword sent his Father which should be kept amongst his principall Jewels. Protasius also the King of Arima wrote to the Great and most holy Pope Xistus or Sixtus in this manner.

Popes presents.

On the sixteenth of the sixth Moone, which was the one and twentieth of July, 1690. heere arrived the Father Visitour of the Societie of Jesus, with Cingiva Don Michael my kins-man, Don Mancius, and other companions which I had sent to Rome to put their heads under your Holinesse feet. Whose comming did as much rejoyce me, as if a thousand Autumnes had comne to me, and ten thousand yeeres had beene added to my life. Don Michael related with what honour and favour hee was entertayned of your Holinesse, of King Philip, and other Catholike Princes, for which I render those thankes which

Pen and Paper cannot expresse. He delivered me Letters also which your Holinesse vouchsafed mee, favourably reckoning mee amongst the Christian Kings. Hee brought me also part of the holy Wood of the true Crosse, a Hat, and a Sword, which your Holinesse is wont to send to Christian Kings and Princes. Which favour and studies are such, and so esteemed of mee, that I have determined to consecrate them to eternall memory, and to place them amongst my chiefe Treasures, and the Ornaments and Monuments of my posteritie. And this honour conferred on mee is such, that greater cannot be in this life, and it redounds unto a future good life. I had determined (according to the order prescribed of your H. in his Letters, and as the favour, and so great benefits bestowed on mee deserved) to have received the said Presents with all the celebritie and pompe that might be in my Kingdome: but the Father Visitour shewed mee that respect was to be had of the tyrannie and great hatred wherewith Quabacondono the Lord of all Japon, persecuteth the Fathers and Christians these three yeeres together; and this feast to be deferred till he returneth from Meaco, whither hee is going in Embassage from the Vice-roy of India to Quabacondono, &c. The ninth yeere of the Era called Tenscio, the tenth of the eighth Moone, which is the two and twentieth of September, An. 1590.

Papall favours, with little cost buying much esteeme.

Pompe prescribed.

At your Highnesse feet,

Arimano, Sciurino, Daibu Don Protasius.

This Quabacondono (as L. Froes writeth) was now growne the greatest Monarch that ever Japon had, having ascended thereunto from a base estate, which was (as hee hath divers times with his owne mouth confessed) to cut wood, and to carrie it to the Market to sell for his daily food. Nobunanga his Predecessor had growne to great height, such as many ages had not there seene. In Frenojama eight hundred yeeres before, a King of Japon had builded 3800. Temples, with houses adjoyned for the

See of these Japonian Kings and Rites my Pilg. l. 5. c. 15.

Nabunanga.

Bonzis, which employed themselves in the studie of the Lawes and Sects: for whose quietnesse he removed the Husbandmen, and builded them two streets, allowing to their maintenance about the third part of the Customes (or Rents) of the Vomen Kingdome. Thus became it a fountaine of their superstitions. In time those Temples dispersed in sixteene Vallies were lessened to 800. and the Bonzian discipline, and studies melted into pleasures, hardned into Armes, and ranged into robberies, so that they fired Meaco with great slaughter, and opposed Nobunanga: who having destroyed the Militarie Bonzi (called Icoxos) and taken away their Castles, invaded Frenojama, professing he feared not their Gods. On the top of a Hill was the Temple of Quanon, to whom prayers and pilgrimages were made for health, wealth, and long life; and yeerely solemnities and Playes with huge pompe and cost were made in his honour (to which the Gibon feast at Meaco succeeded) with frequency of men, devices of work-men, and such order, that it may appeare that Satan there imitates the anniversary solemnitie of Corpus Christi amongst us. Thither the Bonzi had gotten, but it, and they, and their streets were destroyed, and foure hundred Temples with their furniture burned. At Facusangin also were a thousand houses of the Bonzi by themselves, besides Monasteries, which he destroyed. Xinguea the King of Cainochun had forced his Father to exile, and imprisoned his elder Brother, and then seized on the Kingdome: after which he shaved his beard and haire, and became a Bonzo, and would needs repaire Frenojama, and stiling himselfe, Chiefe in the house of the Kings and of Religions, gathered an Armie. Nabunanga wrote to him, calling himselfe, Tamer of Devils, and enemie of Sects. Hee proceeded first against the Bonzi with these terrours; and after would needs himselfe be worshipped, but eighteene dayes after in a conspiracy of his owne against him, he was slaine, and his dispersed. Quabacondono succeeded, and in greatnesse of attempts and ambition exceeded.

Frenojama.

[III. ii. 324.]

The Bonzian Quanon and Popish Corpus Christi Playes like by Jesuites testimonie.

Shavelings.

Faxiba made Quabacondono. This Quabacondono is a title which Faxiba assumed, and is as much, as Treasurer. These titles are given by the Vo, or Dairi, descended of the ancient Kings, and now enjoying a strange Empire, which is to give titles of honour, (for which all great men have their Factors with him) and is esteemed as a God, not suffered to tread on the ground (that were deposition) nor often seene, and gets much treasure out of those Titles, which he so often changeth, that the King of Bungo was by the Jesuites observed foure and thirty times to have altered his appellations. There is a high Priest, who with Papall power authorizeth Sects, confirmeth and consecrateth the Tundi or Bishops which are nominated by the Kings, and enjoyeth Royall revenues. The Quingue is the third person, and hath power over Judgements and Warres. But the Lords of Tensa, that is, such as have power to get into their hands Meaco, and the Region adjoyning, are really chiefe Lords, and command the State, though in seeming ceremonie (as the Turkes to their Mufti, and more manifestly the Soldans of Egypt to their Califas) they yeeld a seeming subjection: the Dairi not daring to crosse them.

Quabacu signifies the Chist of treasure.

Cos. Turrianus.

The 3. chiefe men in Japon.

The Vo, High Priest and Quingue.

A greater then they.

Meaco the chiefe Citie of Japon.

Fæxiba Cicugendono obtayned that title of Quabacondono (Dono is a generall title of honour) the next to the Dairi, and having subjected Japon, minded to conquer China, by the way of Corai. The King of Corai sent his Embassadour to him with three hundred attendants in vaine, he minding to send and place in those new Conquests all the suspected Princes of Japan, and to eternize his owne name, being exceeding vain-glorious. He tooke from the Bonzi their Lands: and after that, making ditches round about Meaco, hee forced them all to dwell together neere the said ditches: which reducing their discrepant Sects to an unformed Chaos together, made many of them forsake their profession. Hee enjoyed every foot of Land in Japon, gave, or removed, or deprived Kings at pleasure, tooke away all Armes from the Rustikes; forbad all contentions and fights upon paine of death, if any guilty

Corai.

Organtinus Brixiensis.

hereof fled, punishing the kindred, or servants, or neighbours, crucifying them. He administred justice very severely without partiality, or pardoning any man: and had almost put to death the Meacon Bonzi for their Concubines if the Governour of Meaco had not interposed and undertaken their amendment. Hee never suffered the Souldiers to be idle, but used them in warres or buildings. The Vice-roy sent him an Embassage and Presents; the foure Japonian Lords which had beene in Europe attending Valignanus the Embassadour. Quabacondono would needs heare these Japonians play European Musicke, which they had there learned: and made great shewes of kindnesse to them all, and sent this Letter with Presents to the Vice-roy.

Sir, I have received Letters which your Lordship from so remote Regions sent mee, in opening and reading whereof I seemed to see the length of the leagues by land and sea. This Kingdome of Japon as you wrote, contayneth above sixtie States or Jurisdictions, in which before have beene great disorders and warres, no peace nor quiet. For many wicked men, Traitors to their Countrey conspired to denye obedience to their * King, a thing which from my youth hath vexed me. And long since I bethought mee of a course to subject this People, and to pacifie the whole Kingdome: and layed for a foundation three vertues, to wit, Gentlenesse and affabilitie of speech in conversing with men; Prudence in considerate judging of things, and egregious fortitude and courage of minde: by the aide whereof I have subdued all this Nation, and have brought all the Kingdomes into this forme of one Empire, wicked men being extinct, and worke-men which labour in the fields promoted. And I have so restored peace and quietnesse to these Kingdomes, and in few yeeres have so setled and stablished the Monarchie of Japon, that it is now like a great Rocke which cannot be removed. Whence it is come to passe that in all foure parts of the Kingdome they have a King eminent in much wisedome; and the King likewise hath all of them

Quis tulerit. Gracchos &c.

**The Dairi, the titular King.*

obedient. And in this order I have declared and exercised the power of a good Captaine, to whom these Kingdomes are subject; by taking away the wicked, and rooting out all Robbers by sea and land. So the people, families, and all places of the Kingdome enjoy marvellous quiet. I have also determined to invade the Kingdome of China, and in few dayes I will take ship and doubt not of victorie. When I shall possesse it, your Lordship may more easily communicate with mee in all things.

China invasion. Reckoning without his Host.

Now concerning the Fathers,* Japon is the Kingdome of Chamis, whom wee hold to be the same with Scin, which is the beginning of all things. This Scin is the substance and the very being of all things; and all things are one and the same with Scin, and into Scin are resolved. Who in Scina is called Jutto, and in Tescincu Buppo. Further, in the observation of the Lawes of his Chamis consisteth all the Politicall government of Japon, which being neglected, there is no difference betwixt Lords and Subjects: if it be kept, the union and concord is perfected which ought to bee twixt the Father and Sonne, the Husband and wife. Therefore the whole, both internall and externall government of Men and Kingdomes is placed in the conservation of this union and policie. Now the Fathers formerly have entred these Kingdomes to preach another Law for the saving of men: but because wee are instructed and settled in the Lawes of Chamis, we desire no other Law: for the diversities of Lawes and opinions are hurtfull and prejudiciall to the Kingdome. Wherefore I commanded the Fathers to depart out of Japon, and have forbidden them to preach their Law, nor will I that heereafter they preach any new Law in this Kingdome. Although these things be so, yet I greatly desire that a stable communication may remayne betwixt us: for so this Kingdome shall bee free from Theeves, by Land and Sea. And I give leave to all Merchants which bring merchandise, to sell them all without let. I desire your Lordship to approve the same. I received all the gifts which you sent out of those Southerne parts,

Japonian Theologie.

**The Jesuites.*

[III. ii. 325.]

Christian Religion alway by the Devill and his, accused for a State-disturber. Jesuites banished.

as it is written in your Letters. I likewise send some others out of these Kingdomes, with a memoriall of the gifts, and the names of them which have given. The Legate will declare the rest, wherefore I will bee no longer. Dated 20. yeere of Tenscii, 25. of the seventh Moone.

In the end was the Seale and Subscription. It was written in a leafe eight palmes long, foure broad, painted with golden Flowers, and put in a red silke bagge wrought with Gold and silver; and that inclosed after the Japon manner in a Boxe, which for the price and workmanship was so admirable, that the subtiltie and excellence of the worke might amaze all Europeans. Within it was covered and without, with Urosci (made of Gold beaten into powder) distinguished with Flowers of Gold and Silver, so inserted in the Urosci that none could discerne the conjunction, but he which knew the making of the Boxe. It had also Roses, and gold Chaines to tye the Boxe; which Boxe was put into another Bag, and that into another Boxe very artificiall. The gifts were Armours, Armes, and other things very precious.

Japonian workmanship.

He assembled his Lords about this China Warre, which durst not expresse any other opinion, hee having protested, that hee would not heare his Sonne disswade him, if he were alive againe, and if any should hinder him, it should cost him his life. Thus for some moneths space nothing might be seene else, but provision for Ships, Armes, Munitions, and necessaries for the Warre. Hee made a Catalogue of all his Lords, exempting none from the expedition, and setting every one his number of followers. To Augustine a Christian Lord hee gave the favour of first impression into Corai, other Lords staying still at Suscima eighteene leagues distant. Corai is adjoyning to the Continent of China at one end, divided by a great River from China, and tributarie to the King of China; it is in length about an hundred leagues, and sixtie broad: the people unlike the Chinois in language and bodily strength, but following their lawes, customes,

Preparation for invasion of Corai.

Corai described: see my China Map.

and governement. They are better Archers then at any other weapons: and not comparable to the Japonians, except in shipping, wherein they and the Chinois exceed. Yet at this time they were destitute of that defence, and Augustine gave them a great overthrow. Before Quabacondono would goe, he made his Brothers Sonne by the Dairi to be entituled Quabacondono, as his Heire and Successour, contenting himselfe with the title of Taicosama, that is, Great Lord. All the Japonian Princes were commanded to be present at the translation, to give him obedience; to whom the Dairi gave the Fortresse of Meaco, and the Palaces of Quabacondono, making him Lord of Tensa. But his Uncle held the sway of all in his owne hands, and after having a * Sonne of his own, caused this his Nephew with some others to crosse himselfe (that is, to cut his breast acrosse, his bowels falling out, and some one of those which died with him, cutting off his head.

**This is that Fireisama of whom you reade in Capt. Saris, and Master Cocke, deprived by Ogoshosama.*

Augustine with a Fleet of eight hundred sayles entred Corai, and tooke two Fortresses, the Coraians being driven from the walls by the Japonders Gunnes, unknowne to the other, and five thousand of them slayne. This wanne him great credite with Taicosama, who promised him much, yet performed little. Hee defeated also an Armie of twenty thousand, and after another of fourescore thousand, and the King fleeing into China tooke the Meaco, or Royall Citie of Corai. Taicosama sent him a Horse, and a Sword, the honour that Nabunanga was wont after any great Victorie to doe to him. The Coraians seeing their King with his troops in safety, fled with their provisions into Woods and Hills, and would not thence bee brought by any promises. The Japonian possessed of the Fortresses wanted men to till the ground, and therefore must needes want necessaries: the wayes also were by the Coraians upon all occasions assaulted. There are two hundred thousand Japonians at this present in Corai, and Augustine is in the extreme borders adjoyning to China, separated notwithstanding by a River three leagues broad,

1592. Wide River betwixt China and Corai.

abounding in ships, and the shores fortified with multitudes of men, so that the successe is doubtfull.

Froes in his Epistle, 1595. writeth that there were then an hundred and ninety Jesuites in Japon and China: that Taicosama not succeeding in his Coraian expedition, returned to Meaco, and quarrelled the new Quabacondono out of his life, who with five others at Taicos command executed themselves after the Japonian manner. Augustine meane while endeavoured an Embassage to bee sent from the King of China, who thinking himselfe Lord of the World, sent to Taicosama, that it was an unmeet thing that He, whose industrie and valour had subdued threescore and sixe Kingdomes of Japon to his Empire, should permit the Dairi a private man, and Subject to the King of Japon to hold his former place of dignitie. And if hee would deprive him thereof, hee promised to send him a Crowne, and the title of King, and by the same Legates to treate further about the Japonians forsaking Corai. Two Embassadours were sent from Pequin to Augustine to Corai: who presently sent word to Taico, the Embassadours abiding with him, because of the solemne entertaynment which Taico intended for the renowme of his name to all posteritie. The Nobles exhaust in the former expedition were yet now enforced to new braveries and expences. Hee caused at Ozaca a Hall to bee erected, with a thousand Tatami (very elegant Mats) the timber costly, and gilding incredible. Yet by store of raynes a great part thereof fell downe, which hee intended soone to repaire, having an hundred thousand men at worke there both night and day in great miserie, standing with their feet in the water. If any runne away they are killed. Before this Hall hee erected a Theatre for Comedies, exceeding stately and costly with artificiall paintings of Urusci. Hee repaired the Tower of Ozaca seven stories high. The gilded Plates or Tiles, the Bridge called, The Bridge of Paradise, the new Citie of Fuscimo which he builded, and other his immane expenses (the Offerings to his Idoll of Fame,) I omit. Hee caused his little Sonne

190. *Iesuites.*

[III. ii. 326.]

China Embassage.

Huge Palace, and preparation for entertainment of the Chinois.

to goe with great State to Sandai to the Dairi, that is, to bow his head thrice before him downe to the Mats, who entertayned him with a solemne feast, with great Jubilee in alteration of names and titles of honour to the Nobles.

Taico had settled peace thorow all Japon from Warres, from Robbers by land, and from Rovers by sea, which before continually infested all with Piracies (one of which Noximandono is mentioned by the Jesuites in this time to have had a great Fleet of ships, and to have forced a great part of the Coast to yeerely tribute unto him, to bee freed from his Robberies) onely the Dairi had higher title: and a Crowne and Scepter seemed wanting to his realitie of Regalitie and Soveraigntie already possessed. And now whiles hee intended to exceed himselfe in his entertaynment of the Embassadours, one of them hating this long detention or imprisonment in Corai fled; which newes Augustine sent to both Courts. From China the Legacy was renewed, the Delinquents kindred punished. Meane while the two and twentieth of July, 1596. at Meaco it rayned ashes, wherewith the houses, hills, and trees were covered as with snow, and a great myst accompanied it. At the same time at Ozaca and Sacaia it rayned sands. At Meaco after the showre of ashes came another of haires, long and white like the hoary haires of an old womans head, but softer, and not so smelling when cast into the fire. In the Northerne Kingdomes of Jechu, Jechingo, Scimano, and Nota, the land and houses were covered with them. A Comet appeared in August: on the thirtieth whereof followed an Earthquake as a warning to a greater on the fourth of September, which threw downe Taicos magnificent Hall with a thousand Tatamos, in which hee had purposed to entertayne the China Legates; and the Tower of seven lofts, and another Tower, and almost all the buildings of the Fortresse, and the Store-houses, which were very large, and stored with Corne, and halfe the houses of Ozaca, all in halfe an houre, sixe hundred people being buried in the ruines. It made a noise like Thunder, and like the waves beating on the

Noximandono a Japonian Pirat.

Prodigious raines.

Earth-quakes.

shoare. The Earth opened in many places. A great new Temple and a Monastery fell downe, and the same day in which the Jesuite had heard a Bonzi in the same Temple inviting to call upon Amida, and much depredicating his mercies. The next day at Meaco was a noise greater then of the greatest Cannons that ever were heard, dreadfull to man and beast, and wee said the Letanies on our knees, but scarsely could keepe on our knees for the Earth-quake. Others forsooke their houses, lamented their dead (five hundred being overwhelmed; and fifteene or twenty Temples) called on their Amida: and some ranne to Fuscimo (Taicos new Citie for him and his Nobles) * whereof the best part was ruined, and much harme happened in many other places. Taicos Palace at Fuscimo fell downe, and oppressed seventy women, himselfe escaped into the Kitchin untouched: and the relations of that Earth-quake would yeeld a booke alone. Taico yet would seem to dominere over Nature, and levell a very huge Hill with the Valley, to erect new Palaces. And because hee could not entertayne at Fuscimo the China Embassadours, he received them at Ozaca. The solemne state and pompe I omit. They had audience the twentieth of October.

**Japonian policy to keepe all the Lords about the Court for securitie; seldome suffered to visite their Kingdomes.*

The Kings Letter was written in a plate of Gold very great and ponderous, inclosed in a golden Coffer, wherein also was the Vest, and royall Crowne for Taico, and in another was a Crown for Mandocorasama his Wife with title of Queene. Hee sent also twenty Vests of Quingui with title and dignity of China for twenty Lords (the first of which was Augustine) by him named, and as many for those whom Taico should name. In the Epistle of the King were these words, Futatabi cioscen vocasu cotonacare, that is, Thou shalt not returne againe into Corai, and if thou returnest, thy dignitie shall no longer advantage thee, words importing their vassallage to the Chinois. The Embassadour and Taico were equall in sitting on the Tatamis; the chiefe Lords of Japon were present; and after the taste of their * Chia, Taico received

China Presents and Letters.

**Chia an herb used in warme water in all entertaynments in Japon and China.*

the Epistle or golden plate, and layd it on his head, and the Vests, going in to put them on. At his returne the [III. ii. 327.] Chinois adored him, and a feast followed with pompous plenty: which was continued other dayes. But when the Legates moved him to pull downe his Forts in Corai, and to pardon the Coraians, hee brake into exceeding furie, and commanded them backe to Corai, and extruded them in great haste out of the Countrey with inhumane usage.

Bish. of Japon. About this time Peter Martines first Bishop of Japon came thither. Taico died Sept. 16. 1598. having taken politike order for the State, and as foolish for himselfe to be made a God, prescribing the forme of his Temple: One was crucified for speaking of his death. Word was sent by the Governours which Taico had appointed as protectors for his Sonne, to the Japonian Lords in Corai, to returne, and so after seven yeeres that warre had end. What events followed after in Japon, you may see in my Pilgrimage, and somewhat also before in Captayne Saris, and Master Cocks relations: Taicosamas posteritie rooted out, and Ogasha Sama seizing the Soveraigntie to himselfe. So much harder is it to be a Man then a God, and easier to bequeath a Temple and tytle of Camus, and divine worship as to a new Faciman or Mars (all which his Executors performed and caused to be effected; his body not burned after the wont, but as he had prescribed, put in a Chest and translated to that sumptuous Temple, where he is worshipped as the principall of all the Cami) with an Image erected to him, (seene by Cap. Saris) then to bequeath long life to himselfe, accomplishment to his Coraian designes, or sure succession to his posteritie, in all which hee fayled. But we will with our persecuted Jesuites leave Japon, and ship our selves for China.

Fran. Pasius. Alex. Valignanus. P. Pilg. lib. 5. c. 15. §. 4.

See of his death tom. 1. p. 407.

Temple of Scinsaciman. Capt. Saris told mee hee saw it.

§. III.

Ruggerius enters againe into China with Ricius, and is forced backe to Amacao; thence sent for againe by the Vice-roy. Sande and Almeida are sent to them, and enter the Countrey as farre as Cequion, and returne to Sciauchin.

IT is a custome in China, that of all Charters granted by the Magistrates a copie is kept in the Registrie, and the execution, or what hath therein beene done, subscribed at the end. The succeeding Vice-roy finding the copie of that Charter granted to the Jesuites at their departure, without such subscription (because nothing had beene done therein) wrote to Canton, to the Aitao; he (which then was absent) to the Ansam or Hiam-xan, the Governour of the Citie, and he being ignorant thereof, to the Port-governours at Amacao. They went to the Bishop, and by him were sent to our Colledge where they were shewed the sealed Charter: but there being then Melchior Carnerus Patriarch of Ethiopia (which expedition was dissolved) Capralis, Gomez, Pasius, and other principall Jesuites, it was thought fit, that it should not be delivered to the Souldiers, but carried by two Jesuites to the Aitao: and Ruggerius with Ricius were therein employed, the China Captaines also consenting that they should goe to Ansan, thence by the Ci-hien or Governour, to be sent to Canton. This Ci-hien when they came thither would have sent it and not them, which they refused, whereupon he grew angry, cast it on the ground, and commanded them to returne backe; saying, that a deposed Vice-royes grant could no way benefit them. They went to their Inne, and there consulted to goe without his leave, deceiving a Ship-master with sight of the

Sup. l. 7. in. fine.

Ci-hien a Governour of a Hien or Citie.

said Charter, who tooke them into his ship; but terrified by others, cast them out againe with their goods. At this time came a message to the Ci-hien of his Fathers death, whereupon (according to the China Custome) he lost his office and returned home during his three yeeres mourning. They by this occasion, and a weightier cause, (money given to the Successour) and the Notaries subtiltie in a seeming service to the Common-wealth, were sent in manner as prisoners to Canton, as strangers found there.

Jesuites supplication.

The Aitao notwithstanding gave them kinde entertaynment. They petitioned, shewing, that they were Religious men which had passed so many Seas allured by the fame of China, there to spend their dayes: and desired nothing but a small piece of ground to raise thereon a little house to the Lord of Heaven, and they would be further burthensome to none, but procure livelihood of their owne mens benevolence. They mentioned nothing of Christian Religion, lest it might cause suspicion, and bee a let to them; the Chinois thinking too well of themselves, that strangers should teach them any thing, which they have not already more complete in their owne Bookes. Rebellions have also begunne under colour of new Sects. The Aitao or high Admirall commended their desires, but said, it belonged to higher Magistrates, and could onely bee granted by the Ciai-yuen (the Visitour of the Province) or the Vice-roy. They desired that hee would at least let them stay there in the Palace of the King of Siams Legates, till the Portugals Mart came, and in meane time they would trye what they could doe with the Visitour or Vice-roy. This hee granted, but the same day repeated, professing that he feared the Visitor (if out of Mart-time he should finde strangers there) whose censure is dreadfull to every Magistrate. He therefore commanded them presently to packe for Amacao. They were comne backe to Ansan, and found things in worse case then before. For at the gates of the Citie they found an Edict set up by Co the new Vice-roy, blaming the China Interpreters which had put

Ciai-yuen or Chaen, Provinciall Visitour.

[III. ii. 328.]

into the heads of Stranger-priests to learne the China language and Characters, and to desire some place for to erect a sacred and private house, threatning those interpreters if they persisted. In this dispayre of proceeding, they had not beene a weeke gone, when from Sciauquin, the seate of the Vice-roy, one of his guard came to Amacao and brought the Ci-fu, (so they call the Governour of that Province) his Letters Patents by the Vice-royes authoritie, inviting the Fathers to Sciauquin, there to receive a piece of ground for a Church and dwelling house. The cause hereof was an offer made by the Fathers (when they were sent away from Sciauchin, by the deposed Vice-roy to Canton) of a summe of money to any which should procure of the New Vice-roy license for their returne. One of the meanest Souldiers in name of Interpreter to the Societie had put up a Petition to the Vice-roy, who sent it to the Governour of the Region called Guam-puon, of Cequion Province) to bee dispatched, who gave the former Letters Patents to the Souldier, which brought them himselfe to Macao. They with great joy, as seeing the Divine hand herein, made ready for the journey, which the former expenses and late Ship-wrackes (especially of the Japon Ship in the Ile Leuquiceo, which alone hath most of the wealth of the Citie in it) made difficult; but Gaspar Viegas charitably bestowed the expense, seconded also by others.

Money brings the Jesuites to China, and procures them residence.

Liuqueceo.

Viegas bountie.

Thus full of hope they set sayle, and in Canton, both now and when before they were dismissed from Sciauquin, they found Spaniards. Then, a Ship which from the Philippinas was bound for New Spaine, was wracked at the Ile Nan-tau, on the Canton coast; the men which escaped were kept in durance: And now, seven or eight Franciscan Friars, which had gone from the same Philippinas for Cauchinchina, hearing the King was become a Christian, and in their returne were wracked on the Ile Hainan, and taken and spoyled, and presented to the Magistrates for Pirats, whose libertie these Jesuites procured, promising all recompence at Amacao. Hence they

Friars in China, see cap. 3.

Anno 1583. had set foorth in the beginning of September, 1583. and in the same moneth came to Sciauquin, in that Souldiers companie, by whom they were conveyed to the Governours Palace, and kneeling before him made request as in the Souldiers mentioned Petition had beene contayned, and were kindly answered, that they should goe about the Citie and spye out some convenient place for their purpose, which hee doubted not to procure of the Vice-roy for them.

Sciauquin tower. At the same time at Sciauquin, they were erecting by the common charge of the Eleven Cities of that Jurisdiction, a Tower (whereof one floore was now raysed, to which they intended to adde nine others above it) in a pleasant place by the Rivers side, a myle and more from the Citie, the Suburbes continuing further then it. In *Temple and statue to Governours.* the same place they set foorth a Temple, and therein erected a Statue to the Governour, whose sixe yeeres government had well deserved of the learned, and of the vulgar. A piece of that field in which the flourishing Tower (so they called it) was building, they desired, which hee liked well, and promised to further them with the Vice-roy. The Jesuites at their former departure, had left an Altar with one Ciu Nico, who had placed the same in a convenient place, for want of Images inscribing above it, Thien Chu in Cubicall letters, that is, To the Lord of *Ignoto Deo.* Heaven. Hee made also thereunto divers Incenses, and *Wilde Christianitie.* at set times yeelded divine honors before it; which much rejoyced the Fathers, seeing that there was one found which invoked the true God. And this man gave them entertaynment, till they had received the Vice-royes answer, approving their request; and the next day the Governour set foorth a plot of ground for them with straight caution to observe the Lawes of China, and to admit no Strangers companions to dwell with them; which they promised. Much was the concourse and admiration of people, much the wonder at their triangle Glasse, the Image of our Ladie, a wrought Handkerchiffe, with which they presented the Governour; but hee returned all after-

ward, fearefull of Bribe-imputation. Much trouble arose about that place, and another was assigned them, where they began to build and were forced to pawne their precious triangle Glasse, to fit it for their use; they obtayned also an ample Charter from the Vice-roy, and two Patents from the Governour which protected them from wrongs. *Jesuites build a house, at first meane, after greater.*

In these beginnings they made little mention of the Gospell, but imployed their spare time in learning the Language and Characters, by a Holy life seeking to insinuate themselves into the peoples good liking. Their habite was like the modestest of the Chinois, a long Gowne with large sleeves: Their house had two Cells, and betwixt them a Hall with an Altar in the midst, on which they set the Image of the Blessed Virgin, carrying her Sonne. They called their God, Thien-cui, Lord of Heaven; for the Chinois want the D. which caused that they could not give any name more fit: and this name continueth to this day, although they use others also, as Highest Ruler of all, First beginning of all, and the like. The blessed Virgin is called the Great Mother of God. *D. wanting to Chinois.*

This Image on the Altar, all which visited them both Magistrates, Students, Priests, and common people, did religiously worship, kneeling and (after their rite) knocking lightly the ground with their fore-heads. They admired the excellencie of the Picture and colours without ceasing. But when it began to bee rumoured, that they worshipped a Woman for God, they tooke away that Picture and substituted the Image of Christ. After this, they painted the ten Commandements in the China language, which many approved. Some brought them Incense for holy uses, and some bestowed their Almes; others also Oyle for the Lampe which burned before the Altar; and the Fathers commended their Law, as agreeing to the light of Nature. The first which was Baptised, was a poore diseased man cast foorth by his parents, whom they instructed, and a little before his death baptised. The reliefe which they bestowed on him before, caused a *Images Worshipped.* [III. ii. 329.] *First Baptisme.*

Fancies of the vulgar. rumour amongst the vulgar, that those Strangers knew by the mans complexion that hee had a precious stone in his head, the cause of all that benificence. The Chinois much admired the Bookes, of which the Fathers had store, the artificiall binding, gilding, cost, goodlinesse of the Print, and their studiousnesse in the China bookes; and received with great applause a Booke of Christian learning which they printed. Yea, the Governour after the China rite would needs doe them publike honour, which is done by *Tables of honour.* sending a goodly Table with Cubitall letters in praise of them, with the Magistrates name, and the date inscribed in lesse letters. Two of these with great pompe hee sent unto them, the one to bee set over the entrance with inscription, The house of the flowre of Divine men; the other to bee placed in the Hall, inscribed, The holy Nation of the West: which wanne them great reputation, this Magistrate being much reputed for learning and vertue.

Our wants caused Ruggerius to intreat leave to goe to Amacao for supply, which hee obtayned with a faire Ship and thirtie Rowers. The Governour requested also, that a Clocke might bee made for him. But the povertie of the Amacaons, their Ship not being come from Japon, and the Colledge enjoying no Rents, caused him to send the workman to Sciauquin, to make it there; which hee tooke *Chinois in Hospitall.* in good part. Now the Chinois are a people suspicious of Strangers, especially those ruder parts of the Province of Canton, and much muttered at the Portugals Commerce, saying, they made all things dearer, and the profit came but to few. They gave an odious appellation to the *Portugals called Devils.* Portugals, calling them Devils. To this, Fame had added a spurre, reporting that their famous Tower was the worke of Strangers, (which had no ground but that their house *Tenderden steeple.* was building at the same time) and the Flourishing Tower, was stiled the Strangers Tower. They therefore in Ruggerius absence offered great abuses by throwing stones, being angrie that they kept their house shut, which they would have had made an Idoll Temple, alway open to all. One boy in throwing stones, was taken by the

servant and brought in, but at others request soone dismissed. Hereupon two neighbours conspired, to set a fellow on worke to accuse these strangers for seducing Children, as they had done this youth his brother, (so they agreed) and kept him three dayes, with intent to sell him for a Slave at Amacao. The two neighbours offered to bee witnesses hereof. The accusation was put up in pittifull manner, and the Governour much moved, the Father fetched into Court by an Officer, before hee could have leasure to write his answer. The Interpreter had filled his sleeves with stones, which hee powred out in Court as witnesses of their abuses. The Judge smelt the businesse, and by examination of the Tower workman which had seene it, found out the knaverie, and rewarded it with terrible whipping; and forbad all abuses to bee offered to them.

Conspiracie.

False accuser truely rewarded.

Ricius his skill in the Mathematickes which hee had learned, being an Auditor of Clavius at Rome, was no small helpe to them. They had a Cosmographicall Map in Europæan Characters, hanging in their Hall, which the learned beheld with great pleasure, much desiring to see it in China characters, little knowing, as little having to doe with the rest of the world. They had Maps pretending a Description of the world, but presented onely their fifteene Provinces, with the Sea and a few Ilands, and the names of such Kingdomes as they had heard of, all which Kingdomes scarcely equalled one Province of China. They now wondred much to see themselves straightned in an Easterne corner of the world, and Ricius at the Governours request, published it in China characters: and inserted, as hee saw cause, the rites of the world and the Christian holies. They have a conceit, that the Heavens are round, the Earth square, and their Empire to bee seated in the midst thereof; hee therefore so projected his Description, that he presented China in the midst. They that before thought basely of all other men, as if elsewhere were no King, nor Republike, nor Bookes, began to be better conceited of Europæans, and to bee better prepared for the seed of the Gospell: and might hereby

Mathematicks and Map of the world, introduction to the Gospell.

Chinois ignorant of the world. Ricius his Map.

The world ushers the Jesuits Gospell.

also lesse feare Europæan forces so remote from them. This worke hee often revised and corrected, till it came at last both to the two Royall Cities, and to the Kings house. The workeman at the same time finished the Clocke, and both were together presented to the Governour, who at his owne cost published the Map, and soone after restored the Clocke, because hee had none which knew how to order it.

Ruggers return.

The Ship comming from Japon, Ruggerius well releeved returned, whereby the house was finished, their debts payed, and the building with stories, the disposition of the windowes, furniture, faire situation on the River with goodly prospect, and Europæan rarities, brought many, even great Magistrates, to behold it. Ricius proceeded to make Spheares of Brasse and Iron; hee Printed also Globes, and made Sunne-dyals, which hee gave to the Magistrates. And by his lectures on these subjects, he got reputation of the best Astrologer in the world, they esteeming others by themselves. The Governour was about this time advanced to a higher Dignitie, called Linsi-tau, having the rule of two or three Regions and all the Townes therein, not remooving from Sciauquin: and as the Chinois are superstitious observers of Auguries, he conceived that he prooved the luckier man by this familiaritie with our men, which hee signified when they came to him, with a present to gratulate these honours.

Spheares and Globes.

Linsitau Ruler of two or three Divisions of Hundreds.

[III. ii. 330.] *See that Bull. sup. l. 2. c. 1.*

Gaine separates the subjects of one Crowne, without separation of state. Apply this to the quarrell twixt the English and Dutch in the Indies. And herebyyou see the Jesuites instruments of secular affaires. Edw. Menese, whose Booke you have in the 9. booke. tom. 1.

In the Philippinas the newes of the Jesuites successe caused the Governour to send the Treasurer John Baptista Romanus to Amacao, with Father Alfonso Sancius a Spanish Jesuite, with a Watch and other presents and letters to the Jesuites, to procure an Ambassage from the King of Spaine to China. The Jesuites had with petitioning brought the businesse to good forwardnesse, when they received contrary mandates from Amacao, it being likely to proove the destruction of that Citie, if the Spaniards with their plentie of Silver from Peru and New Spaine, should have trade in China; neither did this belong to the Spaniards, but to the Portugals, according

to the Composition betwixt the two Kings made by Alexander the sixth: and although they are both subject now to one Crowne, yet their priviledges remayne distinct without confusion. Thus both the Magistrate advised, and their superiour the Rector prohibited them to proceed. Yet the former working was not ceased by Silence, till the Amacaon Magistrates laboured with divers reasons to divert the Ambassage. Capralis the Rector was desirous to see their house, and they procured the Linsitaus leave, so that hee came thither, viewed all, and Baptised both the young-man before mentioned which kept the Altar, and a learned man which read the China Bookes to the Fathers, this called Paul, the other John, the first China Converts. Valignanus made Provinciall of India, hearing of this successe, sent thither Father Edward Sande, and Father Antonie Almeida: and obtained of the Vice-roy Edward Menese, an annuall stipend for this mission. They came to Amacao in July, 1585.

At the same time it seasonably hapned, that Linsitau was commanded from the Court, to procure of the Strangers at Amacao, certaine goodly feathers for the King. He furnished a faire ship and sent Ruggerius thither, and brought with him Father Edward Sande, who went to salute Linsitau, and gave him no meane gift of our Commodities to procure abode, whereof nothing so pleased him as a triangle Glasse. Hee gives him leave to stay, on condition that they admit no other companion. In Linsitaus place had succeeded another of Cequion Province, a great friend of the Fathers, who being to goe to Pequin about some affayres of his Office every third yeere, was feasted at our house (where the Magistrates were often solemnly entertayned) and then offered to carrie one of ours with him in his journey, at least as farre as Cequion his owne Countrey. They willing to erect some new seate, least some disaster might in a moment strip them easily of one and all, agreed that Ruggerius and Sande should goe, and received licence for entring the Provinces of Cequian and Huquan, and places adjoyning. This was

F. Edw: Sande.

Antonie Almeida, License for Cequian.

the Mart time whither Ruggerius went, and found Almeida come thither with the Portugals. Thither also a Brother of Lusitau was gone with much Merchandise of Silke, (the most whereof is made in the Cequian Province) which the Portugals bought at his price by the Fathers intreatie, who therefore tooke the Fathers, his brothers friends, to his Citie in Cequian, called Sciauhin, (a name somewhat neere the other, but in China a little difference prooveth great) the native place of both the Governours.

Strange course for names. Jesuites change their names.

The Chinois have a custome to be called by many names, and no man calls them by their proper name, (but themselves in naming or writing themselves, or somtimes their superiours) without injurie: they taking a greater name, which others give them for more honour. Now the Fathers had yet assumed no other name, but their servants called them by their proper name, a thing amongst the Chinois reputed barbarous. They therefore (to become all things to all, to winne all to Christ) then followed that fashion, and ever since at their first entrance assume a new Name. Their Journey is thus written by Almeida.

Almeidas Letter to Ed. Sande. Rector at Xauchin or Sciauchin, contracted.

On the eleventh of the Kalends of December, 1585. wee departed from Canton. The third day the Ship happened to bee on fire, some imputing that unluckinesse to us: but without much harme it was quenched. Whiles wee sayled through the Canton Province, wee seldome came in sight and never went out of the Ship till wee came to Moylimpor. I can therefore relate nothing of that Province, but that there were very many Cities, and Townes very frequent, and steepe high Mountaines, betwixt which that River slideth to divers tracts of the Province stored with waters, Wares and Shipping. Every where wee beheld sumptuous Ædifices dedicated to the worship of Devils, and of Ships almost infinite multitude, and of water-Fowle innumerable store, and herds of Goats feeding by the Woods, to the seventh of the Ides of December. Then

Moilin.

wee arrived at Moilim a Citie, neere which is the beginning of that River, whose course being swift, wee were

drawne by ropes and rowed with Oares against it. Into this Citie wee should hardly have found admission, the passage being by a Bridge with two Iron chaynes, opened onely and shut at the will of the Governour. But our Conductor having acquaintance with the Linsitau, wee had present entrance, hardly able to passe for the multitude of Ships, there wayting. Wee were there well entertayned, and on Sunday and Munday sayd Masse. On Tuesday wee went to a Citie eight miles distant, there regaining the commoditie of another River. All that way was paved with stones; in which we passe a Mountaine, on the top whereof was an arch with an inscription of his name, who had facilitated that way, otherwise difficult. The weather was unseasonable, rainie and cold, perhaps because the whole way in manner was Mountainous. I doe not remember that ever I saw way so frequented, not then when Merchants resort to publike Faires: for all the Merchandise from Nanquin, and the places adjoyning are brought hither. Also the Merchants which inhabit the remotest Cities in that way, on both sides had Partners for the conveying of their Wares, very fitly; for our Conductor had nothing to doe but to deliver one hundred and fiftie Packes of Wares with other provisions for the way, to his Hoast, which all hee should find in his Inne in the next Towne. These Partners also provide Horses for the Servants and Seats for the Masters to bee carried in by two Porters defended from the Raine by Sumbreros, or Shadowes which they carrie in their hands. When hee had passed halfe the way, wee changed our Seats and Porters, and had others to the Inne; to these nothing is due but some small gratuitie, the Hoast beeing paid for all: and a Seat is at as easie a rate here, as a Horse in our Countrey, with great commoditie and frequencie of Innes. In the Evening we came to the Towne Faquen, and staid there two dayes, such concourse of Citizens comming to see us, that we were almost over-whelmed, and were glad to get a ship-board on Friday. On Saturday we sailed downe the streame, fifteene dayes continuing our course,

The Linsitaus brother aforesayd.

Another river.

Way paved and populous.

[III. ii. 331.]

Seats and Porters in the high-wayes.

Fauquen.

in which wee hired three Barkes, in one of which we only were carried. On both Bankes many and faire Townes walled about, present themselves to the view of Passengers, seeming as bigge as Canton, which made mee meditate of the facilitie of conveying the Gospell in these parts, we making all this way with as great tranquilitie of bodie and minde, that wee might in the ship pray or studie and doe other things as commodiously, as at home.

Great Cities thicke.

On the sixteenth of the Kalends of January, we came to a most frequent Citie far greater then Canton, where the Tutan or Vice-roy of the Province Chiansi resideth. It is high walled divided into three parts, a River flowing thorow with a Bridge of Barkes, joyning two parts of the Citie. On this Bridge customes are paid, but our Conduct being the Lancitaus Brother passed without search. And although we feared to be examined by the Magistrate, yet no man troubled us, they being not so inquisitive in other parts as in Canton Province, about strangers: yea, they entertayne them more honourably everywhere then your Worship at Xauchin. About halfe a mile from this Bridge another River joyneth with this, which runneth by the other side of the Citie, and makes the third part of the Citie. I wished the Fathers a Colledge in this place both for the fertilitie of the soyle and holsomnesse of the Aire. Having provided necessaries for the rest of our Journey in this Citie, wee went aboard and in the space of sixe or seven dayes going downe the streame, we beheld on both sides very goodly Woods, and many Piles of wood on the Bankes necessary for those cold Regions, and holding on our course passed by seven Cities, or more, famous for greatnesse and Merchandise: and on Christmas Even came to the greatest Citie of all Chiansi, where wee staid that night for that Solemnitie. But hee which then was borne exercised our patience with a grievous North-wind, whereby the River water (otherwise cleere) was so troubled that on Christmas day wee could not drinke it. For the Rivers course is North-ward, which therefore by a North-wind is so moved.

Metropolitan Citie of Chiansi.

All this way is apparent in the new Map.

The next day sailing by a Citie which by the sight we judged greater then Lisbone, in one dayes passage further, we came to the way which leads to Nanquin, where divers Rivers joyning together make a kind of Crosse with great commoditie for Trade and passage. For a Barke well defended against wind and weather, convenient for two Gentlemen with their Servants and baggage, may here be hired for twentie or thirtie dayes, at an easier rate then a man shall pay for Horses from Coimbra to Lisbone. For from Canton to Moilin fifteene dayes journey, for a ship which carried two hundred Packes of Merchandise of divers kinds, we paid but nine Taes, and seven for these three which wee hired for twentie dayes more. After that, leaving the Northerne way which goeth to Nanquin or Lanquin, wee turned West-ward against the streame, yet with benefit of the wind favouring us, we went fifteene and sometimes twentie * miles a day: in which space sailing by very large fields we arrived at a Citie where faire Porcelane is made, thence carried into India and Europe. Wee passed by many Woods also and some Cities. The cold meane-while was so great, that one day all was covered with Snow. The River decreased, and on the third of the Nones of Januarie, they unladed the Merchandise into ten lesse Boates, and sailed two dayes, wee came to a large Citie, to which wee had entry by a Bridge borne up with fiftie painted Barkes.

New River.

Nine Taeis.

**These miles seeme to bee intended Spanish leagues.*

Cold Region.

On the Nones of January wee came to Gouli, a Citie at the end of our Navigation by that River. Here in celebrating Masse wee were thronged by the multitude. And a Priest of the Idols invited us, which then performed to his Idols Ceremonies at his House, Altars there erected, & Priests invited, & Hymnes used, where he and those Bonzi used us kindly. Here wee observed that the Devill counterfeited the Ceremonies of the Catholike Church. We went thence by the foot way carried in portable seats as before sixe or seven miles: and then entred the Province of Ciquion, at the Sun-set entring the Citie Cuixion. On the Ides of Januarie we againe went a ship-board

Papists and Paynims Ceremonies alike.

Ciquion.

Cuixion.

holding our course by another River which in that Citie first beginneth to be Navigable, the slow streame lingring with us three dayes, in which yet we saw eight Cities, about which we found unmeasurable quantitie of Oranges, very high Hils abounding with Trees and under-woods, betwixt which that pleasant River sweetly slides, receiving from every place new Tributes of waters that it prooveth now as large as that of Canton Province. And although China have name of fertilitie, yet here appeared some prints of Japonian sterilitie. For in five dayes space we could get nothing but Rapes and Rice, and a little fish. On the eleventh of the Kalends of February, we passed by a large Citie twice as great as Canton, as those which knew the Region affirmed: for we by reason of Snowes and Mists could see nothing but some high Towres. At Sunne going downe wee came to a Towne, against which a Bow-shot distant on the other side of the River, wee were forced to take a new ship, and causing our ship to bee drawne (a light hanged out at the Mast) the next morning we came to the Citie Ciquion, the end of our journey. In this Citie, which as Father Rogers (or Ruggerius) is wont to say, is a type and representation of Venice, God hath provided us of a good House, on one side having the Citie, on the other the River for prospect, with convenient Roomes and a Garden, and a fit place for a Chappell. On both sides of us dwell Idolatrous Priests, which yet use us kindly, and daily come to heare our Doctrine, as doe others in great multitudes, that we cannot yet avoide their frequent concourse to heare and see us. To the chiefe of them we shewed our Altar erected to the Immortall God, which they beheld with great reverence, worshipping the Image of our Saviour. And the greatest Magistrates were so affected with our Christian Ceremonies, that they said they would not suffer us to depart. Some of them invited and entertayned Father Rogers: one of them of farre greater ranke then the Governour of the Citie, who then mourned for his Mother, and invited us by his Steward to her Funerall Solemnitie; whom we answered

New River.

Sterilitie.

[III. ii. 332.]

Sciauhin or Ciquion like Venice.

that our Prayers avayled not but to the worshippers of the true God. He used the Father with very great respect, giving him the higher place at table, and accompanying him at the parting to the utmost gate of his Palace, seeming much delighted with the Mysteries of our Faith. Three others greater then the Governour have comne to visit us, and others come so frequent that it is troublesome. The Priests also give us good lookes, whatsoever they thinke. The Ædifices both publike and private, the streets and Lanes of the Citie are larger and fairer then in the Citie of Canton. The Citizens also in gravitie of manners, and civilitie of Habit, differ not a little from the Inhabitants of Canton and Sciauchin. There is no Citie in Portugall, Lisbone except, that is any way for greatnesse comparable, The singularities I shall write at another time. Ciquion the fourth of the Ides of Februarie, 1586.

Provincials Letter. Fortie Chinois compared to 40000. Japonian Converts.

The Provinciall of India writ to the Generall that at their returne to Xauchin they found fortie Christians added to the Church, which number in those beginnings in the ample and barbarous Kingdome of China, may be equalled to fortie thousand Christians in the Japonian Provinces: from Goa 14. Kal. Jan. 1587.

§. IIII.

False Brethren and others accusations detected, they are expelled Sciauchin: erect a Seat at Xauceum. Monasterie of Nanhoa, and other things of note in those parts. They alter their habit; Voyage to Nanquin; the Lake, Rivers, Idols and other Rarities.

RIcius cals that Citie where they resided Sciauhin, and saith, it is a principall Citie, though not the Metropolitan of the Province, noble in commerce, in scituation (in the midst of a fresh water Lake) in wits and learned men. They baptized there Linsitaus Father

and two or three Infants, which then dying they thrust into Heaven at unwares. Sixtus the Pope granted a great Indulgence to the Societie, to further the Japonian and Chinese businesse: and Aquaviva the Generall sent them three Watches and an artificiall Clock, which was great, yet mooved by wheeles without waights, and strucke also the quarters to the great admiration of the Chinois. Others sent Pictures, one the worke of Gaspar Coelius who first taught the Japonians and Chinois the European Painting to the great good of both Churches. But the Kinsmen of Linsitau seeing such flocking to the Fathers grew suspicious of danger, and caused them to bee recalled, and Linsitau also to be estranged from them. Also one Tansiao-hu a great acquaintance of Linsitau, with purpose to get somewhat from the Fathers, questioned Ruggerius why hee had not seene Mount Vu-tan in the Province of Hu-quam, a famous resort of Pilgrimes; who answered that hee durst not without the Magistrates leave: I will procure it, saith hee, and did so. In the way Ruggerius went to the Mother Citie of Quam-si, where hee visited one of the Royall bloud, not knowing that such have nothing to doe with the State, and was not admitted, but bidden first to goe to the Vice-roy, to whom he went and had no injury, nor yet wonted humanitie, but was bidden to prosecute his Pilgrimage and not to stay there. Linsitau hearing of this, sought to shift his hands of them, and with much adoe they obtayned that two might bee permitted to stay in their house.

Coellius first teacher to paint.

Vutan a holy place haunted by Pilgrimes.

New Convert, a false Knave.

Another danger happened by one Martin a new Convert which had made two other Converts beleeve that the Fathers could by a certaine herbe turne Quick-silver into silver, and by that meanes maintayned themselves. Now the Chinois being exceedingly affected to that Alchymisticall vanitie, these gave money to buy a Wife, and other costs to that false brother who undertooke to learne of Father Ruggerius and to teach the other two that Science. And having gotten what he could of them, he also borrowed the Triangle Glasse of the Fathers, with which

hee ranne away. The Governour one day desiring to see it, they told him who had stolne it, and he sent an Officer which found him out and brought him bound. Hee, to bee revenged of the Fathers, accused one of them of Adultery; and the Husband of the pretended Adulteresse (partner in the Conspiracie) put up a Petition against Ruggerius, who upon inquisition was found at the time named to have beene in Quam-si, two moneths journey thence. The Accuser hoped to get some-what, being poore, to stop his mouth, which they refused utterly, and hee for feare fled, together with his Wife. The Father was judicially cleered, and Martin in his presence received twentie cruell stripes, and condemned to the Gallies, was sent to Linsitau who had first committed him to confirme the sentence; who added sixtie stripes more, and being beggered and cast in bonds he was forsaken of all his Friends, and (the Fathers meane-while releeving him) dyed within few dayes of the wounds. He which had gotten the Glasse from Martin, another Convert, came and restored it to them, lest it might breed him danger being found with him. [III. ii. 333.]

Martin whipped to death.

Linsitau was preferred to a higher dignitie in the Province of Hu-quam. To him the Citie had erected a Temple, and on the Altar had set his Statue; before the Altar a great Harth for burning incense: Candlestickes were also magnificently placed; and at his departure the whole Citie there visited him, and after their rite, pulled off his old Boots (Bootes are the ensignes of Magistracy) and put on new, putting the old in a Chist, and locking them up to bee reserved for a monument of his worth. Ruggerius went to Amacao, and Matthew got leave for Father Edward the Superiour to returne to Sciauquin. The new Converts which had lost their moneys by Martins death, devised new tumults against the Fathers; the River (which is a mile broad) overflowing, damnified the houses of the Citie, whence grew occasions of new abuses to Ours. The Visitour endeavoured to procure Legation from the Pope to China, and Ruggerius was sent to Europe

Manner of honouring good Magistrates.

R. goeth into Europe.

on that businesse, which tooke little effect by the death of divers Popes; hee spending the rest of his life at Salerne in the Kingdome of Naples.

Ricius was alone a good while, till Almeida came to him. His Clocke, by the Diall to the eyes, and by selfe-striking to the eares, caused no little wonder. But a new calumnie much endangered them made to the Ciai-yuen. For certaine old men of Canton, which are honoured for that in their whole lives they never have accused any, nor beene accused of any, enjoying therefore a yeerely feast out of the publicke treasure, a peculiar Vest, and divers other immunities, put up a Petition, admonishing of the danger of the Amacaons, and especially those Spies which had builded houses of divers stories, and every day proceed with new arts, giving money toward the building of Scianquin Tower to get entrance into that Citie, sayling to and fro without impediment, dangerous to the State. This is that which our Bookes fore-tell, Yee have sowen thornes and nettles in a gentle soyle, yee have brought in Serpents and Dragons into your houses. That of Amacao is like a sore on the hands or feet easily cured at leasure, but this of Sciauquin, an ulcer seizing on the breast and heart timely to be remedied, &c. The Visitour reputed a severe man committed it to the Haitu, and at last it came to the Governour of Sciauchin, who then being at Pequin to performe the customary trienniall visitation to the King, Phan his colleague (our friend, then Lieutenant) assisted us with his Counsell, and they gave their Glasse to the new Linsitau, who ended the quarrell with the Visitour, as being a false calumnie.

Priviledged old men.

Their elegant Petition is whole in Ricius, too long for this place.

The two Marts provided them of exhibitions and European Presents from Canton, and their Clocke, Mathematike Instruments, Geographicall Maps, Pictures, and Bookes, with Musicall Instruments, had procured them much visitation, and much estimation of Europe, and some fruit thereof in Conversions. Neither was this Station unprofitable to Amacao, helping their affaires with the Magistrates, in businesses with the Vice-roy, in cases of

Jesuites merit their exhibition by service to the state.

shipwrackes, in reducing fugitive slaves. It happened at that time the Vice-roy dying, his Successour would not through superstition enter his Palace till hee had pulled it quite downe and built it anew at the Kings charge. Meanewhile spending his time in Canton Province, he was made against us and banished us. But the Magistrates being our friends, and order comne then from Pequin to buy Scarlets of the Portugals, F. Mat. Ricius was employed, and got their good liking, but not leave by any meanes of the Vice-roy to stay at Sciauchin. Yea, hee forced upon the Governour the execution of his Mandate to packe them away, offering money for the house, which they refused to take, saying, a house built for Gods service might not be sold, and it were ill merchandise to take sixtie pieces of Gold for sixe hundred which it had cost them.

Jesuites banished.

Jesuites house cost 600. pieces of Gold, which in China is a great summe.

When they came at Canton the Admirall was absent, and whiles they waited for him the Vice-roy sent a Barke for them to returne, and then permitted them to chuse any other place of residence. Ricius chose Nanhium in the Province of Quiansi (or Quamsi, or Chiansi) which hee refused not, but wished them first to trye at Nanhoa, or at Xauceum, commending them to the Assistant of the Governour thereof, then present, and gave Ricius a bundle of bookes of his owne acts in token of good will, who thanked him with his fore-head to the ground, after their fashion. They departed from Sciauchin on the Assumption day, 1589. They came to the place called Sanceui, or Three-waters, where the Rivers of Xauceum from the North falls into a great River: there they use to change ships, to have others fitted in other fashion to sayle against the streame. In eight dayes sayling to the North, they came to the place where the Governours servant stayed for them to bring them to the Temple or Monasterie of Nanhoa, part of which the Vice-roy had given them if they liked it. This Monasterie they found in a goodly Plaine, environed with pleasant Hills, enriched with hand-set fruit-bearing trees, watered with a Riveret in the

Nanhium.

Xauceum.

1589.

Nanhoa Monasterie of 1000. Monkes.

midst: the goodliest Hill, graced with a plentifull Fountaine, was the Seat of the Temple, a great pile; nigh which was the Monasterie wherein a thousand Priests (by the impious piety of the Ancestrie, Lords of that ground) had their abode.

Lusus Legend. The originall thereof was a man which lived about eight hundred yeeres since, called Lusu, who is reported to have flourished in great reputation of holinesse, by reason of his austere course of life; with a chaine girded to his bare flesh, wonted to sift Rice, and to beate it lightly after their manner, as much as served for the daily food of a thousand Monasteries. With that chaine his flesh putrified, so that wormes bred therein: of which if any happened to fall to the ground, he placed it there againe, saying, Hast thou nothing to eate? why doest thou runne away? There is his carkasse preserved and that famous Temple built to his worship, to which is concourse of Pilgrimes out of all the Kingdome, everywhere he and all his being much reputed. These Ministers of the Devill are divided into twelve Stations, each having his Superiours, and over all an Abbot. When the Father came thither sent by the Vice-roy, they supposed hee had come to be their Abbot and to reforme their abuses; for they not only had their Concubines and Bastards, but robbed by the high-wayes. Now all the Idoll Priests are as subject to the Magistrates as other men; perhaps because their Learned esteeme not Idols, nor account these their Priests. Yet with China dissimulation they gave the Fathers faire entertainment with much pretended joy, and officiously offered all at their Service, making them also a Solemne Feast, and then shewing them the chiefe places of their Monastery. They were full of great Idols of Brasse and other Metals, and of wood gilded. In one Station were told five hundred. There were also many Steeples and Bels of Metall cast, one such as they had never seene in Europe to their remembrance.

Bodily exercise profiteth little, 1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

Pilgrimage.

China hypocrisie.

Monstrous Idolatry. Bels.

Lusus Shrine. The bodie also of their Saint, Lusu, was shewed, all

shining with that their China bituminous Vernish (so vulgarly thought, and preserved with incredible veneration, though many deny it to be his bodie:) In the midst of the Temple is an eminent place to which they ascend by neate steps, in which hang about fifty Lampes, but not all burning except on set dayes. The Chinois marvelled at the Fathers doing no worship, a thing usually performed by those Chinois, which otherwise repose no confidence in those Idols. They both agreed; the Chinois Monkes to bee rid of their feare, and the Fathers to goe to the Citie.

At their departure, Father Almeida went by water, and F. Matthew by Land with the Governours Servant, the Abbot bearing him companie. He there told the Magistrate that he liked not of the Temple, because the men had an ill report as unsafe Neighbours, and hee worshipped one God, and not Idols. This amazed the Governour, perswaded before, that there was in the World no other Law nor Characters then theirs, till Father Matthew pulled forth his Prayer-booke. The Abbot also testified that hee had worshipped none of the Idols, no not Lusus selfe. At last, the Governour was perswaded by him, that that of Idol-worship was a later Sect amongst them; yea, the Abbot affirmed, that they deserved no worship, but that former Magistrates had observed that without Idols the vulgar would not keepe Religion, and therefore set up these to be worshipped. They visited all the Citie Magistrates which used them with more courtesie then those of Sciauchin. They went also to another Temple or Monasterie called Quamhiao, on the other Westerne side of the River, and carried their goods thither till they were provided of a House.

Folly of Selfe-pleasing.

Apply to Images.
Originall of Idols.
Confesse and be hanged.

The Citie Xauceum is seated betwixt two Navigable Rivers which here met: the one which passeth by Nanhium on the East, the other running out of the Province of Uquam on the West. But the Citie wals and Houses are builded in the midst of the field, but they are forced by the straitnesse to build also on the other-side the River,

Xauceum described.
Nanhium.

joyned with a Bridge on Barkes. It contayneth five thousand Housholds is fertile but unholsome, the third or fourth part of the Inhabitants being sicke of a Tertian from October to December, which takes away many, and leaves a pale Impression on the rest. Strangers also are no lesse arrested by it, when they come thither on busi-

Jesuits new Seat.

nesse. And the Jesuites had almost lost themselves in this new purchase, where being recovered they had a Charter from the Vice-roy to build their House in ground belonging to the Monasterie. Thither the Visitor sent them Sebastian Fernandus and Francis Martinez which had beene trayned up in the Schoole of Amacao, the first Probationers in China. They to avoid expense, built this House of one Storie after the China manner: and soone liked better of this then their former Residence.

Chiutaiso Scholer of Ricius.

Chiutaiso (the sonne of one of the second ranke of Magistrates called Sciansuic, a man famous, as being the first named of the three hundred Doctors made every third yeare, and Author of Learned Workes) had spent his Patrimony after his Fathers death with Prodigalitie and experiments of Alchymie: and now was forced to shift, with his Wife and Servants wandering thorow the Kingdome to his Fathers Friends, and becomming a Sollicitor for other men to the Magistrates of his acquaintance. Hee having obtayned of the Vice-roy a Roome in that Monasterie became Neighbour to the Fathers; and one day with set Pompe (after the China custome) and precious Gifts came to Father Matthew, and chose him for his Master. It was not safe for the Father to refuse (though he requited his gifts, lest he should seeme to [III. ii. 335.] have beene brought thither by covetousnesse) and first

China Arithmeticke.

taught him Arithmeticke. For that which the Chinois have is with a Linnen Instrument whereon Beads are put by wires, and shifted hither and thither to reckon their numbers: certayne, but subject to Error, and unprofitable to high Sciences. He read to him also the Sphere of Clavius, and the first Booke of Euclides Elements, and taught him to make Sun-dials of many sorts, and

Geometricall Rules to measure Altitudes. He being of subtile wit, committed these things to writing in elegant stile, and shewed them to Magistrates of his Acquaintance, so procuring great opinion and admiration to the Jesuits. His wit and exceeding industry brought him to great skill, that hee made Spheres, Astrolabes, Quadrants, Compasses, Dials and other like, very artificially, and some of silver: withall so setting forth his Master and the European Learning, that it proved of no small consequence. By his meanes the Fathers had acquaintance with Pimpithau a Military Commander, with the Governours of the Citie and divers other Magistrates. Almeida fell sicke and was sent to Macao, to see if Physicke might recover him, and there dyed.

An Image sent from New Spaine.

Ricius set forth a goodly Image hitherto unseene, on the Altar adorned with Waxe Lights, which brought such concourse to see it, that their envious Neighbours stoned the House and Servants by night: whereat Chiutaiso offended acquainted the Governour, which had before set his Decree over their doore prohibiting all wrongs. He called the Street Governours (as Constables with us) and was likely there to have scourged them, pretending their ignorance, and putting chaines about their neckes after the fashion, sent them to seeke out the wrong doers, and bring them to his Tribunall. They fearing to anger their Parents, durst not name them, till he commanded to whip the one and send the other to Prison, whereupon they named two, whose punishment with much intreatie of the Father was pardoned. Father Francis de Petris, was sent (by the Magistrates License obtayned) to succeed in Almeidas place. The Vice-roy was then preferred by his Friends procurement and Bribes to a higher place, but the Provinciall Visitor had so complained of his wrongs, that by the way hee was acquainted that hee was deprived of all Office, and fined at forty thousand pieces of Gold to the King. Besides, a filthy Ulcer brake out of him, and soone after he miserably dyed. Thus did God punish his pride, which to erect a Temple to himselfe at

Severe Justice.

Fran. de Petris.

Vice-roy deprived.

Sciauchin, had deprived the Jesuits of their House. The fame at Sciauchin was that the Jesuits were expelled for refusing to teach the Vice-roy the Arte of Alchymie.

Taicho. One Cosunhoa a Merchant of the Citie Taicho in Chiansi, abode in Nanhiun, and had some fortie persons in his Family, a very Superstitious Idol-worshipper, in whose *China abstinence.* service hee macerated his whole life in that China abstinence from Flesh, Fish, Egges, and Milke, living only of Pulse, Rice, Herbs, and certaine Cakes, industrious for his salvation in another life, but not satisfied with any of the China Sects. He had learned by Chiutaiso of the Jesuits, and came to Xauceum and acquainting Father Ricius with his purpose, he was instructed and baptized Joseph. He stayed with them a moneth, and after Ricius *Nanhiun.* went to Nanhiun to him, and preached and baptized ten *Theeves.* others. Theeves by night assailing their House, the Governour was made acquainted, who would have them indited by the Fathers (which they did very sparingly, whereas the China manner is to adde excessively) and *Their sentence.* he put them to torture; and forced them to confesse: one whose Hat or head covering falling off had bewrayed him, he condemned in Capital sentence; the other to be sent to the Gallies, or amongst the Kings Slaves: which sentence was to passe to Superiour Governours, and so to Sciauchin, and Father Ricius must goe thither about it, which happened well for the new Converts which had for the most part growne wild. From thence he went to Amacao to speake with the Visitor, and returned to Sciauchin, where the Parents of the theeves procured him their Advocate which should have beene the Plaintiffe.

Amongst the China Magistrates is one which hath his *Queenes pardoner.* name of Pardoning punishments: Hee is sent in the Name of the Queene Mother, into each Province one. Their Office is to visit Prisons, to exempt the smaller offenders and to mitigate Sentences; for which the Magistrates hold them in great esteem. But hee would not succour these men, though the Father intreated. The Provinciall Visitor only remayned, who alone doth last of all revise.

the Sentences, and they despaired that hee would revoke the judgement of seven or eight Magistrates. Hereupon they conspired fiftie of them conjoyning in an impious Sacrifice in a certayne Temple to expell ours from Xauceum. But none of the Magistrates of the Citie subscribing (except one, who did it, to offend the Fathers greatest friend) they better bethought themselves, and intreated Ricius to be their Intercessor; whereby the Visitor was perswaded to pronounce them Dicers and not Theeves, and to exchange their sentence into twentie stripes apiece. For the name of Theeves would have beene an ignominious brand to them and to their Kindred for ever. Yet would they have renewed their accusation to the Visitor, but he would not heare them. About that time the President of the Court of Rites at Pequin, passed that way towards Hainam his Native Countrie, who hearing of Ours (which he did not to the Visitors) visited them with gifts, and spent a whole day with them, promising at his returne to carry Father Matthew to Pequin with him to correct their Kalendars.

Rioters.

Theft ignominious.

Pequin President.

In November 1594. Father Francis de Petris dyed, and Father Lazarus Cataneus succeeded, Ricius bethought him of another course: for howsoever they had shaken off the name of Bonzi, yet because they shaved their beards like the Portugall Priests, and cut their hayre, and lived single, had their Temple and set prayers, they could not free themselves of that infamous title which made them unfit for greater Designes. Hee advised the Visitor, that by this meanes they were accounted as the Idoll Priests, and that it were fitter to let their hayre and beards grow, and to weare the habite of the Learned men, each of them having a garment of Silke to visit the Magistrates, without which they might on equall tearmes amongst the Chinois, conferre with them: also that it was fit to remove their residence from this unwholsome ayre of Xauceum, or to divide it. To all these the Visitor yeelded, undertaking to acquaint the Generall of the Order and the Pope. For howsoever for vertue and learning (wanting to their Bonzi)

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Bonzi infamous. Popish and Ethnike priests like in shaving and habite.

Jesuites alter their habite.

the Magistrates had alway shewed countenance to Ours, yet the vulgar held them in that vulgar respect; neither might the Magistrates breake their custome, to give them equall entertaynment. Nor did they now beare themselves for Learned men of China, but for European Learned, imitating the habite of that Countrey.

Scilau. The next yeere, 1595. the Chiefe Judge of the Councell of Warre, by the Chinois called Scilaù, which is farre above the dignitie of Vice-roy, (who before had after divers Dignities betaken himselfe to a private life) upon occasion of the invasion of Corai, was by the King of China (which sent in defence thereof an Armie of eightie thousand) called backe to the Royall Citie. Hee had a Sonne of twentie yeeres old, who for griefe that he had lost the first degree of their Students, lost his wits. Hee sent a Captayne for the Fathers, thinking they could recover his Sonne which he had with him, and gave them such entertaynment, that the Magistrates were amazed. He caused a Charter to bee given to Ricius for going to Naugau, chiefe Citie in Chiansi, where hee hoped to doe good on his Sonne. He passed Mount Moilin, which lyeth betwixt the two Provinces and the two Rivers, a dayes journey, and the most notable thorow-fare in the whole Kingdome. For at the foot thereof to the South, the River of Nanchiun becomes navigable, which runneth into Canton and the South Sea. On the other side of the Hill at the Citie Naugau, ariseth another great River, which visiteth the Provinces of Chiansi and Nanquin, and many Cities before hee enters the Sea Eastward. Thus what comes from forraine Kingdomes to Canton, is this way conveyed to the in-land Kingdomes, as also from those hither: Horses and seates, or Chayres for carriage on mens shoulders, Beasts for carriage and Porters, being almost innumerable every day, yet all in good order. The Mountayne is common to both Provinces, which are distinguished by a Gate erected among the stonie precipices. All the way is set with Trees, paved with stones, frequent with Hostries, as secure by night as by day, both by

Mount Muilim-or Moilin: See sup. Ex. Almeidæ.

the guards of Souldiers, and frequencie of Travellers: neither are their over-flowings by raynes. On the Hill top is a neate Temple, and therein a Garrison, both Provinces thence offered to the view. Naughan signifieth the Southerne Inne. Hee went in one of the Presidents Ships, till hee came to the Citie Canceu; by the way often entring into his owne Ship and discoursing with him of European affayres, Sciences, and Religion. But so many visitations for Magistrates hindred all dealing with his Sonne in this journey, so that by his Father it was deferred.

Naughan.

In this Citie Canceu, resideth a Vice-roy greater then the Vice-roy of that Province, they call him the Vice-roy of foure Provinces, Chiansi, Fuchien, Canton and Uquam: not that all those Provinces are subject to him, but because hee governeth two adjoyning Regions, or lesse Provinces out of each of them. The cause of appointing this Vice-roy extraordinarie was, the multitude of Theeves in those parts, which bordering on so many Provinces, could not easily by ordinarie course of Justice bee apprehended; whence two Regions out of each were committed to one, who by Militarie forces repressed those insolences. And because the militarie Magistrates are subject to that Councell of Warre at Pequin, the President was heere received with greater State: above three thousand men were sent to meete him a league off, with their Captaynes, Colours and Armes, many with Hand-gunnes mixed, shooting off as he passed, making a faire show on both sides the River, which there is not very large. When hee was come into the Citie, the Vice-roy with other Magistrates visited him with Gifts, Provisions, Banquets; and some companies were set to guard the Ships: which was also done every where, such is the China veneration of such Magistrates by their inferiours. Heere was a Bridge of Boates, opened but once a day for Ships passage which have payd their customes.

Canceu.
Great Vice-roy and Greater President.

Stately entertaynment.

Boat-Bridge.

After they were past this Citie, another River addes it selfe to this, whence they come into a place called Sciepathau, about thirtie miles long, in which are many

Sciepathau, that is 18. streames. It seemes so many in that space flow into it.

Rockes dispersed, on which the impetuous force of the water causeth many ship-wrackes, goods lost, and men drowned; and requireth expert Ship-men; a strange thing to see a River full of shelves and sharpe rockes, in the midst of the continent. In the entrance of this dangerous passage is an Idoll Temple, wherein the passengers devoutly commend the safetie of their fortunes to these vanities, which Scilan also heere did in vaine: for although with multitude and industrie of Saylers his Ship avoyded the Rockes, yet was that broken in which his Wife and Children were carryed, though they escaped drowning, by reason of her high building, every one getting up into the highest decke, which lifted up it selfe above those shallower waters. They cryed pittifully, and Father Matthew having then gotten a Boate for himselfe came first and received them, going himselfe into another lesse, which went before to conduct the way. Scilan sent for another Ship presently to Canceu. Father Matthew was taken into another Ship of burthen, which was in a gust overthrowne, John Barradas his boy was drowned, and hee hardly recovered: the Commodities by dyving were gotten againe, though much hurt by the water. They came to a noble and populous Citie called Chiengan, where the winde by night was so violent, that it dispersed all the Fleet, which hardly escaped wracke.

Lying vanities.

[III. ii. 337.]

Chiengan.

Scilan terrified with this disastrous passage by water, purposed to goe by land to Pequin, which is done at the Kings cost; in certayn places there being Horses, Lighters, Porters, provisions ready provided. Now thinking to send backe Ricius to Xauceum, least some might accuse him in a time of warre for bringing Strangers to the Court; hee shewed some the wonders of his triangle Glasse, which hee was willing to give the President if hee knew he should hold on with him in the Journey. They acquainted their Lord, and hee gave him license to goe to Nanquin, and to enter those two Provinces of Cequion or Cechien, and Nanchin or Nanquin. Hee was carryed thither with two of Scilans servants, still having Souldiers from all

Kings Posts.

The Glasse esteemed a great Jewell, given to Scilan.

Nancian Metropolis of Chiansi.

places to guard him, they thinking that some of his Sonnes were there carryed. When hee came to that Mother Citie (for before hee seldome went foorth, to prevent all lets) which is in twentie nine degrees, to the Northermost part of the Province, hee made shew of himselfe as one of Scilans houshold servants: and not knowing whither to goe to deliver his Letters, hee first went into a Temple of note, which beares name of the Iron Pillar. For they fable that one Huiunsin, had some hundreds of yeeres agoe, brought perfect Silver out of Quick-silver, and had delivered this Citie from a huge Dragon, whom hee overwhelmed in the ground, and tyed to that Iron Pillar, and then flew with his whole house, Mice and all, into Heaven. The building of this Temple is worthy the view, against which are perpetuall Faires, in which nothing is lacking to bee sold. The Priests are those which they call Thausu, which let their hayre and beards grow. When hee entred that Temple, much concourse of people came about him to see a Stranger, a strange sight there, yea, reputed holy, for they had thought that the fame of that Idoll, had brought him thither from farre Countries. But when hee did no worship thereto, hee was admonished to doe that which the greatest Magistrates refused not; then threatned, after they would force him, till one of the Ship sayd, hee worshipped no Idols. But seeing the multitude still flocking about him, he returned to the Ship, and signified that hee came with the President, whom every man knew. The servants visited their Masters friends, and received gifts of some, especially of the Vice-royes Physician.

This seemes to agree with Pintos Muchiparom. sup. pag. 274.

Scarcely had they sayled out of the chiefe Citie, when they meete with a Lake admirable for the greatnesse and other things: on all the bankes as farre as a man can see, are innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages, great Houses; thence they may passe into Fuchien, and thence to the Sea Eastward. Amongst other Townes there is one Citie called Nancan, at the foot of a Hill called Liu, in which Hill are divers Anchorites, each in his owne Cell, macerating himselfe with afflicting his bodie. Those

Admirable Lake: see the new Map. Mount Liu: this perhaps is that Calemplui in Pinto 262. or some like place.

Houses are sayd to bee as many, as are dayes in the yeere: and they tell as a miracle, that the Sunne shining cleere round about, that Hill is alway covered with Clouds and mysts; so that that Hill (so neere) cannot bee seene out of the Lake. The course of the River is to Nanquin, but in that breadth the streame hath small force, and easily may with the winde bee sayled any way. After you are out of the Lake, a great River of Uquam Province, runneth thither and therein loseth his name and waters.

River Yamsu or Seas Sonne, beyond the Lake.

For the greatnesse, it is thence-forward called Yamsu, which signifieth, the Son of the Sea, being in many places two or three myles broad, dangerous also for tempests like his Father, and they say the waters are so whirled therein, that swimming can little profit those which fall thereinto. The Chinois sayle it with great feare, and are there often wracked. Great Ships sayle therein, and happely our Ships (not the greatest of all) and our Galleyes might sayle hitherto from the Sea. Many other Rivers pay their tributes to it. They sayle it not by night, but betake themselves to some Port, which they may readily doe also in a storme. To this Lake the Spring-tydes at Change and Full come, at other times not observable: at Nanquin every day, but it is fresh water. When hee was come to Nanquin the Presidents servants left him.

[III. ii. 338.]

§. V.

Nanquin described; Ricius expelled thence, hee setleth at Nancian, thence goeth to Nanquin againe, and to Pequin; description of it, the way thither, the Kings Palace, and of Suceu, and Hamceu.

Nanquin, (which Polo calls Quinsay) described. It was then greater, as

NAnquin or Nanchin by the Portugals is called Lanchin: for they heard of it by the Inhabitants of the Province Fuchian or Fuquian, which use L for N. It is called also Intienfu, because the Governour of the Region there resideth. This is that Citie, which in

the Chinois opinion excelleth all Cities of the world, both in greatnesse and goodlinesse: neither may many be compared to it. For it is full of very great Palaces, Temples, Towers, Bridges, which all yet are exceeded by those of the same kinde in Europe. It excelleth also in temperature of the ayre, fertilenesse of the soyle, goodnesse of wits, gentlenesse of manners, elegance of speech, multitude of inhabitants of every ranke, of People, and Learned, and Magistrates: these also holding equall ranke with those of Pequin, in number and dignitie, howbeit by the absence of the King, that equalitie is made unequall. And so in all the Kingdome of China, and the bordering Kingdomes, it is commonly (all things considered) judged the first or chiefe Citie. It is compassed with three Walls; the first, that of the Kings Palace exceeding stately. That is also compassed with a threefold wall, in manner of a Tower, with ditches filled with water. It hath foure or five Italian myles in circuit. And I dare boldly say, that no King any where hath a more excellent Palace (not if you weigh particulars together, but) comparing all things. The second wall encompasseth the Palace, and the principall part of the Citie, opened with twelve Gates, which are fortified with Iron plates, and Ordnance planted over against them within the Citie. This second Wall comprehendeth eighteene Italian myles compasse. The third Wall and uttermost is not every where continued, but where need is, Art hath added supplyment to Natures fortification.

being the Royall residence, which removed and warres together have diminished it: perhaps also that Lake decaying and drying up; or not rebuilt after the Tartars expelled.

Second Wall twelve Gates. Third Wall.

The circuit thereof can hardly bee knowne. The Inhabitants say, that two Horse-men in a whole dayes riding, having gone out of the same Gate, met together at night: whence the prodigious quantitie may bee observed, especially the forme of the Citie being Circular, and therefore most capable. Although within the walls are great spaces of Mountaynes, Lakes, Groves, Gardens, yet the greatest part is very frequently inhabited. The garrison Souldiers (which one would not beleeve, had not eye-witnesses confirmed it) which keepe the Citie alone,

Citie wall two dayes journey on horsebacke.

Garrison. 40000.

In 32. or 32. degrees, 15. min. are fortie thousand. The Pole is elevated 32. degrees, and so it is seated in manner in the midst of the Kingdome, from North to South. The River runneth by it at the West, exceedingly both enriching and beautifying it. Nor doth it onely passe by, but is in many places brought into the Citie by Channels (whereby greater vessels may enter the Citie) being enlarged by Art. In times past it was called the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and may seeme to have beene anciently more glorious.

Large Suburbs. Ricius went a-land in the Suburbe, which is without the three Walls, and is so large and frequently inhabited, that it may seeme another great Citie. There a Physician of the Vice-roy of Schiauchin knew him, and hee visited the Vice-royes sonne, and by his meanes grew acquainted with others. When he went into the Citie, hee used to bee carryed in a close Chayre, to prevent noveltie, and for more authoritie, and because the length of the way to friends houses often required it. There hee thinking to fixe a residence, learned of one Sciutagin a Magistrate of his former acquaintance, to whom hee had before given a Globe and an Houre-glasse, receiving promises of much kindnesse. To him he went full of hope and not emptie handed: but hee being both miserably covetous, and ambitiously hunting after new places, was offended with his presence (hee pretending that he came to see him) sent for his Hoast, and threatned him terribly, causing him to ship away his new Ghest; having also agreed with the Notarie of his Court to give evidence against him, as a troublesome and dangerous man formerly expelled from Sciauchin. Thus against the streame both of his affection and the River, is Ricius forced (loath to displease Magistrates) to returne to Chiansi Province. In the way full of thoughts, hee had a vision (as the Storie sayth) in which God appeared to him, and promised to bee propitious in both the Cities Royall to him.

Miserable Churle.

Nancien. In Nancian the chiefe Citie of Chiansi hee abode. This is as great in circuit, but not in Merchandise as Canton, and though none of those portentuous great Cities, yet

is it famous for the number of Learned men, which thence are advanced to divers parts: the people are thriftie and contented with little, and many of them observe that first aforesayd. Of the Learned men there is also a Societie, in which on set dayes the more learned doe Lecture or discourse touching vertues in very modest manner. The Physician aforesayd, famous for his Art and well respected by the Vice-roy, was visited by him. Hee now used his Silken vest and Cap used by the Learned, somewhat like but higher, then that which Priests in Spaine weare, (for he had learned to keepe state and not to deject himselfe too much) and carryed two servants with him in long garments made of Callico, and his gestatorie Chayre: without which pompe a man cannot bee taken for a Learned man, the poorest Students using them, and otherwise contemned. The Physician entertayned him kindly, and after invited him to a Feast, where were many Students, and some of the Royall bloud (of which that Citie hath very great store) which were glad of his acquaintance; and when he had once mentioned his staying there, the Physician was so eager in desire thereof, that he feyned that the President Scilan had written to him, to procure him residence there, because in the former abode he had not his health. The Chinois esteeme such lyes to bee wisedome. Hee soone got credit amongst them by Mathematicall lectures and instruments, and by his artificiall memorie especially. For the Chinois above all others commit whole bookes to memorie with unwearyed paynes, and in the first yeeres of their studies doe nothing else. He repeated the most confused and independant Characters in order, yea, backwards as well as forward. Many desired to learne it, and some hee entertayned. Physicians being of no great authoritie, he sought to insinuate into favour of the Magistrates; but a certayne Student had counselled him to neglect their license, and thereupon enquirie being made by the Vice-roy, this his friend and landlord very friend-like, would needs throw him suddenly out of doores, and hee was forced by force

Fast from flesh, fish, egges, and milke.

[III. ii. 339.]

Many of the Royall bloud in Nancian.

China lying is prudence.

Ricius his artificiall memorie.

Fortune friend.

to defend himselfe. But the Vice-roy having received a Libell from him, testifying who he was, greatly rejoyced (having heard of him) and when hee came to his Court, arose from the Tribunall to meete him, would not suffer him to kneele, and gave him good usage and magnificent Titles, inviting him also to reside there. Whose affections were after kindled into a greater flame by his Physicians, magnifying his Mathematickes, Memorative, Bookes, three square Glasse and other novelties. The Vice-roy would have him make him a Dyall, and teach his Sonnes, but for that admirable Glasse, hee would by no kinde force accept the gift.

Chiengan and Longan, Kings titular.

And whereas time out of minde many of the Royall bloud are there, two of them having the tytle of Kings, Chiengan, and Longan, sent their principall Servants or Courtiers, to invite Father Matthew to the Palace, which is fitting to Royall Majestie, both for Greatnesse, magnificence of Building, pleasure of Gardens, and other furniture of houshold and attendance. Chiengan first invited and entertayned him, attyred with a Royall vesture and Diadem. Father Matthew gave him a Dyall with the Signes of the Zodiacke, and a Globe with China characters, and other Europæan commodities; which hee recompenced with Silkes, weight of Silver, and divers viands. Nothing gave him such content as two Bookes of Japon paper, smooth and hard bound in Europæan manner: one contayning Maps and other Mathematicall representations, with an explication in their Language; the other was a tractate of Friendship, wherein Dialogue-wise (as Cicero in his Lælius) hee bringeth in the King, questioning what the men of Europe thought of Friendship, and set downe the sentences of Philosophers, Doctors, and other Authors; a worke to this day read there with great applause and admiration, Printed in divers Provinces. Chiengan continued his friendship and left it as a legacie to his Sonne, who used when the Father visited him, to pay the Porters, and to give money to his servants, a token with them of great welcome. The Societie also of Learned men

Ricius his China Booke of friendship.

Token of welcome.

grew acquainted with him, and the chiefe of them, hearing him complayne of multitude of visitors, wished him to command his Servants to say hee was not at home: which officious lye he affirming to bee by our Law unlawful, bred in him and the rest much wonder.

In the meane while at Xauceo they sustayned abuses, *Cavils.* and Sebastian Fernandus was used ignominiously by the calumnies of their quarrelsome neighbours, and sentence of a partiall Judge, which caused two Servants to bee whipped unheard, and Fernandus to stand as in a Pillorie, *Pillorie board.* with his head in a board an ell and halfe square, therein a hole fitted for the necke, to bee opened and shut; so that a man cannot put his hand to his mouth: and this forsooth for beating the Bachellors. This was written as the cause of his punishment. Hee afterwards sought the Jesuites favour, ashamed of his fact, invited them, and set up an Edict for their safetie. Fernandus was sent hereupon to Ricius, and Cataneus continued alone without any Father, till the yeere 1597. and fell sicke: then going to Amacao (Father John Aroccia was sent in his place) *Aroccia and Longobardus.* hee returned with Father Nicholas Longobard a Sicilian. Father Matthew was appointed superiour of the China mission by the Visitor Valignanus, without subjection to the Rector of Amacao. To him precious watches were sent, and Images with other things, which might further their China proceedings, the Portugals of Amacao continuing their liberalitie herein.

Father Matthew minding to trie all meanes to peerce to the Court, assayed Chiengan in vaine, who feared to raise any suspicion of himselfe. Hearing therefore that Guan (which had as you heard) visited the house of Xauceo, in his way to Hainan, was thence called by the King to Nanquin to bee President of the first Councell, *The Counsell Li Pu so called of creating Majestrates.* called Li Pu, that is, the Councell of Magistrates: in his way at Nancian they visited him with a present, (in which nothing so pleased him as the trigone Glasse) and tooke opportunitie to signifie to him, their desire of presenting the King with some Europæan rarities. Hee approved

thereof and sayd, they should not onely goe with him
[III. ii. 340.] to Nanquin, but to Pequin also; whither within one moneth of his comming hee was to goe. Ricius with Cataneus attend him (leaving two of the company at Nancian) with two brethren of the company, Seb. Fernandus, and Emanuel Pererius, of China parentage in Amacao: who of their God-fathers take usually both Christian name and Sir-name, using also their China names in dealing with Chinois. They set foorth from Nancian on Midsummer day, 1598. and when they were come to Nanquin they found all full of feare, by reason of the Japonian warre in Corai, so that none durst give us entertaynment, grievous Proclamations having lately forbidden to receive men any way suspicious, by occasion of Japonian Spyes taken. Even the President himselfe, feared to bee author in so troublesome time of bringing Strangers: and Ricius when he visited him, used his Gestatorie seate. They gave eight pieces of Gold to a cunning Clerke to write their Petition (so deare doe Learned men there prize their labour) which when they gave the Chancellour (which sends Petitions from Nanquin to the King) hee would not meddle with it, but put it off to the President, that hee should carrie them with him to Pequin. He being to bee there to gratulate the King at his Birth day, in name of the sixe Tribunals or Counsels, sent his goods by water and the Jesuites with them, but went himselfe by land.

Custome of Converts names in Baptisme. Anno 1598.

Writing well in China brings credit and gaine.

When this President came to Nanquin, other Magistrates visited him with presents after the manner, and one the Vice-roy of that Province with a Map of Ricius his invention, concealing the name of the Author in a new impression; which hee shewed to Ricius, who soone knew and challenged his owne. This the President intimated, that the Author was going with him to Pequin. Hee presently sends the Captayne of the Souldiers, to desire the President that he might have sight of a man whom hee so much admired; sending withall a Chayre, and Porters with Horses also. For the Vice-roy of

Vice-roy of Nanquin, a lover of Geographie.

Nanquin resideth not in Nanquin, because in that High Court are higher Magistrates, which would seeme to eclipse his Greatnesse. So Cataneus went with the Ship, Ricius to the Vice-roy, whom hee saluted with European gifts. He stayed with him ten dayes, so great desire he had to conferre with him. And when hee shewed him the Image of Christ, he would not take view of it there, but would first ascend to a neate Chappell which he had on the top of his House, therein after the rites of their Learned, to worship Heaven; with three doores to it, from the South, East, and West: about it round was a Gallerie distinguished and cancelled. There he caused an Altar to bee erected, and thereon Wax-lights and Incense to be fired; and then the Image being set thereon, hee came in his most sumptuous attire and did worship foure times, after their accustomed rites: after which hee would not stand before it but besides it, to take view, which hee did a good space. After him, his familie did likewise: and every day they reiterated the same, one also being appointed to keepe perpetuall Odours burning before it. Hee brought other Magistrates also to see the same: and when he might not detayne the Father longer, he sent him away with great weight of Silver, which came fitting to their necessitie. Hee gave advise also touching their designe, and told them of that frustrate successe which followed. He went with him to the River, and sent one with him till he had overtaken his companion. The Chinois call that River Jansu-chian, Chian signifying the greatest River; other Rivers they call Cho.

Honour to an Image.

Chappell.

Chian or Quian. See Polo sup. 90.

That River of Nanquin which I called (Yamsu or) Jansu, the sonne of the Sea, goeth Northward to Nanquin, and then returning somewhat Southward, runneth into the Sea with great force; fortie myles from which it passeth by Nanquin. And that from hence to Pequin there might bee passage by Rivers, the Kings of China have derived a large Channell from this to another River, called the Yellow River, such being the colour of that troubled water. This is the other famous River of that Kingdome,

River of Nanquin: one cut from it for Pequin.

Yellow River see the Map.

in greatnesse and note, which ariseth without the Kingdome to the West, out of the Hill Cunlun, conjectured * to bee the same whence Ganges ariseth, or one neere to it. Where it first breakes foorth, it maketh a Lake which they call of the Constellations: thence it pierceth into the borders of China in Sciensi, the most Westerly Province, and goeth out againe out of the Northerne walls into the Tartars Countries: after which it returneth to the South, and that Province whence it had come, and washeth another Province named Sciansi, and another named Honan: then turneth into the East and entreth the Easterne Ocean, not farre from the Sonne of the Sea. This River against their lawes for Strangers, entreth China from Barbarous Regions, and as in revenge of their malice to Strangers, often over-floweth great part of the Kingdome, and shifteth his Channell being full of Sands which it mooveth. Certayne Officers or Magistrates designed doe sacrifice thereto, or to the Spirit of it (for they set Spirits over divers things) with many rites: and they fayne that it cleeres the troubled waters, but once in one thousand yeeres, whence it is proverbiall of a sild-seene thing, When the yellow River shall bee cleered. They that sayle therein, must therefore keepe the water many dayes till it setleth, the third part proving myre and sand. Before the ingresse and egresse of this River, are Channels which give passage to Ships that carry provision to Pequin. Those Ships are sayd to bee ten thousand, sent onely out of five Provinces, Chiansi, Cechian, Nanchin, Uquam, and Sciantum. For these Provinces pay their yeerly tribute in Rice and Corne; the other ten in Silver. Besides these, there passe innumerable Ships of Magistrates and of private Merchants: but private men are forbidden to goe out of the Hiansu into those lesse Rivers (those onely passe which dwell within such Rivers to the North) lest the multitude of Ships should hinder the passage, or bee able to doe harme to Pequin. Yet is there such store of Ships notwithstanding, that they are forced to stay sometimes divers dayes, one hindring another, especially at

Such conjectures as this and those in Pinto of this Lake seeme ill grounded.

Lake of Constellations.

Magistrates sacrifice to the River.

10000. *Ships of the Kings for five Provinces.*

[III. ii. 341.]

some seasons when water is scarce, for remedie whereof, they have lockes and flood-gates, which opened make way from one to another of them, with great labour and tedious lingring. The crossenesse of windes and labours of drawing with ropes, I need not mention. Some ships are overwhelmed at the opening of those lockes. They have woodden Engines on the bankes to draw the ships of Magistrates, at the Kings cost, against the streame all the way. And in fitting this River to Navigation, a million is spent yeerely; the feare of the Sea and Pyrats, have made them take this course rather then that by Sea.

Cranes to draw ships.

Tempestuous seas and Pyrats on that coast. See Pinto.

In all this way, many Cities most worthy note appeare, of the Provinces Nanquin, Sciantum, Pequin, and besides the Cities there are so many Townes, Villages, Houses on the bankes, that all the way may be sayd to bee inhabited; so that the Saylers no where want to furnish themselves with Corne, Rice, Fish, Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Wine and the like, at a very cheape rate. By the same River, Wood, Timber, Boards, Pillars (for the Chinois make reckoning onely of those of wood) are carryed for the Kings workes: especially, then when the Kings Palace had beene on fire, which consumed two parts of three thereof. In all the Journey, ours found great rankes of Timber-trees tyed together, and of other wood, which many thousands of men drew with huge toyle, and scarcely could get forwards five or sixe myles in a day, and from the Province Suscuen, which is furthest from the Court, such Timber-trees were in going up, two or sometimes three yeers space: whence every pillar made of them prodigiously arose each to three thousand pieces of Gold: and of those Timber-rankes they encountred one, seeming longer then the rest, which was esteemed to reach two myles in length. The Bricks also (which the Chinois preferre before Stone) for the Kings Palace, were carryed this way fifteen hundred myles, and many Ships had no other use, so many as might seeme sufficient, not for a Palace but a great Citie. Out of the Southerne Provinces, are yearely sent those

Timbers for the Kings buildings.

Two thirds of the Kings house burnt by Lightning.

Bricks preferred to stone.

things which in the more barren Provinces of Pequin are wanting; as Fruits, Fish, Rice, Silkes, Cloathes and other things: and a day is set them, at which if they bee not there, they incurre grievous penalties. Of the Ships called Horses, the Kings Eunuches have command. By this River they sayle almost onely when the Rivers swell over their bankes, peradventure by the melting of the Snowes from the Hills whence they spring. By the heate in that Journey of a moneth, and sometimes two moneths, the viands which they carrie, are often corrupted before they come to Pequin, for which cause they coole them with Ice, and in all those wayes much Ice is preserved for that purpose, and distributed to the passengers, and so all things are carryed fresh to the Court.

Swifter ships called Horses.

Heat and cold.

The Eunuches of those Ships, sell emptie roomes to the Passengers for their gayne: for the Chinois thinke it a glory to send that which goeth to the King in many ships, & not to give them their full lading, which is also profitable for that sterilitie of Pequin, Merchants by these convenient straights making nothing to want there where nothing growes. Ours hyred a roome in like manner for their ease. By reason of the great heat they all fell sicke, yet by Gods helpe recovered. When they were to passe out of the River, in the Province of Sciantum, they met with a hand-made River, which runnes out neere Pequin, to the Tower Tiensin. Another River from Pequin or rather from Tartaria, meetes it, and runnes together with it into the Sea, or into that Bay, betwixt Corai and China, after they have runne together one day. In this Tower there was a new Vice-roy extraordinary, by reason of that invasion of Corai from Japon. Hee provided a huge Fleet for defence of Corai, by which meanes that whole River was full of Ships of warre and militarie tumult. Ours went thorow the thickest of them without let, and at length came to the Port or Banke rather of Pequin, which banke is a dayes journey from the walls of Pequin. And although by Art they have made a huge Channell to the walls, yet lest it should bee filled with

Hand-made River. Tiensin.

They come to Pequin.

multitude of Ships, they suffer none but the Kings burthens to goe that way, the others being carryed by Carts, Beasts, and Porters. They came to Pequin on a festivall day, the Eeven of the Virgins Nativitie.

The chiefe Mart Townes in this way were Jamcheu in Nanquin Province, in thirtie two degrees thirtie minutes. Hoaingan in thirtie foure not all so much; Sinceu in thirtie foure degrees thirtie minutes. In Sciantum Province Zinim in thirtie five degrees fortie minutes. Lincin in thirtie seven degrees fortie minutes. In Pequin Province Tiencin in thirtie nine degrees thirtie minutes. Pequin in fortie large. They are deceived which elevate it to fiftie. Now from Canton (which is two dayes from Amacao) are of China furlongs (five of which make a mile, and fifteene a league) by River to Nanhiun, one thousand one hundred and seventie. Thence to Nancian eleven hundred and twentie. From that to Nanquin, one thousand foure hundred and fortie. And thence to Pequin three thousand three hundred thirtie five, in all seven thousand sixtie five: which makes of miles, one thousand foure hundred and thirteene.

Jomcheu.

Hoaingan.

Sieuceu.

Zinim. Licin.

Length of the way.

[III. ii. 342.]

PEquin is situated in the Northerne border about one hundred miles from the wall against the Tartars. Nanquin exceeds it in greatnesse, composition of the Streets, hugenesse of Buildings, and Munitions: but Pequin exceedeth it in multitude of Inhabitants, and of Magistrates. To the South it is compassed with two walls high and strong, so broad that twelve Horses may easily runne abrest on the breadth without hindering one the other. They are made of Brickes, save that on the foot it stands all on huge stones, the midle of the wall is filled with Earth: the height farre exceeds those in Europe. To the North is but one wall. On these walls by night is kept as vigilant watch as if it were time of warre: in the day Eunuches guard the gates, or rather exact Tributes, which is not done in other Cities.

Pequin described, compared with Nanquin.

The walls.

Watch and Ward.

The Kings Palace riseth within the inner Southerne

Palace.

wall, neere the City gates and extends to the Northerne walls, seeming to take up the whole Citie: the rest of the Citie running forth on both sides: It is some-what narrower then the Palace of Nanquin, but more goodly and glorious; that seeming by the Kings absence, as a carkasse without soule. Few of the Streets are paved with Bricke or Stone, so that in Winter dirt, and dust in Summer, are very offensive: and because it raineth there seldome, the ground is all crumbled into dust, and if any wind blow, it enters every Roome. To prevent which they have brought in a custome, that no man of whatsoever ranke goeth on foot or rideth without a Veile or Bonnet hanging to his brest, of that subtiltie that he may see, and yet the dust not annoy him: which also hath another commoditie that he may goe any whither unseene, so freed from innumerable tedious salutations, and also he spares attendance and cost. For to ride is not magnificent enough with the Chinois, and to bee carried in their Seats is costly, with Attendants especially; and in that time of Warre it fitted with ours to passe unknowne, being Strangers.

Streets.

All goe and ride veiled.

Commoditie of Mules and Mulletters.

Muletters stood at the Palace, and City gates, and in every Street to let Mules, themselves also attending the Hirers whether they would in the City; which leading the beasts by the bridle, in that frequencie made way, being also skilfull of the wayes, knowing most of the great mens Houses: all at a reasonable rate. There is a Booke also which truly relateth all the Streets, Lanes, Regions of the City: Porters also with Seats to carrie Men, and Horses are every-where found, but dearer then at Nanquin, or other places.

Booke of Pequin.

See Polo sup. 88.

All things are to bee had in abundance, but brought thither and therefore dearer. Wood is scarce, but supplied with Mine-coles (we call them Sea-cole) necessary to that Region, cold beyond what the Climate usually exacteth: their Beds are so made with Brick-workes, that they by a new kind of Stoves admit the heate of those Coles: a thing usuall in all those Northerne Regions. These

Northerne Chinois are some-what more dull, but better Souldiers then the other. Here they learned that this Kingdome is Cataio, and the King of China the great Can, and Pequin Cambalu. *China, Cathay. See Pantoia.*

For the nine Kingdomes (of Mangi) are those Southerly Provinces which are under the great River Jansuchian, and sixe upon it make up the fifteene, so great that some one of them is as great as all Italy. Anno 1608. whiles we write, it is fortie yeares since two Turkes or Moores out of Arabia brought to China a Lion (a beast seldome here seene) by Land, which had an Office given by the King to them and theirs, to keepe the Lion, and that they should carry no Tales thence. They in conference called this Kingdome great Catay, and this City Cambalu; the like we heard of others which had comne from Persia. The Chinois also have heard of that name, and still call the Tartars Lu, and the North parts Pa and Pe: to which Can the Tartarian Title added easily makes Canpalu or Cambalu with others; for the Chinois seldome use B. and Marco Polo comming in with the Tartars called it by their name. And at this time without the walls of China is found no Catay. The Portugals called it China, borrowing the name as may be supposed from the Siamites, and hence Cosmographers made them two Kingdomes. But Goez his Journey by Land to Catay hath taken away all scruple. *Cambalu the great Tartar of the North.* *Goez. sup. cap. 4.*

To returne to ours now come to Pequin, the President gave them entertainment, and procured an Eunuch to undertake the businesse for the Presents, which were a Clocke, two Pictures, two Trigone-glasses and a Bell: all pleased the Eunuch, but his minde ranne more on making Silver of Quick-silver, which he had heard they could doe, and which would bee more gratefull to the King. And when he saw that would not be undertaken, neither would he undertake to acquaint the King, in this time of Corayan Warres; and ours also were taken for Japonians, or neere unto them, they not knowing how by true names to distinguish Nations. The President also began to be fearefull and purposed to carry them backe with him to *Alchymie and base covetise.*

Nanquin. Yet they staid a moneth after him (he being at a certaine day by Law to depart) and when they had tryed all wayes in vaine, none daring to acknowledge Strangers, they returned to Nanquin. They had a Bill of Exchange from Amacao to take up money at Pequin, but the Merchant had plaid the Merchant and Chinese too, none such there to be found. They hired a ship at an easie rate for their returne (because they goe empty) but not easie in this respect that the Owners povertie made the Journey tedious for want of helpes. This benefit they made of this Journey to learne the Language better, making a Dictionary, observing their Accents with Points devised; (that speech consisting wholly of Monosyllables, the want of skill in those Accents had caused that they neither did, nor were understood) Cataneus skill in Musicke helping to distinguish those sounds. What course Ricius and he instituted, that the Company still observe in their Writing.

Coozening Merchant.

China Language and Accents.

[III. ii. 343.]

Rivers frozen. All the Rivers in China use to be frozen in the beginning of Winter, that ships cannot passe by water, and Carts by Land are safer. They agreed that Father Matthew should goe by Land with two Servants, to try if he could settle at Nanquin, the rest and the burthens to stay till the River were thawed. He purposed also to goe to Suceu whither Chiutaisu had often invited him, being his Countrey. Passing thorow Sciantum, he visited Siuceu and Yamceu famous Marts, and passing the River Yamceu, at Chinchiamfu, the chiefe City of that Province hee entred into a hand made River, by which is sailed to Suceu and to the chiefe Citie of Cechian Hamceu. This River being Southerly and neere frozen over, is so narrow that multitudes of shippes cloy it so somtimes that they cannot passe forward or backward. He was forced therefore to go by another way, which is a Coach or Wagon of one wheele, so builded that one sitting in the midst, and two on the sides, the Coach-man behind with woodden Leavers or Barres drives it forwards both surely and swiftly; that in short time he came to Suceu.

Ric. goeth by Land.

Siuceu and Yamceu.

Coach of one wheele.

This Noble Mart is one of them whereof is the Proverbe, That which is in Heaven the Seat of the Blessed, that in Earth is named Suceu, and Hamceu: in splendour, wealth, frequencie remarkable. It is built in a calme fresh-water River, and quite thorow one may goe, as in Venice, by Land or Water, but herein it excelleth Venice that the water is fresh. The streets and buildings stand upon piles of Timber, the Wares from Amacao and other parts are most sold here. It hath one gate to the Land, the other are water-wayes. The Bridges are innumerable, & Magnificent, Ancient, but of one Arch in those narrow Chanels. Butter and White-meates are plentie, Rice, and the best Wine, which thence is carryed to Pequin and other parts. It is scarsly two dayes from the Sea. It is well fortified, the chiefe City of the Region, which hath eight Cities. One of the Princes held this, when the Tartars were expelled, against this Royall Race; whereupon it still payeth a great Tribute, to wit, the halfe of all things growing, (so that some two whole Provinces pay lesse then this one Region to the King, against whom it had stood out) it is still also awed with a frequent Garrison. Chiutaiso was then absent at Tanian a Neighbour City, who received him with great humanitie. He abode in a Monasterie, and resigned his bed to his Master, who tired by travell fell sicke, and was likely there to have dyed. Recovered by his care, he gave him a Triangle Glasse, which he put in a Silver case with Gold Chaines at the ends, and adorned it further with a Writing that it was a fragment of that matter whereof the Heavens consist. One was said to offer him five hundred pieces of Gold soone after for it, which till Father Matthew had presented his to the King hee would not sell: after that hee set a higher price and sold it.

Suceu described.

Another Venice.

Huge Tribute.

Tanian.

Glasse glazed.

At the beginning of the China yeare, all are busied in sending Presents to their friends, feasts and salutations. They went to Cinchian to the publike Solemnitie where Chiutaiso was well knowne, and by his speech Father Matthew and from thence they went to Nanquin, in

New yeares day.

February, 1599. Before wee come thither wee will looke backe to our Canton Jesuits.

§. VI.

Letters from Father Longobard and Taiso. Ricius his entertaynment at Nanquin and Residence there. The Chinois unlearned Learning.

Letter of F. Nic. Lombard.

FAther Nicolas Longobard wrote unto Claudius Aquaviva the Jesuiticall Generall, the eighteenth of October, 1598. that in the Kingdome of China there were then seven Jesuits distributed into two Residences and one Mission: at Nancian, Father John Soerius and Johannes à Roccia; himselfe and Francis Martines a Chinese at Sciauceum in Canton Province, Ricci and Cataneus, and Sebastian Fernandez a Chinese, were then gone to Pequin: that China condition and conditions agreed so well with him, that hee seemed to bee in the midst of Italy: that much respect had accrewed to them in conceit of the Chinois together, with that Habit of their Learned, which they had taken, the Bonzi and their Habit esteemed base alike. He also much commends Thaiso or Taiso, (Chiutaiso before mentioned) who much every-where commended the Jesuits and their Learning, as much exceeding what ever had beene taught in China. And truly, saith he, the Chinois Learning exceedeth not the Science of the Romanes in the time of Cicero.

China Learning. This comparison with that time of the Romanes seemeth perhaps not the best, that being the best of Heathen Rome; Varro, and Cicero, and Virgil, as the Romane Trium virifor Learning, besides, Salust, Cæsar, &c.

They are much exercised in a kind of writing and speaking briefe and pithie Sentences: their Bookes expresse well Ethickes and Politickes, but are rude in Naturall Philosophie. When I had lately runne thorow two of their Bookes, which they esteeme as their Metaphysikes, or first Philosophie, one of their learned men gratulated my proficience; when as I found therein no more difficulty then in Tully, or Titus Livius. They say, none but the Chinois can understand them, Father Ricci useth to adde none better then the Europeans. A Letter of Taiso to Ricci hee addeth thus inscribed. Thaiso *

[III. ii. 344.]

younger Brother which stand at the * side to learne, doe submit my head to the ground, and exhibite honour and reverence to the elder Brother, Master and Father Matthew Ricci, a famous Peere, and Master of the most choise flowers of the great Law, and cast downe my selfe at the feet of his Seat and Chaire. The Letter followeth.

*Thaisos Letter. To their superiours and equals they write not in the first person, but the name for the pronoune (I).

*This (as to sit at the feet, with the Jewes) signifieth to be a mans scholer: taken from their sitting at the side in Lectures. Suceo. North of China the best.

After our departing (it being foure yeeres since sight of each other) there hath not beene a day in which I have not set before mine eyes the excellent vertue of your Worship. I gave two yeeres since to Sciauchin, my Countreyman, a Merchant, Letters to your Worship, thereby to learne where and what it did. I know not whether they have attayned that, to come to your magnificent hands, &c. When I went from your Worship I said it must goe into the North parts, if it would behold the splendour and magnificence of this Kingdome, that my Countrey had nothing singular, that Nanquin Court was troublesome, and mixed of all sorts: that Chiansi Province was fit onely for dwelling, because there were learned men in it of excellent vertue, and of a true and solid spirit to receive the Law ——— This yeere gathering together those things which your Worship taught mee, I made a Booke, and exhibited it to the Society of learned men, of which there was none which did not admire and subscribe, saying, your Worship was Scingin, that is, a Saint of these times. Those things which I have added haply may be erroneous, and I feare lest they contradict its sounder and higher learning: and therefore have sent my servant to bring it to your Worship to reade, which I most humbly entreat, and to correct, to approve the trueth, to blot out the false, to illustrate the obscure, writing all in another Booke, and sending it by the same servant in few dayes, because I would presently commit it to the Presse, that your Worships learning might be knowne thorow the World. In these places are of greatest reckoning the Bookes of Hothu, Coscui, Pequa, Queuscieu, Thaiquitu, and other like, which have written of a Point, Line, Extremitie, and Thicknesse. All these learned

Scingin is the greatest title of honour amongst the Chinois, intimating a holy birth, greatest learning that he may be Master of all, as was their Confusias: such an one they think comes every 500. yeere, and now Ricius.

make of a Line a Circle: but according to your Worships teaching, of a Line is made the termination of a Circle, and a Circle consists therein. From which principles the conclusions brought of Thaiquu, that is, of God, doe farre exceed the Commentaries of all our learned men. And they are enough to illustrate a thousand obscurities of antiquitie, which hitherto have not beene pierced. This one thing afflicts mee, that my writing and stile is meane and abject, and most unfit to illustrate and enlarge the most excellent conceits of its mind. Meane while I much long, and as it were on tiptoes looke about every where, if haply I may see your face. From Suceo the two and twentieth of the fourth Moone, and the foure and twentieth of the Raigne of Vanlia. Subscribed; Thaiso younger Brother againe bends his head to the ground, &c.

Lombard proceedeth in his Letter, and sheweth the commodiousnesse of one King which ruleth all, of one Mandarine Tongue, of the common industrie and cheapnesse of provisions (not as in the povertie of Japon, where the worke-mens maintenance must come from other parts) all fitting to bring in the Gospell. There are, sayth he, almost infinite houses of Bonzi maintayned by the King, besides gifts which they receive of others which yet repose no great confidence in Idols: what would these doe if they beleeved to receive a hundred for one, and eternall life? Their composition of bodie, complexion, condition, rites; no use of weapons, not so much as a Knife carried (but by Souldiers in Garrison, not in the way or at home) their habite long, and anciently used, with their hands alway hidden in their long sleeves, except in use of their fanne, which all, even the meanest carrie with them; their quarrels, if any happen in the vulgar, ended in a few boxes or brawles; their seemely behaviour equall to the European; yea, in some things to the Religious there; their studiousnesse of learning the onely foundation of dignitie and greatnesse, as many Athens, there as great Cities, each having a Schoole or Universitie without

Probabilities for the Gospel.

China Monasteries.

Universities in our sence with Professors and publik Schools are not in China: but for taking degrees as in our Universities a mans private studies, and the Cities publike examinations have some resemblance.

mixture of other Regions) their politike and morall Rules and Lawes; all these might be furtherances to the Gospell. Their tenacitie also of their owne customes and jelousie of Strangers, might better secure them from Heresies. Hee commends also their workes of Piety, and Charity, Almes, Hospitals for poore, voluntary chastisements of the bodie to subdue the affections, as fastings (in which they abstaine from Flesh, Fish, Milke, and Egges, but eate other things as oft and as much as they will) liberties and gifts by Magistrates to Widowes which contayne themselves from second marriages; triall of a mans selfe in all his actions commended in their Bookes, especially of those things which other men cannot know: and hereupon the liking of a solitary and contemplative life in the Countrey, and restoring themselves to the first state, as they say, wherein the Heaven created them; for which purpose are congregations of learned men, together in Villages addicted to contemplation, and fleeing publike Offices (as the ancient Fathers had their conferences in woody and mountainous places) in which also their women are as forward as the men, many of them living in Nunneries, governed by an Abbesse; and all China women live so enclosed, as if their owne houses were Cloisters: These he commends in them, as also that of all vertues they give the first place to Obedience to Parents as in which consists a mans perfection. And that no man may be ignorant of his duty, if they cannot reade (of which there are but few) they have a short Summe (or Catechisme) for publishing whereof there is a man appointed at publike charge, every full and change, to publish the same in every street of the City, so that on the same day & houre, a little before Sun-rising the same doctrine is propounded in all the Cities of China, and thorow all their streets. This is sixe Articles or Principles, which are, First, Obey Father and Mother: Secondly, reverence Betters and Elders: Thirdly, make peace among Neighbors: Fourthly, teach Children and Nephewes: Fifthly, let every man well discharge his office: Sixthly, commit no offence, that is,

Many things in which the Jesuites and Chinois concurre.

[III. ii. 345.]

A fortnight Sabbath.

Sixe precepts of China.

not to kill, steale, fornication, &c. which in manner comprehend the second Table of the Decalogue. As for the first Table, the Chinois, especially the learned are Atheists, little regarding Idols, whereof their Houses and Temples are full; little minding the rewards or punishments of the life to come, or the soules immortalitie, which yet are easily found in their bookes touching the punishments at least of Holy Pao (so they call God) in Hell. Of rewards of blessednesse there is not such evidence, as Thaiso affirmed. And although many difficulties happened to ours in the Bonzian habite, yet is it now farre otherwise. As for Canton Province, the Mandarines which come this way, aske us why we stay amongst these Mangines, that is, Rusticks and Barbarians: We must, say they, leave the Barke and pierce to the pith and marrow of the Kingdome, if we would see the China splendor and politie. He writes for Labourers, Bookes, Images, and Pictures, for consolation of new Converts: the Ethnicks worship that of the Virgin, and call her Scin mu nian nian, that is, holy Mother, and Queene of Queenes: and ends with imploring the patronage and intercession of all heavenly Quire, specially of the blessed Virgin, the Apostles, the Angels guardians of China, to obtaine of the holy Trinitie happy successe to their endevours, &c. But wee will returne to our best acquainted in China, Ricius, whom we left newly arrived at Nanquin.

Cantonians Mangines.

Blessed Virgin honoured.

Nanquin.

Cingensu a great Abbie.

The case was now altered at Nanquin, they went on foot without impediment to their lodging, which was in a huge Monastery, called Cinghensu, in which is great resort of guests which there hire lodgings, being built in the centre of the Citie. The Japonians were now beaten from Corai and Quabacondono was dead, which had so terrified that unwarlike Nation. He heard that they had heard of his going to Pequin, and that the Corai warre was the frustrating of his designes in that unseasonable time. The President was verie glad of his comming, and exhorted him to buy a house there, and sends two of his followers to looke out for one. Scarsly had he

and Chiutaiso gotten home to their lodging, when the President followeth to visit them, which hee did with the solemnest Rites. And when they were set in the Hall, the Abbot came to offer them the wonted potion, kneeling to all three (to the President hee was bound as supreme governour of Temples) and the President invited the Father to spend two or three daies in his house, to see the Fire-workes, which that full Moone, the first of the yeere would bee to bee seene, which strange devices of lights that and the following nights; which he did and beheld that which without wonder cannot be beholden, the Nanquiners herein exceeding as may be thought the whole world.

The President supreme governour of Temples.

Full Moone fire-workes.

When it was reported that the President had visited him, all the Majestie of Magistrates did the like, yea some whom he had not visited. The President of the Court of Criminall Causes, and the President of the Treasury (which is the second Tribunall) came with rites & gifts, as also did others; yea hee which a little after was the High Colao at Pequin, which all urged him to buy a house; and he now went thorow all Streets and Palaces without gainesaying (which he knew from a vision hee before had had thereof) and procured a house which the President helped to furnish. So much admiration and respect had the opinion of Europæan science acquired to him, these being to the China wits baits for the Gospels fishing. Now first did they heare that the Earth was round (for they conceited the Heaven round and the Earth square) that the Centre drew all heavie things to it, that the Universe was inhabited round, that there were Antipodes, that the Earths interposition caused the Moones eclipse (some saying that the Moon opposite to the Sunne was dazled or amazed; others that there was a hole in the Sunne, against which the Moone opposed lost her light) that the Sunne was greater then the Earth; and that the Starres also, this was out of measure paradoxicall: the like was the soliditie of the Orbes, and their number; the fixed posture of the Starres, the Planets wandrings,

Mathematikes baits to the Gospell.

China learning how unlearned.

the elevation and depression of the Pole according to the various Climates; and likewise the inequalitie of the daies, without the Tropikes Geographicall Maps in plano, and Globes, Meridians, Parallels, Degrees, the Line, Tropikes, Poles, Zones, Spheres, Sun-dialls, they had not at all understood, with other points of Europæan learning. A Doctor of theirs confessed himselfe ashamed; For, said hee, you may thinke of me as wee doe of the Tartars and barbarous out-lawes; for you begin where wee end (which hee spake of the studie of eloquence, which takes up our childhood, their whole life.) They numbered five Elements, Metall, Wood, Fire, Water, Earth, one of which they said was procreated of the other: the Aire they did not acknowledge for one, because they see it not, placing a vacuum or emptinesse where wee place the aire: as incredible it was that the fierie Element was the highest, and that Comets and Exhalations were therewith fired.

Hanlin Colledge in Pequin. [III. ii. 346.]

Father Matthew writ a booke of the Elements in their language much applauded, and often by them reprinted. Divers became his Schollars; one sent from his Master in Hanlin Colledge in Pequin (the chiefe place for China learning, to be admitted into, which is a great dignitie.)

Wit of a Chinese.

Hee was very wittie, and without any Master attained the first booke of Euclide, and exacted of Father Matthew Geometricall demonstrations. And when hee added some things of Christianitie, you need not, saith he, confute that Idolatrous Sect, it is enough to teach the Mathematikes.

Bonzis, dotages.

For these Bonzi would also be Philosophers and Mathematicians. They said the Sunne hid himselfe by night behinde a Hill called Siumi, rooted in the Sea

Eclipses.

foure and twentie miles deepe. And for the eclipses, they said that the God Holochan caused that of the Sun covering it with his right hand, and that of the Moone with his left.

Colledge of Astrologers.

Not at Pequin alone, but at Nanquin also is a Colledge of China Mathematicians of better building then Astrologicall Science. They do nothing but bring their Almanacks to the rules of the ancients, when they mis-

reckoned, they ascribed it to irregularitie of nature, not theirs, devising some prodigious event to follow. These at first were afraide that Father Matthew would have deprived them of their dignitie; and freed of that feare, they visited him friendly, and he them, where hee saw a strange sight. There is an high Mountaine, on the top whereof is an open Plaine or Floore fit to contemplate the Starres. In this open space one every night is appointed to watch, and observe if any Comets or other alterations be in the skie, thereof to give the King notice, and what it portends. In this place, of cast mettall are Mathematicall Instruments, admirable for their greatnesse and neatnesse, the like whereof wee have not seene in Europe. They have continued there in all chance and change of weather neere two hundred and fiftie yeeres without damage. Of them were foure greater, the one a huge Globe distinguished by degrees with Meridians and Parallels, as great as three men can fadome: it stood on a huge Cube of brasse likewise, upon his Axel-tree: in the Cube was a little doore, sufficient for it to passe when need was. On the utter superficies was nothing graven, neither Stars, nor Regions, whereby it appeares that it was either unfinished, or purposely so left that it might serve both for a Celestiall and a Terrestriall Globe. The second was a huge Sphere, the Diameter whereof was a fadome; with Horizon and Poles, and in stead of Circles, certaine double chaines, the space betwixt them representing the Circles in our Spheres: all these were divided into three hundred and sixtie degrees, and a few minutes. In the middest was a Globe of the Earth, but a certaine pipe hollowed like the barrell of a Peece, which might bee turned any way, and set in any degree and elevation for triall of the Starres very artificially. The third was a Diall two fadoms high in a huge & long Marble set to the North, with a channell about the table to hold water, whereby to trie if it stood plaine or no: the stile placed perpendicular, both it and the stone distributed into degrees: it seemes, for exact triall of the

Mathematicall huge Instruments.

A Globe.

A Sphere.

A Diall.

shadowes of Solstices and Equinoctialls. The fourth and greatest was an engine or instrument of three or foure *Astrolabes.* huge Astrolabes set one by another, each containing a Geometricall pace in a Diameter, with their Fiduciall line, or Halhilada, and Dioptra: one of them represented the æquator inclined to the South, another (which made a crosse with the former) to the North; another stood erected to the South, perhaps for knowledge of the Verticall Circle, but turned about to shew any Verticall: all had the degrees marked with iron knots standing forth, that they might bee knowne by feeling in the night. This Worke of Astrolabes was set in a plaine floore of Marble also, with channels about. In every of these Instruments was expressed in China Characters what every thing signified; the foure and twentie Constellations of the Zodiake, answering in the number doubled to our twelve Signes. There was in them this one errour, that they were set in the sixe and thirtieth degree of the Pole elevated, whereas Nanquin stands without all doubt in two and thirtie and a quarter of a degree. They seeme to have beene made to be placed somewhere else, and placed here by some unskilfull Mathematician. Afterwards Father Matthew saw the like, or the same Instruments rather at Pequin, cast with the same hand, at that time when the * Tartars ruled over the Chinois, by some expert of our sciences.

The Chinois number 24. constellations of the Zodiake.

The like Instruments at Pequin.

**This time agreeth with the time of Tamerlane; which giveth authority to Alhacens former story of him: besides the Chinois call the last Tartar which ruled them Temor. Cuiceu.*

The greatest Magistrate desired Father Matthew to revise the Universall Map, which he had made in Canton Province, and make larger Commentaries, and hee would print it at publike cost, which he did, and with an elegant Proeme commended the Author of the worke. This was published and carried into all parts, and in other places reprinted. The Vice-Roy of Cuiceu Province printed it with another methode, making to every Kingdome a proper Commentarie in a booke, adorning the Author also with his praises. Besides, the Presidents of the sixe Tribunalls (equall except for the Kings presence, in the governement of their Province, to these of Pequin) hee had three other

friends, yet unmentioned. There is a certaine hereditarie dignitie derived to the eldest sonnes, from those Captaines which expelled the Tartars: they are called Quocum; their posteritie are honoured by the King, most of all the eldest, which in processe of time have growne into a numerous Family; and although they beare no publike office, except some militarie commands, yet have they great dignitie and wealth: and these onely doe truely resemble the Nobilitie of Europe. One head of this Family is at Nanquin, living in great pompe, with Palace, Furniture, Gardens, all like a King. He one day invited Father Matthew, and entertained him in the best Garden in the Citie: in which, besides other pleasing rarities, he saw an artificiall Mount or Rocke of divers unpolished Marbles, hollowed into Caves; it contained Chambers, Halls, Staires, Fish-ponds, Trees, and other things, Art wantonising with Nature to engender pleasure; especially in time of heate to coole themselves in their studies or feasts with this Cave-retiring; which although it comprehended no great space of ground, yet would it aske the space of two or three houres time to visit all the parts, the egresse being by another gate. This Nobleman was yong, and desired to see some things of Europe.

Quocum, the Nobilitie of China.

Artificial rock. [III. ii. 347.]

Another which became familiar with Father Matthew, was the Commander of all the Nanquin Souldiers, which had also another great Office, called Heu, who often visited him, and became his great friend, whose friendship gave us security, to whom the watch and ward, and security of the Citie belongeth. Besides, I will name the chiefe Eunuch, which hath great authority over the Nanquin Eunuchs, whereof are numbred some thousands, who is Ruler over the Kings Palace, and hath command of all the Citie gates, and over the military Musters together with the former Captaine, with other parts of authority, and expresseth the same with great pompe. He was almost decrepit, and after the Eunuchs fashion there, not so gentle; and when Risius came to him, his Courtiers commanded him to give him a title which answereth to

Captaine of the Citie Garrison.

Chiefe Eunuch.

Thousands of Eunuchs at Nanquin.

Highnesse with us. I explane it thus; when they speake to the King, they wish to him ten thousand thousand yeeres of life in these three syllables, Van van siù, which is all one with the title of Majestie: to others in the Palace, the Queenes, or Children of the King, they with inferiour title pray, one thousand yeeres. Now the Eunuchs are so arrogant that they expect this thousand yeeres wish, and to bee saluted on the knee. Father Matthew could not doe this safely, lest hee should doe more to him then to the chiefe Magistrates; but hee had learned not to neglect in China their rites; and he being deafe, one that hollowed in his eare made up what the Father wanted. Hee gave him a great gift, which he refused, and denyed him the trigone Glasse: yet this caused the other Eunuchs to honour him.

Van, van, siu, as to the Babylonian Monarchs, live for ever. Dan. 5. 10.

A principall Doctor, a Preacher.

At that time lived in Nanquin one which had obtayned the first place in the declaration of Doctors (which is a very great dignity) who lived here in this Countrey private, but in great esteeme of all. Hee had degenerated to become a Preacher of the three China Sects, and professed great knowledge of them. Hee had at his house a famous Votarie, or Bonzi-Monke, who renouncing the publike Offices which he had borne, had shaved his head, and (which is not usuall in China) of a Learned Man, had become a Minister of the Idols. And because hee was both learned in the China Sciences, and growne seventy yeeres old, he had acquired much fame and many Disciples, professors of that new Sect which he devised. These visited Father Matthew, to the wonder of all; that Literate-apostata confessed the truth of our Law, and presented the Father with a Fanne with two elegant Epigrams therein. Two other visited him, one of which counterfeited himselfe to have lived three hundred yeeres, whom the China Grandes much followed, as doting on the studie of long life, the precepts whereof he read to his Scholers. Hee also boasted of Geomancy. The other was a Physician, and companion to the other, each blazing the others Science: and whiles both preferred the Father,

A Mandarine becomes a Bonzi.

Epigrams.

some suspected that hee had lived some Ages (which they use to affirme of Strangers differing in countenance from them) and would not let it be knowne.

Confutius his holiday.

The Chinois have one day solemne to Confutius the Prince of the Learned, in which they make a kind of Sacrifice to him, not as to their God, but their Master. They call it a Sacrifice, but in larger extent of the word. Musike was prepared against that day, at the triall whereof Father Ricius was present. The Priests of the Learned, called Tansu, ordered the Musike; and in the Kings Hall (or Temple rather) dedicated to the Lord of Heaven, this triall was made. The Priests came forth in precious vestures, as if they would sacrifice, who after their wonted rites to the President, fell to their Musike: in which were small brasse Bells, Basons, other as it were Tabors, others of stone, stringed Instruments, Pipes, Organs blowed with the mouth, not with Bellowes; others resembled Beasts out of the hollow bellie yeelding a sound: all these sounded together with such discording discord as you may imagine; the Chinois themselves confessing the concord and harmoniacall consent to bee lost, onely the Instruments remayning from their Ancestors.

Musike of China.

Temple royall, and magnificence thereof.

That Temple was great and magnificent, built neere the Citie in a Pine-grove, compassed with walls twelve miles about. The wall of the Temple was of bricke, the other parts of timber: it is divided into five Iles; the Pillars were round of huge timbers as great as two men could fathome, the heigth proportionable to that thicknesse; the roofe is excellently carved, and all gilded: and although it be two hundred yeeres since it was built, and the King resides not at Nanquin, nor sacrificeth there, yet is it little decayed from the first splendour. In the midst of the Temple is a more eminent place of most precious marble, in which is a double Throne, both of marble; the one for the King when he sitteth to sacrifice, the other is left for him to sit by, to whom the sacrifice is made. The Cloisters without are beautified with most elegant windings, and lest the Birds should defile all, the windowes

are all netted with Iron wyers (which is usuall thorow all the Palace:) all the gates of the Temple are covered with Brasse plates gilded, and wrought with neat Visages of the same metall. Without the Temple were many Altars of red marble, which represented the Sunne, Moone, [III. ii. 348.] Starres, and Hills of China, Lakes and Seas, intimating that that God which is there worshipped made the rest, which are placed without, lest they might be worshipped for Deities. It is prohibited by grievous penalties, to cut the trees of that Grove, or any bough thereof, whence they are great and old. In the circuit of the Temple are many Cells, which are said to have beene Baths for the Kings to wash in when they were to sacrifice.

Jesuits habit. The Father used the Habit of the Learned (as is said) of those especially which professe themselves Preachers of the Law; the Habit modest, and the Cap not unlike ours in Crosse fashion also. He confuted both the Sects of Idolaters, and commended that of the Learned, praysing Confutius, which was rather silent, then would devise any thing touching the next life, and taught good Rules for the Life, Family, and Republike. A great man flourished at Nanquin then (which had some thousands of Disciples) in opinion of Vertue and Learning, and had set dayes in which to heare and to be heard every moneth. Chiutaiso brought the Father, and this Father together, and in some reasoning Ricius wrung from him that some corruptions were in the Idoll Sects, which he followed not, holding that only (he sayd) which was good. It being a fashion *Societies of Learned.* that Learned men met in their Societies to conferre of Morall Vertues, in one of those meetings this man learnedly confuted Confutius, which another Magistrate tooke haynously, and cryed out, it was intolerable that the Sect of Idols brought out of other Countreyes should bee preferred before Confutius, whom the Learned Ricius also admireth, refelling the Idol-follies. He answered, he had spoken with the man, but he was not yet well acquainted with China businesse, and he would instruct him better. Soone after he invited him to a Feast (for

the Chinois usually in such meetings determine Controversies) and there hee met Sanhoi a famous Idol-Priest, a Learned Philosopher, Orator, Poet, and well skilled in others Sects also. When they were set, this Priest and the Father together, the Priest began shewing his desire to conferre of Religion. Ricius first asked what he thought of the first beginning of Heaven and Earth, and the Creatour of things whom we call the Lord of Heaven. I deny not, sayd he, that there is such an one, but he hath no Majesty nor Deity, but I am equall to him, and so are all others. Canst thou (saith Ricius) make those things which he hath done? he granted. Make then such a Chafing-dish (one stood before him) this, sayd the other, was an unworthy demand. Thou (sayth he) art an Astronomer, and makest new Sunnes in thy minde when thou reasonest thereof. That, sayth Ricius, is but an Image or likenesse which the minde from things seene conceiveth, as in reflexion of a Glasse whereon the Sunne shineth, yet doth not the Glasse create a Sunne. The Hoast for feare of further quarrell parted them. At Dinner the Chinois disputed of a Question of humane nature, how it came bad (they want Logicke and cannot well distinguish betwixt morall and naturall good, and never heard of originall sinne) they discoursed thereof a whole houre: after which Ricius repeating what had beene sayd, entred into dispute with Sanhoi, who laughed at his and their Reasons and answered all with a Tale of I know not what Floud, according to his Sect, but he straitned him with Arguments, so that he and this Disputation grew famous. They conceive that God and the Creatures are all of one substance, and that God is as a great Soule of the Universe; which opinion from the Idol-sects hath infected the Learned. Ricius writ a summary of that point, which gave men good satisfaction, and his Law seemed not so barbarous as they imagined.

Conference or disputation twixt an Idol-Priest and Ricius.

Oppression. Mines of Gold and Silver stopped by ancient Kings & forbidden to be opened to prevent robberies.

The Kings Treasure was exhaust by the Corayan Warre, whereupon contrary to the Lawes he caused the ancient Mines which were sayd to be stopped, to bee sought, and

opened, and imposed new Tributes, that in all Provinces, Merchandizes should pay two of a hundreth: which had beene tolerable if gathered by Magistrates; but his Eunuches, sent to every Province, without shame or mercie exacted on the people, and raysed a worse combustion then that of Coray. So many Impostors, Counterfeits, Theeves were every-where: if a man dwelt in a good House, they would digge it up to search for a Myne, to force composition from the owner. Some whole Cities and Provinces compounded with these Caterpillers to free themselves from their vexations; the money so gotten they gave the King as taken out of their Mynes. This caused Dearth, and in some, Commotion. The Magistrates petitioned the King against these abuses, but sweetnesse of gaine had not only stopped that eare, but procured grievous penalties to those which withstood his Catch-poll-Eunuches, which by those punishments grew more insolent. Ours which wintered at Lincin, happily escaped these Harpy-clutches, who with their Presents arriving at Nanquin rejoyced to see a Residence so prepared there. These Presents intended for the King, bred such an amazement in the beholders that others were ready to offer force to see them. They still minding to present the King, (the weather now more cleare and peaceable) Cataneus went to Amacao; where was much rejoycing for these hopes, but soone quenched with sorrow for losse of their ship which tradeth to Japon, men and goods lost, on which ship all their Commerce dependeth. They found themselves therefore unable to maintayne three Residences: the Jesuites Rector scraped all hee could for that purpose, and added a Watch and Image of the blessed Virgin, and Trigone Glasses, Houre-glasses and other Rarities to their Presents.

Didacus or Jacobus Pantoia. [III. ii. 349.]

Father Diego Pantoia a Spanish Priest also accompanyed Cataneus to Nanquin, and thence went with Ricius to Pequin, with Sebastian and Emanuell. Father John was called from Nancian to reside with Cataneus at Nanquin. They went with an Eunuch then going to Pequin with

six ships, who shewed them much kindnesse. In Zinin a City of the Province of Sciantum is a Vice-roy which is as High Admirall over all the ships, whether they carry provision or other things, which gave kind entertaynment to Ricius, telling him at parting, Sithai (that was Ricius his China name) I also desire to goe to Paradise, intimating that all his Heaven was not in earthly honours, but that he minded also what the other preached. Presently with great pompe and state hee followed him to his ship and there visited him with usuall Rites of Urbanity and a Present, and wondred much at the sight of those Presents they carryed for the King. He sent an Officer also to make him a readier way. One Liciu had made way to this Vice-royes friendship, who soone after killed himselfe, hearing that upon some complaint of his Books, the King had commanded him to bee imprisoned and his Books to bee burned; preventing so the study of his Adversaries to put him to some shamefull death.

Zinin.

High Admiral.

Liciu killeth himselfe.

Amongst those Eunuches which the King had sent to oppresse the people, was one Mathan, which dwelt at Lincin, whose exactions had raysed the people and Souldiers into mutiny, which burnt his Palace and killed his Servants, himselfe escaping disguised, but the Captive and Slave of Covetousnesse no lesse then before. Our Eunuch addressed himselfe to him, but could not till the third time be admitted, because his Gifts were not answerable to the others appetite. Hee to make way for himselfe betrayed Ours to this Harpy, they not knowing it, saying, that in one of his ships were strangers with precious Gifts for the King, which he shewed closely to his Officers: with these he might get the Kings favour. The Governour which in that and the Neighbour Cities had great command was his great friend, of whom Ricius asked counsell; he told him that now the Eunuches reigned, and they almost only were the Kings Counsellors, nor could the greatest Magistrates withstand their injuries. Yet the countenance of this Magistrate was a great helpe to him, this being the man whom of all the Governours

Mathan a great and base Eunuch. Treacherie.

he most feared; a man so well deserving that his Citizens erected to him a Temple, Image, and Inscription; who now also both countenanced Ricius what he might, and gave him the best advice how to carry himselfe to this Eunuch, and perhaps but for him they had lost all and themselves to. This Capon had erected Palaces and Temples, and had built a huge ship in which the King himselfe might have sayled; so many were the Cels, Chambers, Hals, and other commodious Buildings thereof; the Windowes, Galleries of undecaying wood carryed with many Meanders,* all shining with Vernish and glittering with Gold. In this ship was hee carryed to ours, where Ricius met him. He viewed and liked all, and downe on his knees to the Virgins Picture, promised to procure her a place in the Palace. Ricius modestly refusing his service for them to the King, saying, many Magistrates of best ranke had undertaken that kindnesse: he smiled, saying, none of them could doe so much as he with the King: the King answeres my Petitions the same day, to them or late, or nothing. The Eunuch which brought ours was sent away, and all the Presents put a-board his ship. Hee carryed the Jesuites with him to the Towre of Thiensin, whither hee went to send thence the six moneths Tribute to the King: he feasted them, Comedies, Rope-runners, Tumblers, Vaulters, and Mimicke Apemen attending the cheare with such disports as they had never seene in Europe. One cast three great Knives into the Ayre one after another, and catched them againe in their sheathes: another lay on the ground, raysing his feete over his shoulders, with which hee tossed up and tumbled too and fro an Earthen Pitcher in such sort, as hardly could bee done with the hands; the like hee did with a Drumme on a Table. A Comedie was acted only with gestures, of disguised Gyants in glorious habits; one from the Theatre pronouncing all their parts. A Boy danced admirably, and then as it were falling, layd his hands on the ground, and another Boy of Clay came forth, which using his hands for feete, imitated all the prankes

Great and glorious ship.

**Turnings.*

Thiensin.

China Players, and Feat-workers.

of the other, and fell to wrestle with the living Boy, as if both had beene alive.

We will leave you Spectators here, and now bring you forth another Actor, which having in little while travelled much, and learned more of his Fellowes; suddenly sent into Europe these Relations not unworthy your view: which I have therefore examined with the Originall Spanish, and the Latine Translation, and cut off some superfluities to give you more full content and to prevent Repetition; the rather because hee descendeth to many particularities which Ricius looking higher and knowing more, hath omitted.

Chap. VI.

[III. ii. 350.]

A Letter of Father Diego De Pantoia,* one of the Company of Jesus, to Father Luys De Guzman, Provinciall in the Province of Toledo; written in Paquin, which is the Court of the King of China, the ninth of March, the yeere 1602.

**This Booke I have both in Spanish printed 1606. in Valencia: and in Latine at Mentz 1607.*

§. I.

Difficulties of entring China, their dwelling at Nanquin, going from thence to Paquin, with Presents for the King, troubles in the way by an Eunuch.

RIght Reverend Father in Christ, the peace of Christ bee with you. I thinke I doe not satisfie the dutie which I owe unto your Worship, for the love which you have alway shewed unto mee, and the Obligation wherein I am bound to so many most dearely beloved Fathers and Brethren of this Province, if being as I am in this great Kingdome of China, procuring the good of these Pagans, (whereunto it pleased our Lord to choose mee) I should

not give you some briefe Relation of the things that concerne this our new Mission, and of some things also concerning the greatnesse of this Kingdome, the Customes, Government and Policy thereof.

Being come, as heretofore I wrote to your Worship, to Macao a City of the Portugals, adjoyning to the firme Land of China, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there attending till the Persecution, Tumults, and Warres of Japon, would permit ten or twelve Fathers of us to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit oportunitie: when we were readie to depart, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot, and Enterprize which I had before myne eyes, and to send mee to enter into China, whereinto I entred in the end of the yeare of our Lord 1599. There were in this Mission at this time, only five Fathers divided into three Houses. For though it be twentie yeeres since they first began to enter, yet the entrance of Strangers is so hard and so straitly forbidden, and their state and perseverance is so difficult, that in all this time there never passed above five or sixe Fathers, and those which succeeded since, though by little and little, did discover the Countrey; But their entrance was by stealth and secretly. Considering that all passages were shut up, and that in all China there was no man that could or durst presume to give licence to preach the Gospell; we alwayes sought to get some accesse unto the King, either by way of Embassage, or by way of Present, and Gifts, and to seeke to obtayne this in part, or in the whole, to this end and purpose.

Colledge of Jesuits.

Entrance into China difficult.

Meanes sought to enter China.

Embassage.

The Fathers alwayes sought to obtayne some Ambassage of the Pope, or of the Catholike King. But perceiving they could not obtayne this, they procured it by way of giving a Present, not so much of precious things, for they had none of that kind, as of strange things never seene before in China. And having procured this for many yeares space, without having any meanes to obtayne it; the Divine Providence ordayned one in the yeare of

Present.

our Lord 1590. which was this: The Fathers being in Xaucheo, (a Residencie of the Province of Canton) there passed that way a great Mandarin, called by the King, to give him an Office in the Court, which among us is like unto a President of one of the chiefest Councels, which had known the Fathers long time; and now seeing themselves with him, and signifying unto him the desire which they had to goe to Paquin, to give a Present to the King, and that if hee would doe them the Courtesie to carrie them along with him under his shadow and protection, they would alwayes remayne thankefull, and exceedingly bound to serve him. After this and other motives which they presented unto him, did that follow which wrought most effect, which was a good Present, with hope of other things afterward, whereupon he shewed himselfe very tractable to grant their request, and to take them with him to Paquin.

Being glad of this resolution, they prepared themselves for the Voyage, and tooke the things which they desired to give the King, which hereafter I will mention. It pleased God to bring them to Paquin, in the company of so great a Mandarin, without the hindrance of any bodie. Being come to Paquin they began secretly to negotiate their businesse: because they durst not, neither was the Mandarin that brought them willing that they should shew themselves abroad. But though they attempted all possible meanes, neither with gifts, nor any thing else, there was not any man that would meddle with this businesse, because it was a matter that concerned Strangers, considering what might hereof happen unto them. After they had spent certayne moneths, and saw [III. ii. 351.] they profited nothing, and fearing some innovation, they determined to returne to their Residencies from whence they came.

Having returned three hundred leagues, they came to the great Citie of Nanquin, which was the ancient Seat and Court of the Kings of China: and now (though the King reside not there) yet is it the most noble, great,

strong, and beautifull of all this whole Kingdome, and retayneth her being the Royall Court, with all the same Offices which the Citie hath where the King resideth. They desired greatly to get an entrance into this City, because, as I have said, it is a famous place, and hath such store of grave persons in it, thereby to make themselves knowne, and here to procure with more facilitie an entrance or accesse unto the King. But it seemed a thing impossible, because it is a City straitly guarded, especially for Strangers, for whose guard and Watch it hath ordinarily above one hundred thousand Souldiers. And if they went about to get licence, it seemed impossible to obtayne the same of so many great Mandarins, as governed the same. But our Lord (to whom every thing is alike possible) vouchsafed to comfort the Fathers for their travell and small fruit which they had reaped of their journey to Paquin: and by the counsell of some friends which they had there, and with the protection of the Mandarin had carryed them to Paquin, which at that season came unto this City, they dwelt in Nanquin, without the contradiction of any Mandarin, although all of them knew thereof: howbeit, as a very great man said, which afterward became our great friend, hee was readie to send to apprehend the Fathers, untill hee understood that they were peaceable people, which had long time abode in China.

100000. *Garrison Souldiers in Nanquin. Ricius saith* 40000. *perhaps the other* 60000. *are for the Countrey adjoyning, or for the Navie and Sea-guard: or Ricius might speake of the ordinary at other peaceable times, Pantogia of this troublesome time while the Japonian warre continued.*

After they were purposed to remayne there, there was another difficulty to get leave to dwell and have an House within the wals. But the Divine Providence gave them a very sweet and easie meane for all this, as here I will declare. The Mandarins live in this City in houses which are not their owne, but belonging to the Offices which they beare: and when one hath ended his Office, hee that succeedeth him, succeedeth him in his Houses, which are all builded at the Kings cost. At this time a great Mandarin had builded one of these, wherein by his Office hee was to dwell: But when he had finished it, it pleased God, that he enjoyed it not: and hee sent many Devils

Mandarins houses are publike.

House possessed.

to enter into it, as they did in deed, which with fearefull shapes did terrifie those which dwelt in it, especially by night: and this continued so long a time, that all men left it, and none would dwell in it. As Father Matthew Riccio (who was the party which negotiated this businesse, as the Procurator of all this Mission) went about to seeke to buy an House, by way of jest they asked him, whether he would buy an house full of Devils? The Father answered, that hee tooke it not for a jest, but that if the house liked him, hee would not vary for that; for he served a God whom the Devils feared and dreaded, and that trusting in his helpe he was nothing at all afraid of them, but that they did rather much feare him, because he was the Servant of such a Lord. They went to see the House, which presently liked him: and as they sold it good cheape because of the bad report that it had, in two words they agreed together: and the Mandarin that sold it was so glad, that he gave us Patents to possesse it perpetually in China; a thing which in no place could be obtayned of any other Mandarin. Forth-with they went to it, and at their comming in they blessed it according to the Rite of the Holy Mother Church; and by the grace of God there was never dreame of any evill thing that troubled the same. All men looked what would become of this, and what successe they should have with the Devils. And when they saw the great quietnesse, without any shew of Spirits, they were greatly astonied, saying, that without doubt this was a great God, and that hee sought to dwell in that House, and that therefore he had commanded the Devils to dwell there, and not to suffer others to enter therein; and that when he came they went their way.

Jesuits Patent for China habitation.

Fame of Jesuits sanctitie.

To this so good beginning the progresse from thence forward was answerable: for the grave Mandarins understanding, together with the fame that they were Learned men, that they had many Bookes, that they were men of a good life, and that they had some things of their Countrey, which were never seene in China (as certayne

Fame of their Learning.

Watches admired.

Clocks with Wheeles, and Images in Oyle, and other pretie things) all of them setting feare apart, and other respects, came to visit the Fathers in great estate, because they were the greatest Mandarines of all China, but with much humanitie, respect and courtesie, with Presents of things to eate, and Banquets as they use with their equals. They were so well pleased with all that they saw and heard, that all of them became their great Friends and Patrones: and gave so good report of them, that all men sought to doe the like: and for continuance of their amity they came oftentimes to visit them, and oftentimes invited them to their Palaces: and with this fame and honour of the gravest sort of people, all the rest of the inferiour and baser sort used them with much reverence, no man daring to doe, or say unto them any discourteous thing.

Their credit & good usage.

This was the state of things when it pleased God to choose me for this Mission, and when I entred into it we had three Residences, one in the Province of Canton, another in the Province of Quianci, which is somewhat more within the Land, another in the Citie of Nanquin, which is in the midst of the Kingdome, and three hundred leagues from Macao. I entred secretly, as all the rest did (I say without particular Licence of any Mandarin.) But my secrecie continued but a while, as hereafter I will declare. I came at the first, without staying in any other House, to Nanquin, where three Fathers of us were foure moneths; Father Matthew Riccio our Superiour, Father Lazarus Catanio, and my selfe, and a Brother a Chinois, one of the two which are received into this Mission, and every thing goeth well. But as in matter of strangers the Chinois are exceeding scrupulous, more then your Worship can beleeve, so there were many which spake of our abiding in Nanquin, considering that now wee had three Houses in China. Wee beganne with much more earnestnesse to procure another better foundation, and to returne to Paquin more openly, and seeke accesse unto the King. And because in Nanquin there bee Mandarines

[III. ii. 352.]

Three Jesuits.

to whom this belongeth, and some of them were our Friends, wee beganne to speake of this point.

But it was not needfull to spend many words; for straight way we met with a Mandarin, to whom by right this matter appertayned, who frankly and freely offered us Patents, Dispatches, and whatsoever was needfull to accomplish this businesse. *Leave for Paquin granted.*

The promises of this Mandarin were not vaine: for when the time came that the River was unfrozen, (which all the Winter is frozen over) and Barkes began to goe for Paquin, he performed his word faithfully, giving us Patents and Passe-ports needfull for the money; and besides, hee sent us a Barke of the Kings to carry our Present and our owne things. Beeing glad of these good newes and dispatch, we consulted how we should deale in certayne things which offered themselves in this businesse, and who should goe: There was no question but Father Matthew Riccio should be one, but who should be his companion: for whom they choose me, and the Brother. We set our things in order, particularly those which were of the Kings Present, Which were two Clockes with Wheeles, one great one of Iron, in a very great Case made faire with a thousand ingraved workes, full of gilded Dragons, which are the Armes and Ensignes of this King, as the Eagle is the Emperours: another little Clocke very faire, above an handfull high, all of golden Metall, of the best Worke which is made in our Countrey, which our Father Generall had sent us for this purpose; which was set in a gilded Case, as the other was: and in both of them in stead of our Letters were graven the Letters of China, and an hand that came forth did point at them. Besides these there were three Images in Oyle, two great ones of an Ell high, and one little one. The greatest was the figures and portrature of Our Lady of the Poplar, of Saint Lucar: The second was of our Lady with the Babe Jesus, and Saint John: the third, was a Picture of Christ, which was the least; all of them were of excellent Worke. Besides this, there were certayne Looking-

The River of Nanquin overfrozen all the Winter. The particulars of the Kings Present. Gilded Dragons or Serpents (so Cruz cals them) the Kings Armes. Pinto saith a Lion, perhaps his conjecture for the frequencie mentioned also by Polo, sup. p. 89. &c. or perhaps this might then be, and Serpents since, the Royall Ensigne. Besides a Lion is the Armes of Canton Province, and perhaps of some others which might be mistaken for the Kings Armes.

glasses; two Triangle-glasses (which though among us they be of no account, yet are they esteemed here among them) adorned with Chaines of Silver, and set in an excellent Case of Japon, which was of twentie times more value then the Glasses, to them that know what Glasses are. A Booke of The Theatre of the World, and a Breviarie exceeding fairely bound, with an inscription, That that was the Doctrine of the True God, whose Images they did present him withall. A very faire Monocord, because it is an Instrument whereat the Chinois doe wonder much, and other pretie things of lesse importance.

They began their journey from Nanquin 1600. the 20. of May, stilo novo.

All which things beeing set in order, and imbarqued, we tooke our leave of the Christians of Nanquin, (which at our departure came to our House with a Banquet with great joy) and of the Mandarins our friends, which with great sorrow, and shewes of love tooke their leaves of us, and sent us Presents for our Journey, and many Letters of favour to the great Mandarins of Paquin.

We departed with this good dispatch from Nanquin in the yeare 1600. the twentieth day of May. And knowing not how the King, and the Mandarins of Paquin, and those of the Kings Court, would take this our Journey, because wee were Strangers, wee sought to prepare our selves for that which might fall out: in great hope that we should find ayde eyther in all or in part to obtayne our desire, which we had for the establishment of our Company in this Kingdome, and to procure the opening of an entrance thereunto for the preaching of the holy Gospell.

We began to sayle up a very great River, whereof hereafter I will speake somewhat; and when we had sayled certayne leagues, wee entred into another small River made by hand above two hundred leagues, only to carry in Barges the Tribute which the Provinces of the parts of Nanquin pay unto the King, and other things which these Countries yeeld (which are the best, and most plentifull of all things which are in China) because it seemeth impossible to carry it by Land with Millions of people, being in Rice, Wheate, Silver, and a thousand

500. leagues as it were one pathway of shipping.

other things very great: And the Vessels which are employed about this businesse are so many, that without doubt it is no Hyperbole to say that from Nanquin to Paquin, which is three hundred leagues, all the Summer time it seemeth to be a path way of the Kings Barges. We were all aswell Mandarins as particular men very well intreated all the way, whither many Mandarins came out of the Villages and Cities, desiring to see the Present which wee carried, and our selves; bringing us many Presents for our Journey. Having travelled two hundred and thirty leagues in forty dayes, wee came to a very famous place and Mart Towne in China, which is in the Province of Xantun, which is next unto the Territories of Paquin, called Lincin. Where, because of the great Trafficke of Vessels and Merchants, which goe and come from the Court, who pay to the King a very great tribute, he hath placed one of his chiefest Eunuchs, which serveth to gather up his Customes: which lived there in great estate, and much attendance. Whensoever he goeth abroad he is alwaies carried in a Chaire, upon eight mens shoulders, which is a very great honour in China, with great store of Horsemen before and behind, with certaine Basons of Copper, which make a great sound when they bee playd upon, to signifie to the people that he commeth that way, that all may goe out of the way; as the custome is with all the great Mandarines in the Cities of their jurisdiction. Which Eunuch understanding of us, and of the things which wee brought for the King, and of many other things which they put in his head that wee brought, to wit, precious stones, and others of that kind: hee sent us word, that hee knew what we had brought for the King, and that he desired much to see it, and that the same day or the next he would come, praying us that we would make it ready.

Lincin.

[III. ii. 353.]

Mathan the Kings Eunuch, his pompe.

He came at the appointed time, and having seene the things which wee brought for the King, and making account of them to be precious, and that the King would greatly delight in them, he sought meanes to cause them

to be presented to the King by all meanes, as things that he had dealt with us to bring, to please him, and thereby to obtayne some sute for himselfe: and besides this, with desire and hope that wee would give him some precious stones (whereof the Chinois are very greedy) he determined wholly to meddle in this businesse. Hee sent us a Present of things to eate, and a very courteous message, that wee should passe in one of his Barges, that shortly he would send us to Paquin, with Souldiers of his house, a Petition made with his owne hand to the king; that we should consult together, and bethinke our selves what we desired to obtayne of the King, whether it were to bee Mandarines, or to have lands or houses, or all together, because there should be no difficulty in any thing. The message came with all this courtesie. And we made answer with the like, returning him a Present for his answer with generall words. For though hee came with so great offers, yet wee knew that these Eunuchs, for the most part, are base and covetous people.

Eunuchs base minded.

It happened at this time that the chiefest Mandarine of this Citie, which was our great friend was come from Nanquin, from whence they had fetched him for that Office. Wee determined that Father Matthew Riccio should visite him with a small Present, according to the use of the Countrey, to relate unto him this businesse, and to aske his counsell what wee were best to doe. Hee received the Father with much courtesie and love, and kept him two dayes in his house: which, after he had heard the whole matter, answered, that he was very sorrie that we had met with this Eunuch, because we could looke for no goodnesse of his basenesse, covetousnesse, and bad meanes of proceeding; and that he could performe nothing that he had promised, and that his intent was nothing but covetousnesse; that hee would advise us to take as little as we could of him: but for all this, that wee should not refuse that which hee offered, but rather to make a vertue of necessitie, and to thanke him with a very good continuance for that which hee promised, because we were in

his power, and he might and would hinder our passage, if wee did not so, and take away our Present from us, and give it himselfe with his owne hand to the King, without making any account of us, without controlment of any man, because he was not subject to any Mandarine. *Not subject to ordinary Magistrates.*

This seemed unto us to be very sound counsell, and a forcible enducement to follow it. So we followed the same, and applied our selves unto him in every thing, answering the Eunuch according to his desire, and passed in a Barke of his. He desired much forthwith to carrie the Kings Present to his house, saying, that he would trimme them to give them to the King, and this we courteously denyed him, saying, that we durst not depart with them till we had delivered them to the King, neither that it seemed reasonable, that when wee did give them, another should trimme them; especially, that these pieces were not such as had need of more trimming, since in themselves they were so precious: with which answer hee seemed to remayne satisfied. At the first he made us great banquets, sport, and cheere: but as in very deed his purpose was nothing but to doe himselfe good, and to looke for his owne profit, and not for ours, hee beganne quickly to discover himselfe: for hee stayed certaine dayes, looking that wee should give him some precious stones, which some body had told him that we had brought with us to please him, for some things that they looked for at his hands: and when he saw the dayes were passed, within which he thought we would have given him them, he began to be out of hope, and to grow cold in our entertaynment: yet for all this, he came to visite us with great pompe at our embarking: and after fifteene dayes he dispatched us for our journey to Paquin with men of his owne house, and with a Petition to the King, signifying unto him how hee had met us on the way, and what our intent was, and what things we brought.

Conceit of gemmes.

He dismisseth them.

Wee were very honourably entertayned in his journey, and in all the Townes and Cities of his Jurisdiction whereby we passed, he commanded them to give us with-

out delay refreshing of Flesh-meate, Fish, much Fruit, and Wine. Wee travelled eight dayes, and came to the last place of his Jurisdiction: which is three dayes journey from the Court of the King. We stayed there with company that did waite upon us, watching day and night about the Barke with their Centinels and Bells, as they are wont to doe with the great Mandarines, and especially
[III. ii. 354.] because there were there things belonging to the King, and the rest of the servants of the Eunuch went to Paquin, to deliver the Petition to the King, and to know his pleasure. They delivered the Petition, and we looked for an answer thereof within three or foure dayes, as he had told us. But God had disposed otherwise for the exercise of our patience and hope in him: and that was, that the King made no answer as we looked for: whereupon he was somewhat ashamed of the great brags that he had made to us without performance of any thing: and hee and wee were all in suspense, when we saw the King returned no answer, which is wont to bee a token that he liketh not the Petition that is made unto him.

Silence of deniall.

Fifteene dayes after wee arrived in this place, the Eunuch came thither; to send from thence to the King a third part of the tribute which he had gathered. He came accompanied with great store of Vessels, and that wherein he was, was such, as assuredly your Worship hath not seene the like in all your life. The forme is very much different from ours: for it is like unto an high House, wholly divided into chambers and halls very high, full of carved workes round about, with hangings of Silke, of many figures, and round about full of galleries to walke up and downe without being driven to enter in. And on the outside it was all covered over with a kind of Oyle like Varnish, which runneth out of certaine trees, which they make with tempering of all sorts of colours, (whereof in Japon and here there is great abundance) and the Portugals call it Charan; it is a very faire, shining, and durable thing: and the things that are coloured with it, doe shine like Glasses, if it be of the finest: and besides,

Eunuchs pompous Barge.

Glorious Varnish.

Abundance of all colours in Japon and China.

though it be not costly, yet it is as faire and fairer, because it is more naturall, and very neate and fine, wherewith they paint divers figures, trees, and flowers; and if it be of the right, it doth not decay, and loseth no whit of his lustre. Herewith was the Barge trimmed without, with divers figures painted on the hull of the Barge: from the hull upward the windowes and the walls of the Halls and Chambers was full of carved workes, knots, and carved flowers, some gilded, others of divers colours, agreeable to their natures, which made a very pleasant shew: within it was of the same worke with more excellency, and the most part was gilded, and the floore of boords was painted with very shining Charan or Oyle. It was as long as a good Gallie, little more or lesse, and somewhat broader, but farre higher, and in such sort, that when wind sayleth they use very great Oares after the manner of China, which serve, and are managed as Fishes use their tayle to swimme. And because they bee of this fashion they use them with much facilitie in every Vessell how high soever it be. This was the fashion of the Vessell wherein the Eunuch came with much Musike of Trumpets, Drummes, and Fifes, and other Instruments which I omit for brevities sake.

Painted Figures.

Very great Oares and the excellent use of them.

Musike.

When he was come to this place, seeing the King sent no answere to his first petition, he sent another to put him in remembrance, and to solicite an answere to the first: wherein hee answered nothing to this point, although he answered to other things. And though it bee true, that sometimes the King maketh no answer, through forgetfulnesse and confusion, because the petitions be infinite which are daily given him from all the Kingdome: yet most ordinarily when he giveth no answer it serveth for an answer, either that hee will not doe, or liketh not of that suit that is made unto him. And therefore because there came no answer, the Eunuch was much grieved that he had meddled in this matter, out of which he could not withdraw his hand because he had given a Petition to the King, untill he had seene some answer of his, fearing some

Manner of petitioning the King.

Eunuch estranged.

damage, or displeasure of the King, that hereof might ensue: and hereupon hee beganne to estrange himselfe from us, and sought not to see us, nor to have to doe with us, and sent sixe men alwaies to stay in our Barge, under colour to serve us, but in very truth to watch us day and night.

They stayed three months.

In this suspence wee continued three moneths in the extreme heate in a Barge, not knowing what would become of us. At the end thereof newes was brought us, that the King had sent to the Eunuch, that he should see what things they were (for untill then he had not written to him but in generall) and signifie it unto him, and if he thought them worthie, he should send him a Petition touching that matter. Wee were somwhat more joyfull with this message, which was so indeed. And Father Matthew Riccio went to the Eunuchs lodging to receive the Kings answer, with such ceremonies and reverences as they are wont to receive the messages that come from the King. And to put this commandement in execution, he came to our Barge accompanied with many inferiour Mandarines, as witnesses, and in the Kings name hee tooke all these things into his hands: which he sent unto his house. There he fell to reason with us, perswading us that wee should conceale none of the precious things that wee had brought (whereof his minde did so greatly runne) because the King would be greatly displeased, if hee knew that wee had any good things and would not give them him. Wee told him plainely the truth, putting him in plaine words out of that imagination which we knew he had conceived. And after many complements on both parts he returned to his lodging.

He wrote to the King what things they were which we had brought, looking that he would straight have sent for them. But it fell out as it did at the first, that he returned no answer, and the cause thereof seemed to be, that they were things that he made none account of. Wee were now the second time in like case as wee were at the [III. ii. 355.] first, not being able to goe backe nor forward: for they

would not suffer us to goe to Paquin, nor to returne backe. The Eunuch being readie to returne to the Citie of Lincin, *Lincin.* where we first met him, having need of the Barge wherein wee were, commanded us to bee removed unto an house in the Citie, there to stay untill some message came from the King, either good or bad. We removed with great pleasure, for the desire that we had to say Masse, whereof wee were deprived many moneths. After we were come *This was the thirteenth of October.* on shoare, we set up our Altar whereon we said Masse every day, preparing our selves for that which might betide us.

This Eunuch could not bee disswaded from that which covetousnesse had perswaded him, to wit, that we had *Covetousnesse injurious.* brought some precious thing with us. And seeing it seemed unto him that he could not get us by another way, to give that which hee desired, and wee had not; hee became shamelesse, and two dayes before his departure, he came with a great companie to our house, as though it had beene to visite us in friendship, we thinking nothing of any such thing: and when he was come in he began to speake unto us, and put us in great feare, asking us, how wee durst come so farre into the Kingdome without leave of the King? and that other Eunuchs had advertised him from the Court, that wee had many other things, and that wee would not shew them, nor give them to the King. While he was thus talking and dealing, hee commanded his men to seize upon all our stuffe, which we had in foure or five Hampers, and to lay them all out upon a banke, which with great celeritie above an hundred Officers which came with him performed, and in two words, they undid and opened all, and with his owne hands he opened as many papers as he found, to seeke that which he desired: and seeing he could finde nothing that hee looked for, he tooke that which hee found, which was an Image of *Images.* our Ladie, being one of the two small ones which wee had reserved, that which hee left was better without comparison, and very excellent, on which also hee had cast his eye: hee tooke also certaine Glasses, and other small

things, of small importance, because there were no better: but that which grieved us much was, that he tooke from us a Crosse of very good and great Reliques, and a Case of Reliques likewise, and the Chalice wherein we said Masse, which because it was of Silver and gilt (which that yeere they had sent us of Almes from Macao) did please him; and when we prayed him not to touch it, because it was a thing consecrated to God, which the Kings of our Countrey durst not presume to touch, hee made a jest of it; and the more it was told him that hee should not touch it, hee handled it the more with scorne, saying, that though wee told him he might not touch it, yet we saw he held it in his hands without any difficulty or danger.

A Crosse and Reliques.
A Chalice.

By the intercession of a Mandarine that favoured us, he gave us the Chalice againe; but wee could never get the Reliques againe out of his fingers, as wee desired, for of all things else hee would depart with none.

As he and those that ayded him so willingly were searching with much curiositie, and every one catched what he could, because all things lay tumbled on the ground: at last they met with a Case wherein was a carved Crucifixe, which was mine. He began to looke upon our Lord Jesus Christ being bloudy and wounded, being a very faire and pleasant sight to our eyes and heart, but very strange, foule and offensive to his sight. He used certaine gestures not saying any word, untill he was astonished, and turned his head, and asked what it was? Wee told him, that that was the true God which made Heaven and Earth, whom all the World ought to worship, who died for our sinnes, and to give us life, and afterward rose againe by his owne power, and ascended into Heaven. He would not heare many reasons; for it seemed unto him that we were deceived in worshipping a God that in his eyes was dead: againe, he looked wistly upon it; and the small conclusion that hee made was, that that which hee suspected was true, that wee were very lewde fellowes, because wee had the shape of a man misused with so great

A Crucifixe.

Suspicion.

inhumanitie, nayled on a Crosse, and all besprinkled with blood, as that was, and that it was nothing else but some witchcraft to kill the King; And though in this second point hee was deceived; yet in the first he had great reason, though hee knew not wherefore, since our sinnes and evill deeds made Christ to be used on that sort.

That which the Eunuch said in our house, he uttered also abroad: in so much that certaine grave Mandarines which favoured us, retired themselves from us, and sent us word, that from henceforth wee should leave that crucifixed man, and that seeing now wee remayned in China, we should wholly conforme our selves unto them, for as long as we kept it they durst not speake in favour of us, because the report went that it was a device to kill the King. But our China Boy which was a Christian before he brought us the message, answered before the Mandarine, saying, That this was the true God: wherefore not onely wee, but himselfe that was a Chinois would rather die then denye him one jot: whereat the Mandarine was amazed, seeing him speake resolutely of dying; a thing so much abhorred of the Chinois, even to speake of it: and so he sent us a moderate message, bidding us to hide that Figure, that no bodie should see it, for the report that went of it. The Eunuch gave out many threatnings against us, saying, that whether the King received the Present, or not, the least displeasure that hee would doe us was, to thrust us out of the Kingdome, as wicked fellowes, writing a Petition to the King against us. Besides this we remayned thrust into an exceeding bad and naughty house in the greatest force of the Winter, alwaies with many Souldiers within and without doores, the gates being shut with hanging Lockes, without suffering our Boy to goe forth to buy any thing, without two Souldiers to goe with him. In which kinde of living (though still with some remission of the rigour that we were kept in at the first) wee continued above two moneths and an halfe without any kinde of comfort or rest at any time of the day to say Masse.

Dying dreadfull.

[III. ii. 356.]

The force of Winter.

This was till the beginning of Januarie, 1601.

At the end of which time, the Eunuch returned to the same place. Wee verily thought that our comming out of that place should not be such as it was, at the least we thought we should be thrust into a perpetuall Trunke or Prison, or in some worse place, as the same went, and the good will which the Eunuch shewed us.

§. II.

The King sends for them, is delighted with their Clockes and Pictures; they are shut up, after take a house, are admired for learning; Christianitie of China.

AS the cause of our trouble was the Kings not dispatching of our businesse, and our conceiving that hee misliked of our comming, so all was ended by his remembring by chance to aske where the strangers were, which certaine moneths past they had told him had brought him certaine Images, and certaine small Bells which strike of themselves (for so they call Clocks) and wherefore they brought him not those things, and that they should fetch them quickly; and he gave the charge of dispatching our businesse to a great Mandarin of Paquin, to whom it belongeth to deale with Strangers.

The King sends for them.

These newes were brought to the Eunuch and us, who for the executing of the Kings commandement (whose Letter they obey without reply) sent us word that wee must goe to Paquin, because the King sent for us, and sent us eft-soones all the Pieces which hee had in his possession, and the most part of those things which he had taken from us, that wee our selves should put them in order, that they should receive no hurt by the way, and gave us many men to carrie all our stuffe on their shoulders, and Horses for all our companie, and a Mandarin to accompanie us. Wee were lodged all the way in the Palaces of the Mandarins very honourably. Having travelled foure dayes, we came to the walls of

Their journey.

Paquin, and they lodged us in an house without the walls. And because the King had referred the businesse to the Mandarin, which I spoke of, the Eunuch feared that hee should lose the thankes, which he thought to receive of the King for that present, if another Mandarin should meddle with it. That day hee caused all things to be made readie of the Petition and remembrance, which therewithall he was to give unto the King, and earely in the morning with other things and much Silver of the revenues which he presented, being all guarded with many Horse-men and Foot-men, hee carryed it to the Kings Palaces. Who having the memoriall delivered unto him, commanded his men to receive all things. They received the same: and when hee had seene all those strange things, the like whereof, or of so great excellencie, he had never seene before; they say that he rejoyced greatly, considering and viewing all things a very long while, with great shew of admiration, especially of the Pictures and Clockes. Hee commanded them to bring us to his Palaces, and to enquire of us what kinde of thing those Clockes were, and what thing was needfull, for to have them to goe well. Wee answered to the point. And from the place where we were on horsebacke, by poste on two Horses which we mounted, and with the like speed we came to the Court. At the fame of our comming, and for to see us an infinite multitude of people assembled, (because Strangers are no ordinarie thing in China:) and when wee came to the Court, those which had the charge of us, were enforced to make roome with staves. When we were come to a certayne place, a great Eunuch accompanied with above two hundred small ones, came downe to demand of us what the King commanded him, and to see how wee did handle those Clockes: They saw how we used them; but wee answered to the question, that it was needfull to appoint some bodie of good capacitie to learne, which in two or three dayes would learne how to use them.

They came to Paquin, in 4. dayes travell.

The present is delivered to the King.

Clockes and Pictures admired.

They are sent for to the Court.

Eunuches are taught to use the Clockes.

When they had returned the answer, the King appointed foure Eunuches of his principall Mathematicians, to learne

it, and command them to receive us in the meane while in his house within his owne Palace. They received us with much respect and good entertaynment. A great multitude of Eunuches came to see us, and every one to enquire what came in his minde. But the King, which all those dayes was occupied in rejoycing for those new *The Pictures.* things, commanded the Images to bee placed in a principall Hall, whether, as the Eunuches told us, the chiefe Queene went to doe them reverence: and they told us of the King, that hee durst not keepe them neere him, being afrayd, because they seemed unto him to bee alive. Often *The King of China his questions.* times he sent Eunuches unto us, to enquire divers things concerning our Countrey, whether it had any King, what manner of Apparell he wore, and what kinde of Hat? [III. ii. 357.] (for in China they make great difference of the apparell of the King, from the foot to the head, and of other men) and if wee had any Picture of him that we should shew it. We had a picture wherein was the Pope with his triple Crowne, and the Emperour, and the King with their Ensignes, kneeling before the name of God, and we gave them it for a show, declaring that those were *Three kindes of Kings.* three kinde of Kings, and that all of them did worship the true God, which made Heaven and Earth, whose Image we had given him. They carryed it unto him, and because it seemed to bee small, he commanded them to draw another greater, in colours by it.

Afterward hee sent another to demand questions of the things of our Countrey, particularly of the Kings *The Escuriall.* Houses. Wee had a Map of the Escuriall, newly cut *Saint Markes.* in Copper, and a picture of the Place of Saint Marke in Venice, both which wee gave them. Though we suspect that they delivered but the second, saying, that they durst not give the other, because straight in haste hee would command them to paint them great, and there was none that durst take it upon him, though wee know not whither they delivered it afterward. Hee willed them further to enquire; after what manner wee buryed our Kings: *Sepulchers.* because in the matter of Burials and Sepulchers, the

Chinois are great South-sayers, and put a great part of their felicitie in a good manner and place of their Burials. At that time wee received a Map of the Death of his Majestie, (who liveth with God in glorie) and of the manner of his Funerall, and so we answered him, as it was in the Map, to wit, that they made him a Coffin within of Lead (which continueth long) and without of excellent Wood, and put these coffins in a Sepulcher of stone, and for this purpose, there was a Church builded of purpose. They enquired many things of us of this kinde these few dayes, where unto wee answered, advancing the things that belonged to the service of our Lord God, as much as we might, and concerned our Europe, as farre as the truth would permit us, because that we deemed it to bee convenient for the service of our Lord. They told the King so many things, that it seemed hee greatly desired to see us: But on the other part, he thought it would bee too great a courtesie, and much beyond his custome, who never suffereth himselfe to be seene of his owne people, but of his Eunuches, and Wives that serve him, and somtime very seldome of some one of the greatest Mandarins: yet, though he would not suffer himselfe altogether to bee overcome of this temptation, yet he suffered himselfe in part, and hee sent to take our Pictures: which two Painters did, each of them by themselves as well as they could. Yet in truth I neither knew my selfe nor my companion in that picture, but as it was they carryed it away. It was not after such figure and manner, as your Worship hath knowne mee, but with a Beard an handfull long, and a garment of a Learned honourable Chinois, though downe to the foote, and very modest: but from the head to the foot farre differing from our fashion.

Death of King Philip the 2.

The King never suffereth himselfe to be seene of the common people.

Bad Picture-drawers.

After the Eunuches had beene instructed three dayes, the King in haste sent for the Clockes, which they carryed, and set in order before him; whereat hee tooke such pleasure, that he increased their Dignitie, advancing those foure which had learned this skill, to a greater place of

Eunuches preferred.

their Order. The King asked them many questions of us, what wee did eate, and how much, and many other trifles. Whereunto the Eunuches answered (as they told us afterward) as wee could desire.

Jesuites offered to be Mandarins.

They gave us all the welcomes of humanitie which the King did shew us, appointing us all to bee Mandarins (which is the reward and felicitie of the Chinois) which wee alwayes refused, saying, that we came not for that purpose, but onely to dilate the Law of God, neither could wee take that office upon us: But we were so neere to bee made Mandarins, that they told us the King would bestow Dignitie upon us, that wee were enforced to beseech the Eunuches, that when occasion was offered, that his Majestie did aske them any thing, they would tell him plainely that we sought no kinde of Dignitie, nor could become Mandarins: who told him so much; whereby our Lord God delivered us out of much trouble, which wee should have endured in refusing the same, if the King had bestowed it upon us. Wee continued in these demands, questions and answers, goings and commings

A Moneth.

to the Kings Court: for now we had lived a whole moneth abroad: in which time every day I at least was there, when wee could not goe both, because Father Matthew Riccio was occupied with other Ghests and visitations. They enquired and asked us, what we would demand of the King? Wee told them, that we sought no profit at all; but if the King would give us under his hand, some certayne place and a House to dwell in, we would bee very glad; because wee had none other intent, but to stay in some certayne place, and to seeke to dilate the Law of God. For though it bee true, that our purpose did stretch it selfe further (as I have sayd in the beginning) yet wee found things in so different a disposition from that which we imagined, that it seemed an exceeding great errour, to make any motion to give an entrance for more companie and Fathers: for it was certayne that we should doe no good, nor should finde any, which by any meanes durst presume to moove it to the King, and assuredly

should lose all that we had done, and at last should cast our selves wholly out of the Kingdome: and therefore it was not convenient that we should bee knowne, that we had any companions. And many of our friends gave us counsell, that wee should not seeme to seeke to dwell heere; for in that very point, they would have us in suspition. Yet neverthelesse, we went as farre as we could, and as we thought might bee brought to passe, which was, that we might have the Kings license, that no [III. ii. 358.] Mandarin might (if hee would) cast us out.

The Mandarin, to whom the King at the first had referred our businesse, seeing the Eunuch had wholly medled in the same without him, being much offended *Mandarin offended.* therewith, did frowne altogether upon us, and made a warrant out, to take us wheresoever they found us, uttering certayne grievous words against us, because that being Strangers, and remayning in the Court, wee presented not our selves unto him, to whom of right belonged all the businesse of Strangers. They were at the lodging where wee lay, and they shut up our Boyes; for they never durst offer any discourtesie to Father Matthew Riccio, (which at that time was there.) At that time I was at the Kings Court, whither they sought to send me word to speake with the Eunuches, and that they, if they could, should advertise the King thereof, that they had apprehended us. But they hindred with exceeding great care and diligence the going foorth of any bodie, and they stayed for me till I came home, (which came home thinking no harme at all) and when I was come in, they shut the doore without.

Wee rode the next day very honourably on Horseback to the audience of the Mandarin, and signified unto him, that in that we did not present our selves, was not our fault; hee used us well, and honourably; but they put us in an house with a Guard, where wee continued some *They are shut up some three moneths.* three moneths, yet so that certayne Mandarins came to see us. This Mandarin gave the King a remembrance *Mandarins Petition.* that hee held us there: But that as our purpose was good

to serve him with that present, it was reason to give us some reward, setting downe that it would doe well to give us the Ensignes of the Mandarins, and to pay us for that which wee had given him Royally; but that it was fit to send us away speedily into our Countrey, or to Canton (where untill then wee had dwelt:) for it seemed not well, that Strangers should dwell and that in the Kings Court, entring into the Palace of the King everie day, being a thing so unusuall. And in very deed hee had reason: for to suffer us to enter into the Palace, or to stay and lye there, they did us such a favour, that of long time the King of China hath never done to any Stranger. Wee feared some trouble by this Petition. But our Lord which had given us this bitter morsell, afterwards made it sweet to us againe, because the King made none account of it. And albeit divers times afterward, the said Mandarin delivered foure Petitions concerning this point, hee made as small account of the last as of the first. And divers times the Eunuches told us, that the Kings meaning was of all likelihood, that wee should stay heere, For feare lest wee should returne into our Countrey, to give newes and knowledge of his Kingdome; as they delt with a Turke, which hath beene heere above fortie yeeres. True it is, that hee answered as little, in performing nothing that was in the Petition: But wee tooke it for good satisfaction, that hee did not yeeld to that, that we might not lose the other thing, which was the principall.

A Turke kept there.

When three moneths almost were spent, seeing the businesse would bee prolonged if wee attended the Kings answer, and being shut up we could doe nothing, nor negotiate any thing that we intended, nor deale in Gods matters, as we desired; wee sought to get out of this place, and to get a license to take a House, and there to stay wayting till the King would give some order: and wee handled the matter so well, by meanes of certaine Mandarins which favoured us, and principally by the grace of our Lord, that wee obtained our whole desire: And we tooke an house in the chiefe situation of this Citie: all

They hyer an House.

that which they gave us at the Kings cost in that place, which was sufficient for our sustentation, after wee were gotten out they gave us the same allowance in like manner.

Visited by Mandarins.

Many Mandarins of this Court, heard great fame of us and of our things: and understanding that we were come out of that place, began to come in great numbers and concourse with much honour and respect, courtesie and presents to visite us, and to enquire divers things which they desired to know. For the fame that went of us, that wee knew all Countries, and the things and customes of the World, and the materiall and spirituall things of Heaven, was great: and therefore every one came to enquire that which hee desired. And though our knowledge be but little, in comparison of the knowledge which is in our Countrey: yet being compared with theirs of China, which knoweth nothing of the world, save their owne Kingdome, which by a common name they call, The World: of God, and of the things of Heaven nothing, and of other things little, it was somewhat, and was sufficient to send them home amazed, and alwayes with a desire to returne.

China ignorance of the world. Use of Maps.

Ill Cosmographie.

They saw a very faire and great Map of the world which wee brought with us, and we shewed them how bigge the world was, which they thought to bee so little, that they imagined that there was not so much more in all the same, as their Kingdome: And they looked one upon another, and sayd, wee are not so great as we imagined, seeing heere they shew us, that our Kingdome, compared with the world, is like a grayne of Rice, in comparison of a great heape. They also thought, that there was no other Writing, nor no other Bookes in the world but theirs: and when they saw ours, which at the least they saw in outward appearance, to bee much better then their owne, they were astonied, and put out of their errour, doing us alwayes more and more honour: and chiefly they were astonied, when wee shewed unto them certayne things in the Mathematickes which they knew not, giving Clockes to certayne persons, which for this

Ignorance mother of arrogance.

Mathematicks.

end we made of purpose: and by these and other meanes, *Ethikes.* and principally by discoursing with them of Morall vertues, (whereof they write, speake, and have many Bookes) and of Gods matters, there ranne so great a fame, that the greatest Mandarins of all this Kingdome (which are the greatest persons next the King) sought to converse with us, and to seeke our friendship: and so many sent us presents, and others came to visite us, with great numbers of people: others with much courtesie *Foure months.* invited us to their houses: so that in foure moneths space, wee had gotten the greatest Mandarins of Pequin to be our friends, and readie to favour us in all things: And he which at this time particularly doth favour and honour us, is the President of that Audience, which hath the charge of us, and at the first approoved us: so that wee remayne Inhabitors of this Citie, with all libertie that wee can desire, to deale with all such as are willing to heare the things that belong to our holy Law, and their salvation. And by this good successe, our Lord hath made us forget all that is past. And though it bee true, that hitherto wee have gotten no dispatch, nor resolution of the King, yet wee content our selves in that hee letteth us stay heere, although he never grant us more. For albeit by this our Journey, we have not obtayned all that wee desired, yet we hope that this our firme abode heere, shall tend greatly to the service of our Lord, and the good of this Mission.

Hopes of Christianitie. They bee commonly of good understandings, so that easily they fall into reason, and are capable: they have not in the government of this Kingdome, any thing that forbiddeth them to follow what Law they list, nor any Law nor Obligation, which is contrarie to our holy Law. They have none which effectually and with authoritie doth exhort them unto other Lawes, and with-draw them *The basenesse of the Bonzi.* from the truth. For the Bonzi (which are dedicated for this purpose to Idols) are in the common conceit of all men, the most base, contemptible, and worst people in all China, whose least care is, to exhort them to any thing

more then to give them somewhat: and thus they doe not onely not exhort them to follow Idols, but also with their bad manner of living, perswade them (as wee have often heard of men of good judgement) that it is not good to serve them, since their Ministers bee such. And so in this matter of worshipping of Idols, though there be many that worship them, and have many of them, and use their Ministers for their Funerals, and other things, yet with very small affection, and devotion thereunto, we easily make them say that they are naught, and that it is not fit to worship them.

Yet, though these things and others which I omit, doe helpe them with ease to follow the Law of God, the counterpois is great, and commonly it weigheth downe the ballance on that side. For first because the matter of Strangers is so odious in China, and the dealing with them so suspicious, one sort because they disdayne it, as the Princes, who albeit they now conceive better of us, yet to learne of Strangers, and to receive a Law which is not of their owne meanes, they hardly perswade themselves: others for feare, as the base people.

Indevotion.

The second difficultie, and perhaps the greatest, is a naturall oblivion, that all this Nation hath of another life, and of immortalitie, and of salvation or condemnation of the Soule: and not onely an oblivion, but also an aversion from all these things, wherein wee have likewise found them to differ from all other Nations. And it is a thing to be noted, that since it is a thing so naturall to Man to reverence some God, either false or true, and to feare or love him, and to conceive or imagine what shall follow after this life: Those Chinois, (which on the other side are of so good capacities in humane things, and so wittie therein) bee as though they were deprived thereof; for they are almost all Atheists, not knowing nor worshipping neither false nor true God, nor never thinking what shall follow after this life: And those which a man would thinke are most bound hereunto, which are the Learned men, are they, which have least knowledge

Almost Atheists.

hereof: yea, rather one of the chiefest things that they commend, is, not to beleeve any thing that concerneth another life, Hell, nor Paradise, which they wholly place in this life. The Bookes which they studie from their Child-hood, doe them much hurt, which are of certayne Philosophers above two thousand yeeres old, whom they esteeme little lesse, then if they were their God, to whom every yeere they offer Sacrifices: of whom they hold so great an opinion, that they thinke not that any thing more may bee knowne, then They knew. And oftentimes they have asked us, whether wee had not these Bookes in our Countrey? What other Bookes might we have, that might compare with them? And as these Philosophers, as Gentiles, spake nothing of the other life, but onely of good Government, and Morall vertues, they thought they might attayne so farre, without beleeving that there could bee another life. By reason hereof, and of the common vices which Paganisme draweth with it, which in this Countrey increase exceedingly, by reason of the fatnesse, abundance, and fruitfullnesse thereof, they feele great difficulties to undergoe the yoke of Christ, (though it be so sweet) so contrarie to their appetite, which taketh from them the libertie which they have, in keeping as many Wives as they are able, and in a thousand other things.

Bookes of Philosophers, above 2000. yeeres old.

Sacrifices to Philosophers.

These later yeeres in the residencies of Canton, Nanquin, and heere in Paquin, were made some true Christians, which overcame all these difficulties, and goe on forward with great integritie, constancie and fervour. In the Province of Canton, in a residencie which wee have in Xaucheo, a principall Citie, have beene Baptised within this two yeeres, about three hundred persons, which according to the Letters which even now wee received, doe all continue with great example and zeale. And the Mandarins and graver sort of people, mooved by the good example which they give, doe favour them much: and especially, our Lord hath shewed many tokens of his favour, in having shewed great plagues upon such men,

Some Christians made there.

[III. ii. 360.]

as persecuted them for becomming Christians. And above all, God hath shewed his ayde upon the Women: who, besides the men, are very hard to bee wonne to receive our holy Law, which is, the great privatenesse which they use, because it is not lawfull to see them, no not for their kinsfolkes. But as I say, herein the grace of our Lord God shewed it selfe very mightie, seeing it overcame this difficultie, and so many of them were Baptised, after they had beene very well Catechised by the Fathers. On Sundayes and Holy-dayes, because they cannot come to Masse with the Men, yet at least in this beginning, they meete in places appointed for that purpose, and there they Pray, and reason, and intreat of Divine matters. The men for the exhortations that they make unto them, have dayes appointed of themselves, and with their owne consent, to conferre and repeate that which they have told them: which going home they repeate to their Wives and Daughters.

Closenesse of Women.

Some relations of Conversions are heere for brevitie omitted.

Every day some bee Converted in Nanquin: grave and learned men doe enter. Heere in Paquin while wee have beene heere, we have Baptised some, and some great Mandarins come to heare. If our Lord doe helpe them, and shed his bloud upon these Chinois, (as hee hath done in Japon, and in other places) there will bee setled one of the most famous and learned foundations of Christianitie, that is in all the world. For the greatnesse of this Kingdome, their Lawes and Government conformable to reason, their being so studious as they are, and given to Learning, and to know so much as they know of Morall vertues, and their good capacities gentle, docile, and ingenious, and the great peace and quietnesse which they enjoy, without having any bodie to trouble them with warre, promise much and give great hope, that the vantage which they have over other Nations lately discovered, in the gifts of Nature (being assisted by the grace of God) will helpe them in Gods matters.

And I assure your Worship, that if the doore were opened to Preach freely and to Baptise, I say not that

the Fathers and Brethren of our Companie which might bee spared, but without any amplification at all, halfe the Religious men of all Europe, were needfull to attend so many Cities, Townes and places; and so infinite numbers of people as there are: albeit when Christianitie is once begun indeed, there is such abundance of grave people and of much estimation, that many of them might bee made Priests, Preachers, and Bishops, without feeling any want of those of Europe: since as now they bee Gentiles, and their hope goeth no further then to this life, there be many very great Mandarins, whose chiefe delight is to discourse of things concerning Vertue, and oftentimes they meete together as it were in Fraternities to treate thereof; And the graver sort doe make Orations, and Conferences together, perswading one another, and delivering the meanes to governe well, and to follow vertue. And without doubt, the more wee see of this, and the more zeale in these Christians, so much the more our heart is readie to burst to see them so destitute, and to have so few meanes to obtayne necessarie remedie and helpe.

Multitude of people.

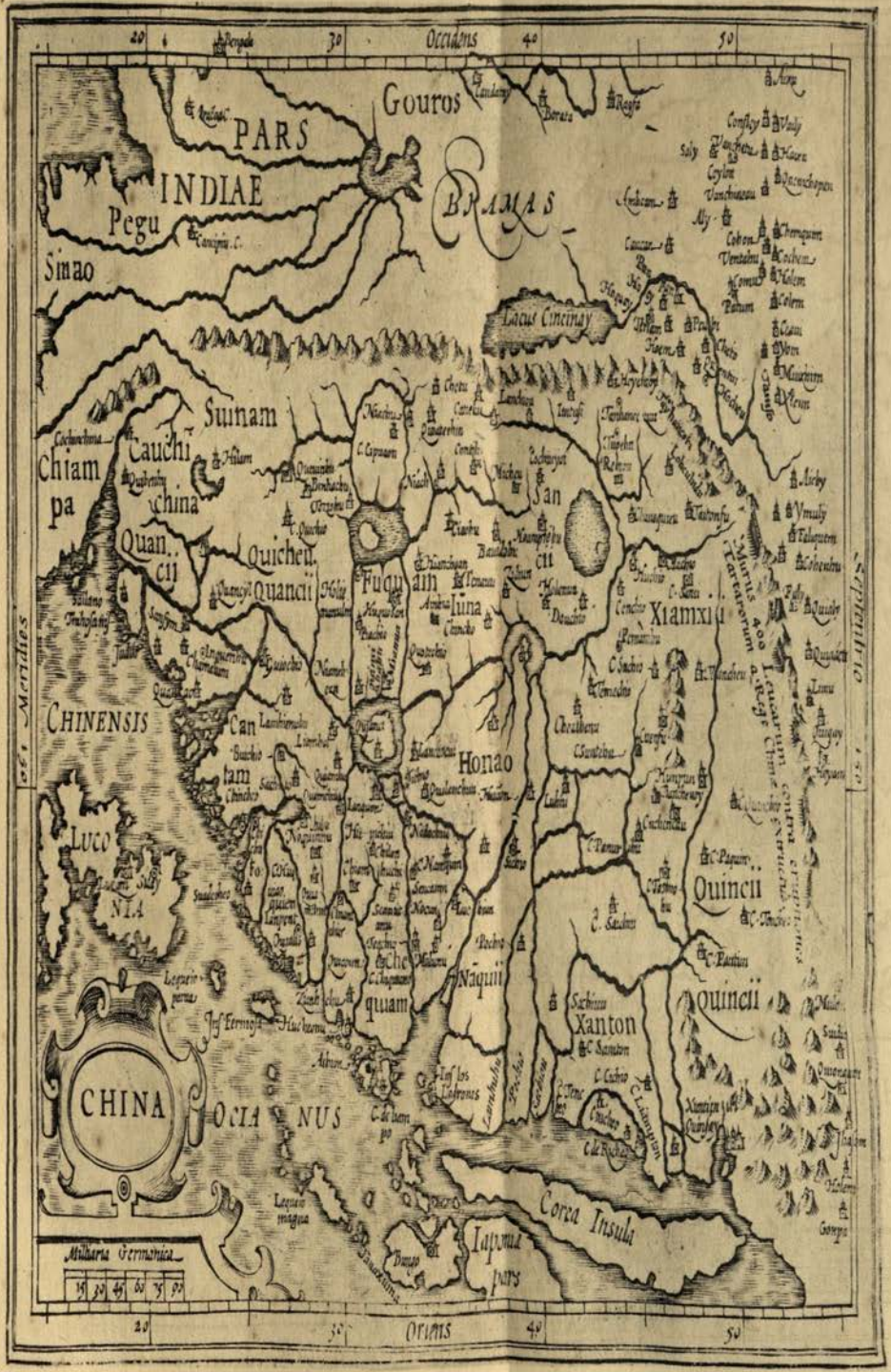
Desire of Learning and Morall vertue.

Marke this zeale.

§. III.

The description of the Kingdome of China: of Catay and Musk; the division into Provinces; Cities and Towns described, Rivers, Shipping, Commodities, Diet, and feeding.

NOw by the helpe of our Lord I will say somewhat that I remember, touching the Customes, Policie, and Government of this Kingdome, but not in such order as were requisite, because I have no leasure, and therefore I will onely write as things come unto my minde, though things bee not lincked well together, because I cannot first write one Copie, and afterward dispose it in order, with such distinction as were needfull; reserving that (as I sayd in the beginning) untill our Lord grant me a better opportunitie.



HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CHINA

This great Kingdome of China, is almost foure square, as the Chinois themselves describe the same: it runneth North and South from the Province of Canton, which is the most Southerly part of it, beginning seventeene or eighteene degrees under the burnt Zone, unto fortie two degrees, which is the most Northerly part of it: it contayneth from Canton by water, above sixe hundred leagues: but in a right line it is foure hundred and fiftie, on the East it confineth with Corea, which joyneth with the same, and with Japon, and with the Ocean Sea, by which they come from Peru, and Nueva Espana, to Manilla: On the West with certayne small Kingdomes, which lye betweene Bengala, the Lands of Mogor and Persian; On the South, with the Iles called Philippinas, and the Malucas, and others, and more South-westerly, it hath Sion, Pegu, and other Kingdomes. On the North part, it hath those people which in our Countries wee commonly call Tartars, with whom they have alwayes had Warre, and once they wanne all the Kingdome from the Chinois.

China foure square. The Description.

[III. ii. 361.]

For the Readers better satisfaction I have here presented him Hondius his Map of China, not to shew it, but the erroneous conceits which all European Geographers have had of it: A more complete Map of China I shall present after, as by comparison will appeare.

This Kingdome standeth in an excellent climate and situation; for besides the things which it hath in it selfe, it standeth very neere unto India, and other Kingdomes, from whence commeth with great facilitie that which it desireth and wanteth. And before I passe any further, because I have spoken of the situation and heigth of China, I will note for their sakes which would bee glad to learne, and also it may serve to mend two notable errours, which our newest Maps have. The one is, That they make China a third part bigger then it is, placing this Citie of Paquin in fifty degrees, being in very deed but in forty onely, as we saw, which twice tooke the heigth thereof with a very good Astrolabe: And the limits and

Two notable errours of our newest Maps.

Paquin in 40. degrees.

The Kingdom of China goeth not past 42. degrees Northward.

end of this Kingdome, which are three dayes journey or lesse distant from this City of Paquin, are at the most but two degrees more: And so those great walls so famous in our Europe are in two and forty degrees; and this is the greatest heigth of the Kingdome of China.

China and Catayo are all one.

Cambalu and Paquin are all one.

The second errour is, that our Maps make a Kingdome above China, which they call Catayo, whereas indeed it is none other but this selfe same Kingdome of China: and the Citie of Cambalu, which they put for the head thereof, is this Citie of Paquin wherein wee are. Wee finde this here to be true very plainely by occasion of certaine newes which lately were spred over divers parts by the way of Mogor, which gave out many things, and great matters of Catayo, which seemed to be so peculiar and proper to [III. ii. 362.] this Kingdome of China, that they made us doubt that it was not a severall Kingdome. After wee were come to this Citie of Paquin wee met with two Cafilas or Caravans, one of Moores of certaine small Kingdomes bordering upon China, another of Turkes with their Turbants of the Countries of Mogor, and of the great Ismael Sophi, (for with this very name they call him) and of other parts, which had knowledge by fame of Spaine, Italie, Venice, India, and Portugall.

Very Merchants.

These Turkes and Moores are wont to come hither every five yeeres by Land, in the name of their King, to acknowledge and pay Tribute to the King of China: for which purpose they counterfeit certaine Letters, wherewith they easily deceive the Chinois, which thinke and hold that all the Kings of the World doe acknowledge obedience unto theirs. But the trueth is, that they come to use their trafficke and merchandise, and therefore the Chinois admit them willingly: howbeit many now doe know, that their paying of Tribute is a fayned thing: In which their trafficke they speed very well. For the King doth maintayne them very plentifully from the time that they come into his Kingdome, untill their departure; and they tooke all their Chists of them, whereof this yeere they brought a thousand. The King tooke of them at an easie price

It is so in Moscovie.

a great part of the merchandise which they brought, and afterward hee gave them rewards. The thing of greatest bulke of merchandise are a kinde of stones, which themselves call Jasper stones; which is white, yet somewhat duskish, so that it enclineth to grey (which seemeth to bee that Jasper which so often times in the holy Scriptures is called Precious stone.) It commeth in pieces unhewen, but whole like peeble stones; which stone for many ornaments the Chinois esteeme much; especially the King: and they buy every pound of the best at eightie Duckets: and of that which is worse, at fiftie or sixtie Duckets, whereby they gaine greatly. I have seene these stones of other colours in our Countrey, but not of this which the Chinois esteeme.

Jasper stone a great merchandise.

When these men come to this Citie of Paquin, they put them into a great house, which there is for this purpose; (wherein wee were two moneths) and suffer them not to come forth. Wee asked these men certaine questions: and one was this of Catayo, enquiring of them, How they called this Kingdome of China in their Countrey? They answered, Catayo, and that in all the Countries of Mogor, Persia, and other parts, it had none other name, and that they knew none other Kingdome that was called so. Wee asked them how they called this Citie of Paquin? They said Cambalu, which, as I have said, is that which our men set downe for the head Citie of Catayo. Whereby it appeareth, that there can no doubt bee made, but that wee are heere resident in the Countrey which must bee Catayo, if there were no fault in the Maps; and wee know that there is no such Countrey, nor Cities, but a few contemptible Moores and Gentiles.

Wee understood also of their [x] Civet or Muske, whereof they brought some, which is, as it [y] were the maw (or stomacke) of a Beast somewhat bigger then a Cat, which they kill to cut away this maw. They breed wilde in the field, and in a Countrey very neere to China, though not of this Kingdome. I had read when I departed out of Spaine, a Booke which is printed of the things of China,

[x] *Almizcte Span. the Latin hath Muske.*

[y] *Como buche Span. Latin Stomachum.*

which writeth of this Civet, and of other things, which I have seene with mine eyes: it reporteth many errours by halfe informations, which hee which wrote it should have beene better informed in, although in many things hee tell the trueth. They brought also great store of very good Rhubarbe, which heere wee bought of them of the choice, at ten Maravedis the pound: it is a wilde root like unto Navewes, whereof, they say, the fields are full. These men say, That there is a Sea of sand (which our Maps doe place in Arabia) neere unto China, which divideth it from Mogor, and other Kingdomes: And this should seeme to bee the cause, why these Kings, which heare great fame of this Kingdome, of the greatnesse thereof, and of the weakenesse of the people, doe not seeke to invade the same, being not very farre off; because it would bee very difficult to passe over the same sandie Sea, with a great Armie.

Rhubarb. See before in Chaggi Memet. p. 164.

A Sea of sand.

Division. The Chinois divide this Kingdome into thirteene Provinces, and two Courts, which are, as it were, two Provinces. Every one of them have their Metropolitane Citie; and every Citie her division of so many Townes.

Chorographicall Bookes. It is knowne very particularly by Chinish Bookes which are written of this argument, how many Cities, Townes, and places there are in all the Kingdome, how many houses every one hath, and commonly what numbers of people, what every Countrey severally yeeldeth, and how much Tribute it payeth to the King, and many other things: but I doe not set it downe here: because I could not get those Bookes these few dayes past, to take a view thereof: At some other time, God granting mee life, I will doe it more at large. Onely I say in generall, that all the way which wee travelled, wee met with so many Cities, Townes, and Villages, that to beleeve their greatnesse, it was necessarie to see them. For your Worship will hardly beleeve, that wee spent two or three houres in sayling still by the walls of one Citie. After which there still followed many Townes and Villages, one within sight of another. And after this manner all this way

continueth, even to Paquin. Yea, the Villages are very great, and full of people, and of much trafficke. For though wee give them this name (which among us signifieth some small matter) The Chinois doe not distinguish them by great or small, and so their Villages are bigger then others which wee call Townes.

China populous.

[III. ii. 363.]

Villages as great as Townes.

All the Cities and Townes are very well enclosed with high walls. And because, as I said, I deferre this untill another time, I will only speake of Nanquin, whereof I had some sight.

Walls.

This Citie standeth in two and thirtie degrees and an halfe, eight or ten leagues from the Sea, unto which it hath a mouth, and a mightie River. It hath three walls of Bricke very high and faire, with very great and beautifull gates, which they shut up very timely before night. This Citie, of old time, two hundred yeeres past, was the habitation of the Kings of China; and so it continueth in very good condition: The streets are very broad, and all paved with very great square stones, or set with brickes. It hath exceeding long streets of two leagues, and two leagues and an halfe, and in the middest of the Citie are the Kings Palaces, which are very great.

Nanquin in 32. degrees and an halfe.

Three walls.

Streets long.

Palaces.

The Chinois declare the circuit of this Citie, that two Horsemen going in the morning both out of the same gate, and one going on the one side, and the other on the other, going all the day they meet at night in the gate opposite to that which they went out at. The very truth is, that it is at least eleven or twelve leagues in circuit, and seemeth to have above two hundred thousand houses of people. It seemed to all of us that were there, that Nanquin and this Citie of Paquin, each of them have as many people or more, then foure of the most famous and populous Cities of all our Europe, as Rome, Lisbon, and others of the greater sort. For whereas these two whereof I speake are in themselves so great Cities, not one nor two streets, but the greater part of the Citie every day doth swarme with people.

Circuit.

200000. *houses.*

There are about this Citie many others within one or

two dayes journey, and very famous for greatnesse and trafficke; among which there are two, one named Hancheo, the other Sucheo; and this is very great and like to Venice, whose streets are halfe water and halfe land. The Chinois call these Cities * Paradise, to expresse the goodnesse, abundance, and cheapnesse of all things that are in this Kingdome, and come from other places. And Sucheo is so full of people, merchandise, and trafficke, that a Booke which is printed (wherein all things are set downe which the Provinces and Cities pay to the King) saith, that this only payeth one yeere with another in Silver, Gold, Rice, and Silke, and other things, wherewith it doth greatly abound, twelve millions: so that there be whole Provinces that amount not to so much by a great deale: which though it seeme an incredible thing, yet they write it for a certaintie: and hee which knoweth what these Cities are, will beleeve it.

Hancheo and Sucheo.

Quinsay, Civitas cæli.

Revenue.

Building not beautifull, compared with European.

Yet for all this, these Cities have no notable things, neither sumptuous Temples nor buildings, which are wont to be those things which doe beautifie a Citie: for the houses are not beautifull outwardly; nor they use no great Porches, as they doe in our Countrey. And he that hath seene the things of our Countrey, and is skilfull in architecture, shal find it here very little. For the houses are low, and without galleries, lofts, windowes, or sight into the street; yet they have faire yards, and are very neate within, and painted with divers colours, with that Charan, or liquid Gumme, whereof I made mention before. And that which I speake of Nanquin touching the abundance of people, trafficke, and manner of houses, is after the same manner in the other Cities which we saw. For the Chinois are so like, and so uniforme in all naturall and artificiall things, that he that hath seene one of the principall Cities, findeth no new thing to bee seene in the others. And albeit that other Cities are not comparable to these in bignesse, yet in multitude of people proportionally there is little difference.

Uniformitie in China Cities.

Fertilitie.

This Kingdome is commonly very fertile of all things

that are necessarie for the use of man: and a great cause of the fertilitie and abundance thereof proceedeth of the great number of exceeding great Rivers which it hath; which besides the profit that the Rivers yeeld by the fishing, and besides the profit in watering of the grounds, wherein they stand the Chinois in great stead, they are occasion of great trafficke and communication of one Province with another with great ease by water, which is an enriching to them that use it, and of great plentie in every Citie of all things that are in the Kingdome. From our departure from Macao, till within a little of Paquin, which is, as I said, sixe hundred leagues, wee travelled not past one day by Land (because wee would not fetch too great a compasse about by water) wee travelled a great part of this way unto Nanquin by the greatest River that ever I saw in my life: which in some parts is above three leagues broad, and very deepe: which the Chinois, for the greatnesse thereof doe call, The little Sea; and that with good reason. For though it were an hundred leagues from the Sea where I entred into it; yet there is great abundance of fish of those kindes which breed in the Sea; as Porposies, fishes with sharpe beakes, and others which I have seene.

Commodious Rivers.

In 600. leagues but one day by land. This is more exactly measured by Ricius, a more exact and mature observer of all things. sup. §. 5. cap. 5.

Mighty River, perhaps Quian mentioned by Polo.

I saw in this River neere the bankes thereof men fish with certaine Fowles as bigge as small Geese, like unto Ravens, with a long beake, and bending downeward like a crooked hooke, which the Chinois teach to fish: They have a very long necke, which they binde in such sort that the fishes cannot goe downe into their stomacke, but they fill their throat with them, if they be small fishes, and when they come out of the water, they make them cast them out: and if the fish bee great, hee fighteth with him, and beateth him with pecking, assaulting him with his bill, untill hee drive him up that the Fisher may see him; which commeth quickly with a small Net like a Wheele upon a staffe, and hee taketh him under the water. And after this sort wee saw this Fowle take Fishes sometimes of a pound, and a pound and halfe weight; and

Fishing with a kinde of Ravens or Cormorants.

[III. ii. 364.]

they say they take bigger. And because this fishing is so gainfull and so certaine, they pay a certaine Tribute to the King for every one of these Ravens (or Cormorants.)

Muddy River. Wee met with another River as great as this, which seemed to bee rather of mudde then water, because the water was alwaies mingled with earth, which whence it should come for so many yeeres, I wot not. They cannot drinke the water without they clarifie it, which they doe with Alume. Besides these two Rivers all the rest is made by hand for vessels to passe to Paquin.

Alume used in clarifying of water.

Shipping. The Vessels which we saw in all the Cities which we passed, is one of the greatest things that belong to this Kingdome. For in every Citie there are two sorts of them, one sort of vessels for burden, and another sort for houses. Some of them are very faire, and as fit to dwell in as houses themselves: and many of them also serve for houses for poore people, wherein they have their whole houshold, and bring up Hens and Hogs, and gayne their living in them. I remember that the same morning that wee entred into Nanquin there went 500. Vessels or more before our Barke, to enter at the same houre, with their sayles up most pleasantly to behold; many of them being laden with divers things, all for the provision of that great Citie: and on this manner they continued all day long in going and comming.

Ship-houses.

Multitude of ships.

The excellent beauty of the Mandarines Barges. The Barges of the Mandarines (which are all made at the Kings cost) are the most costly, and are most for the sight, and very great. They would much rejoyce in our Europe to see them: because it seemeth that there is nothing comparable to these in beauty. Most commonly these have Trumpets, and Drummes, which they play upon when they passe by the Citie, and when they meet with others, that all may give them place. They are commonly as long as Gallies, and as broad or more, but very high, so that to get up into one of them is above a fathome high from the water, and therefore they carrie a great burthen.

And because I spake before of those which carrie the

Kings Tribute, I will here speake more particularly. Many Provinces from whence they cannot carrie Rice and other like things with ease to Paquin, because they are farre off, pay their Tribute in Silver: but those Provinces from whence they may passe by water, pay a great part in Rice. For which occasion all the Cities have great and strong Vessels made of purpose for this service. And when the time of their departure is come, every Cafila or Companie departeth from their Citie with a Mandarine that hath the charge of them.

Tributes in money and in kinde.

And they say that those Vessels which goe from this part of Nanquin, in all amount to ten thousand, though they goe not all every yeere: yet they have alwaies more for yeeres of greater plenty; and because many cannot returne in time, to goe backe againe the next yeere. I know not certainly how many they be; but this onely I know, that all this way from Nanquin to Paquin, seemed to be a path-way of these Vessels, whereby wee passed: for they went all along, and because they went so deeply loden, oftentimes they wanted water. To helpe this want of water (for because it is no naturall River it never overfloweth) it hath floud-gates like Sluces, wherewith it keepeth in all the current three or foure or sixe houres: then opening the same, many doe passe with great ease, and they may goe very well untill they come to such another place.

10000. *Vessels at Nanquin for Tribute of Victuals, and* 1000. *for other Tributes: and others many for workes. Path-way of ships.*

Sluces or locks.

Besides these Vessels of victuals, they carrie to the King every yeere many others, which bring him particular things, and dainties, whereof this Countrey of Nanquin yeeldeth great store, and also for the service of the Kings house. Some Cafilas or Caravans of these are of pieces of Silke for the Kings house, which may be some dozen of Vessels; others carrie many things to eate: and with one of these Cafilas we passed. They were nine great and faire Vessels, which carried pieces of Silke, and other things which they are wont to burne in the Sacrifices which they make unto the dead, and before their Idols. They say, that these Vessels for particular things are a thousand: and as soone

Silkes and perfumes.

as they come within the Kings house, the Eunuches take the charge of them. From Nanquin unto the middest of the Kings Palaces, Vessels may passe by this River: to come to the place which they goe unto, they passe thorow the middest of the Palaces. In all these Rivers, when they want winde, the Mariners draw the Barkes with great facilitie, and sixe or seven are sufficient easily and merrily to draw one of these Vessels laden.

Vessels for workes.

Wee met likewise upon this way a very great number of Vessels which came from farre, laden with Brickes for the Kings workes, and greater store this yeere to build a great piece of an house which fire from Heaven had burned: for this purpose they carried great store of timber for beames, and boords, and other lesser timber which are carried from the parts of Nanquin unto Paquin, some an hundred and two hundred paces long, and one log fastened upon another, so that these rafts grow high and great: they carrie upon them frames of dwelling houses ready made, wherewith there goeth an inferiour Mandarine, which hath the care of it, and sometimes the Mariners goe with all their houshold, and breed of Hogs, Hens [III. ii. 365.] and Duckes: for sometimes they stay above a Summer in going to Paquin. These seven or eight yeeres this provision of timber, Brickes, and lime, and other things hath continued.

The fertilitie of this Kingdome is great, of all things that seeme to be needfull for the use of mans life. And if there bee any other Nation which liveth commodiously without needing trafficke with forraine Kingdomes, they are the Chinois. And though it bee true that some things come unto them from forraine Countries, yet are they not the necessary things for the life, and which all men use.

Silver in greatest request in China.

The great store of merchandise in China.

The most that commeth out of forraine parts, and they desire, is Silver: And that which all men carrie from thence is very much, and very good merchandise: as Silke, Gold, Muske, Porcelanes, pieces of wrought Silke, raw Silke, cloth of Cotton wooll, all kinde of worke in Copper, Iron, and Latten, Quicksilver, Sugar, Honey, Waxe,

Cinnamon, workes made of fine wood, and gilded, as Bedsteads, Ink-horns, Cabinets, and an infinite number of other things, whereof there is so great abundance, that although they send out many ships laden for Japon, India, Manila, and other parts: yet without doubt they might provide ten times more: and if more would come to buy, they would alwaies have the more to sell. All things are very cheape, without all comparison cheaper then in our Countrey. A pound of Sugar is worth eight or ten Maravedis, and sometimes sixe: and if they buy any quantitie at once, an hundred pounds weight are worth nine or ten Rials of Plate: And here at the Court (where all things are dearest) a pound is worth twenty, or foure and twenty Maravedis. There is great store of Waxe and that very good, which wee buy heere in Paquin for the service of our Altar, a pound for a Riall and a Quartill: and the pounds here are greater then ours; for every one of them weigh sixteene Duckets of Silver weight. Honey likewise is very good cheape. Of Copper and Latten there is exceeding great abundance: and Latten made and wrought into any worke that a man would have, with the fashion and all is worth a Riall and a Quartill the pound. Needles an hundred a quarto, and if they buy many together, better cheape. And I have set downe for example these small things to know the particular price, and of other things (though they bee not so cheape) after the same proportion. Howbeit those which come from forraine Countries to trafficke with them, had need to be very heedfull: for the Chinois lose not opportunities to raise the price of them, when they may.

Cheapnesse.

A caution for strange Merchants.

The abundance of things for food is likewise great, to wit, of Oxen, Weathers, Sheepe, Goats, and more then of all others of Hogs, because they are the common food that they live of, Deere, Hares, which they catch with Hawkes, whereof here and in other parts there are many. And when they are dearest here, one of them is worth foure or sixe Quartos: they be as great as they bee in our Countrey, and they are found at all times. Hens,

Victuall store and cheape.

Geese, Duckes, and sundry sorts of wilde Fowles, and all other flesh is exceeding good cheape. Wee came to a very great Citie, where Beefe, Mutton, Hennes, all was of one price a pound, which was foure Maravedis. And in Nanquin (though the Court be there) a pound of Hens flesh was sold for three halfpence, Fishes after the same manner, or better cheape, because it stands upon the River. And I saw a Fish of ten pound weight sold for a Riall of Plate, and we bought great Trouts at three Maravedis a pound weight. Egges ten, twelve, sixteene, eighteene for one Conduren, which in our Countrey is a penie halfpenie farthing. Fruits are of the like cheapnesse. In our journey, which was when Abricockes beganne to bee ripe, which are here very good, they gave us two hundred for ten Maravedis. They are very much given to eate fresh Herbs and Salads, and Pulse. At every banquet and good feast, there is alwaies Flesh or Fish. There are many Nuts, Chestnuts, Filberds, and Pine-nuts though but few, Figs, though not of our kinde, and yet as good or better, and many. And although they have all these things, yet every Province and Countrey doth not yeeld them all: but that which one wanteth another supplyeth.

Sixe pence.
One halfpeny.
Herbs.

Their common food in stead of Bread is Rice sodden only in water, whereof wee all did feed, although at the first wee had much adoe with it. Commonly they have every yeere two Harvests, and in some places three. And the Land hath great Plaines with Rivers to water the grounds: for the fields of Rice doe much desire to be covered with water.

Two and three Harvests in one yeere.

From our entrance into Canton unto this Citie of Paquin, wee met with few Hills, and especially from Nanquin hither very few. Wee passed by a Plaine above an hundred leagues, farther then wee could kenne. I saw likewise much Wheat, whereof they make rolls without leaven, sodden in the reeke or vapour of seething water, and so without crust, good for old folkes that want their teeth. Although that it bee true that the fruitfulnesse of this Countrey is very great, yet without doubt other

Plaine Countrey.
Plaine of 100. leagues.

things, save Rice would not be sufficient, if the Chinois were as great feeders as our people, and did not feed so sparingly as they doe. They all eate commonly thrice a day; once, betimes in the morning; the second time, at two in the afternoone; the third time, very moderatly at night. And besides the rich Mandarines, few others which are of good abilitie, doe commonly eate either Flesh or Fish, but Pulse, Salads, and Herbs which cost almost nothing, and their chiefest food is Rice, or Millet, and hereof they fill their bellies. *Spare feeding.* *Herb-eaters.*

They have many Horses, Mares, and Mules, whose flesh they eate, though I have not heard report that the greater sort doe feed upon them. They have much Wine of divers sorts; all made of Rice: but herein they may not compare with the Wine of our Countrey: Whatsoever they drinke, be it Wine or Water they drinke it alwaies hot. They are neate in feeding, for they touch none of their meate with their hands, therefore they use neither Table Napkins, nor Table-clothes. All their meat is served to the Table finely minced. They use to feed with two small stickes of Ivorie, Ebonie Wood, or such like, wherewith they take up all their meate verie hansomely. And herein, I confesse, they have a great advantage of us: because this manner of feeding is very commodious, and such as everie man that hath triall thereof will much delight in it: and therefore our Fathers and Brethren in Japon and Macao use it. Their alwaies drinking their drinke hot, and eating little fruit (for they are not so greedie of it as our men are) doth keepe them from many infirmities and sicknesses, and therefore they live healthfully. They have no Olives, yet have they abundance of Oile. The best is of a kind of Herbe, which they call in Spaine, Alegria, which signifieth Joy or Mirth. I say not that it is as good as ours, but I say, I find no fault in it, nor I doe not desire it, nor much lesse the Chinois, which can eate nor smell no kind of Oile, because the smell thereof pleaseth them not, as sometimes wee prooved by a little of ours which we had: and they call their *Horses eaten.* *Wines divers.* [III. ii. 366.] *Neatnesse.* *Jesuites.* *Benefit of hot drinke.* *Oile made of an herbe.*

stinking Oile odoriferous, so great a force there is in custome. As the Chinois are diverse in divers Provinces, so are their Fruits: and those which grow in the Province of Canton, are not in all these colder Provinces. There are the best sweete Orange which hitherto we have knowne, which are eaten with the skinne.

Cold Provinces.

§. IIII.

Their Moneys, Apparell, Persons, Trades, Wealth, Learning, Marriages, Superstitions, Rites, and Opinions.

Timber plenty.

THere is in this Kingdome great store of Timber; for proofe whereof wee need no more but to see the multitude of Barges laden therewith so good cheape as it is. And therefore I thinke a man may build a ship with all things necessary thereunto, three parts of foure better cheape then in our Countrey. They use not Gold, though there be much to be bought, but all is Silver, which they doe not coyne in Money, but cast it in Barres, and when they would buy any thing, they cut it and weigh it in certayne fine Weights like the Romane Weights in our Countrey: and therefore every body that will buy or sell, carryeth one of those Weights with them. Great store of Silver commeth out of forreine Countreys. But the chiefe Masse of it is out of the Mynes of the Kingdome it selfe, as also the Gold. When they buy or sell, they try the Silver of how many Kiliates it is: and one is worth more, another lesse, according to the goodnesse thereof. It was very necessary for the Chinois to weigh and try their Silver, and not to coyne it into money: for otherwise there would have beene a thousand deceits, wherein the Chinois are very cunning. They use Brasse Money, wherein also they try that which is true or false: for in all sorts there is deceit and mixture. They have the best Porcelane that hitherto hath beene found, which is exceeding good cheape, and in such plentie, that besides

Much Gold to be bought in China.

Brasse money used in China.

all the Kingdome of China doth furnish it selfe thereof, they send forth as many ships ladings as they will.

For their Apparell, though they have great abundance and cheapnesse, yet in goodnesse they may not compare with our Countrey. There is much Silke and that very good, but they know not how to dresse it. They make good Damaskes, razed Velvets, Taffataes, and other sorts: but the colours, though at the first sight they seeme reasonable, are quickly lost and fade away. The ordinary apparell of the common people is of blacke cloth made of Cotton, or of certayne shags of Silke, which are very great, farre greater then a flocke, which only serve for this purpose, and are very warme. Persons of Honour weare commonly an outward Garment of Silke which they use in Visitations, and other like Actions: And there are many which alwayes goe abroad apparelled in Silke, but not in such great number as that Booke setteth downe, whereof I made mention before. All men, even to the very Souldiers, weare their apparell long downe to the in-step of the foot, with very broad sleeves, open before, and fastened to the sides beneath the arme. They be so well contented and pleased with their manner of apparell, that they think there is none in the World comparable to theirs. And in very truth they bee grave and modest, and especially those of the Mandarins, which differeth from all others, saving the Bonzi, which shave their Beards and Heads. All the men and women let their Hayre grow long, and the men trusse it up, and wind it on a knot on the top of their crowne. They weare certayne Nets on their heads like Coyfes, made very cunningly of Horse-hayre: and in the Summer time many weare Caps and Hats of the same. There are many sorts of Caps or Hats (for I know not what their severall names are) according to the state of every one. The basest sort which the common people use ordinarily is round. Their shooes, are of the same stuffe that their Garments are of, very commonly of Silke made with many faire borders and knots. It is a discourtesie for a man to be seene [III. ii. 367.]

(especially before any man of Worship) without a Cap on his head. They greatly esteeme for the most part things of our Countrey, and they are very deare. And some pieces of Silke which the Portugall Merchants brings, especially Velvets of three Piles, are far more dearer then their owne. All woollen cloth is much esteemed and very deare, likewise Chamblets, and fine Linnen-cloth, which they bring from India are very deare. Looking-glasses, and all things made of Glasse, and many other things, which in our Countrey are very good cheape, are here deare, and in great estimation.

The Chineses have commonly little Beards, small Eyes, and Noses, and all of them have black Eyes, so that they much marvelled at the colour of mine, which are *Sarcos lat. ferruginei.* * of Gray or Iron colour (which they never saw) and they find many secrets in them, and very commonly they say, that these eyes of mine know where stones and precious things are, with a thousand other Mysteries, so that they thinke they have Letters in them. To paint an evil-favoured man, they paint him in short apparell, with a great Beard, Eyes, and Nose. They are commonly all white, yet not so white as those of Europe: and therefore to them we seeme very white. The Learned men are very grave, of very good capacitie, and appeare outwardly very modest and grave.

Trades. There are Artificers of all Arts that are in our Countrey, and very many with the selfe-same manner forme of Instruments. Every man is free to follow what Trade he will, without being bound to follow his Fathers Trades, as divers times I have heard it spoken when I was in Europe: and those which will may study, forsake, or change that course of life. They worke very good cheape: but in cunning and excellencie ours most commonly excell them much, though in some things they be very skilfull.

Servants cheape. The service of young men and maydes is easie and good cheape, because there is great store of people, so that a yeares wages is not above two Duckets, and meate and drinke, without apparell. As there are many poore people

that have many Sonnes and Daughters, it is a very ordinary thing to sell them, and this the cheapest thing in China. For a youth of twelve or fifteene yeares without any naturall blemish will cost not past twelve or fifteene Rials of Plate, and in time of Dearth much lesse, and it is a common thing to buy them for service; though they use them well, and marry them at their time. *Sale of children vile.*

Although the abundance and riches of this Kingdome be very great, as the people also is: yet there is no body that is very rich, neyther in any state of people may they compare in this point with our Countrey. You shall not find in China, which is able to spend twenty thousand Duckets of Rent, how neere of Kinne soever he be to the King, and very few, and those easie to bee numbred that can spend ten thousand Duckets, and the ordinary is no more which they possesse then that which their Lands and Offices yeeld them, which is not great. But though it bee true that those of our Countrey possesse much more Silver, considering the cheapnesse of things in their Countrey, all commeth to one account. *None very rich.* *Yet as rich as ours very rich.*

There are very few of the poore people idle, because all of them commonly take paines, and earne their living. Though the multitude of the Nation be so many, and the Kingdome so great, yet the surnames of all the Kingdome are not above three hundred, and all of one syllable. *Few idle.* *Surnames.*

There are some, though very few, which may be called Knights, which for service to the Kings in some necessities have given them Offices in succession: but the common use is not to have any Nobilitie by Descent in China; neyther can any man say, I am of a better House then you. But the honour and Nobilitie dependeth wholly upon Learning, and to obtayne degrees and Offices of Mandarins. And therefore an House which now is in Office, and his Father bee one, if he have a Sonne a Doctor, which is made a Mandarin, he is honourable, and the honour continueth as long as the Learned men and Mandarins doe live. There is no man, neyther Kinsman nor not Kinsman of the King which hath ever a Village *Knights.* *Nobilitie only in Learning.* *No Lord but the King.*

of his owne that payeth him Tribute: but all men pay it to the King; and hee giveth stipends and wages to the Mandarins, so that they receive nothing of particular men by right, though they extort much continually by oppression.

Extortion.

Commonly the Chinois doe marry from fifteene to eighteene and twentie yeares, and all of them doe marrie one Wife that is chiefe; and this is their lawfull Marriage. On the day of their Marriage, when the Bride doth passe to the House of her Husband, shee carrieth openly before her through the streets all the things which she bringeth with her, and all her house-hold stuffe: But besides her they may marrie (I say they may keepe and doe keepe as many as they are able) as many Wives as they will, which for the most part they buy: and afterward when they will, sell them away againe. They may not only not marrie with any Kinswomen of their Wives, but with none of that surname, though they have no shew of Alliance. The sonnes of the Concubines doe likewise inherit, and there is little or no difference in their state and honour, to be the Sonne of the lawfull Wife or of the other, neyther make they any question of it.

Marriage.

Polygamie.

Inheritance.

The thing wherein the Chinois are most observant, Ceremonious and Superstitious, is in their Burials, Funerals, and Mournings: for herein they shew their obedience and love to their Parents, whereof their bookes are full. It is a very ordinary thing to have great respect to their Father and Mother, and the disobedient are grievously punished. Many grave men and Mandarins begge leave of the King to leave their Offices which they have, and to goe home to keepe their Father and Mother company, yeelding for a reason that they be old, and that they would goe to serve them. And it is a Petition in the sight of all men so just, that they grant it very usually. When the Father or the Mother dieth, all the Sonnes and Daughters (from the King to the meanest Peasant) doe mourne for three yeares. The mourning colour, which among us is blacke Bayes, among them is white Linnen,

Funerals and mournings.

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Three yeares mourning in white Linnen.

whereof they make all their apparell even to the Cap. The first monethes they weare a very rough Sack-cloth, girded with a Coard, like the bare-footed Friers. And though he be never so great a Mandarin, without any exception (save only the Mandarins of the Warre) assoone as hee heareth newes of the death of any of his Parents, he is to leave his Office and Dignitie, and all other Employment whatsoever of Government and Examinations of obtayning his degree, and is to goe home for three yeares to burie his Father or Mother (and to mourne and bewaile them). The grave men which have an house for this purpose, doe not straitway burie their dead, but keepe them two or three yeares in the house, in a Chamber which they keepe for this Office, and it is not the worst in the house: and very usually or every day they go thither to make them a thousand Ceremonies and Reverences, and to burne Incense, and other sweet savours, and to set over the place where they be laid, meate to eate; and at severall times, many of those Bonzi doe meet, and with great Ceremonies begin their Service and Prayers, and their Sonnes, Kinsefolkes and Wives make lamentation. The Mandarins do not only leave their Offices, and change their Weeds, but also all the things which they did use. Many sit not in Chaires, but upon low Stooles: they visit, or suffer themselves to be seene very seldome: they change even the very Paper wherein they write, wherein they have a piece of another colour, in token of mourning: when they name themselves in their Letters, they use not the name which they did at other times, but others proper to the partie, as when he nameth himselfe, hee calleth himselfe disobedient, signifying, that by his disobedience to his Parents he did not preserve them alive.

Keeping the dead at home.

Other Funerall Rites.

They use no kind of Musicke, and many change their ordinarie Diet into courser food. Upon the Funerall day they provide great company: many Kinsfolkes and Friends meete together, all clad in white, with many Bonzi, (according to every mans abilitie) which sing with dolefull

Funerall day.

Instruments. And by their apparell which they weare, and their time in singing, hee that knew them not, would take them for Clerkes revested, singing plaine Song; for they much resemble them. They make many Beeres with men of Paper or of white Silke, many Banners and other Ensignes. The place whither the Corps goeth is adorned with many figures: the Corps is put into a very great Coffin. This Nation holdeth a great part of their felicitie, for them and their Successours to consist in these things of their Funerals, especially in two, the Coffin or Chist wherein the Corps is to be layed, and the place of their buriall. The stuffe to make the Coffin of, wherein themselves are to bee buried, and the making of the Coffin, they leave not to others to doe after their deathes, neither then may the body looke for much cost to make one of these Coffins, neither in this (as a thing of great importance) will they trust, no not their owne Sons: but they themselves at leisure seeke some kind of Wood that is least corruptible, and Plankes which are commonly foure, sixe, or eight fingers thicke: which because they bee so thicke, and the Chists or Coffins very closely shut they can keepe their Corps in their Houses without any evill smell. Some spend in making their Coffin seventy, eighty, and an hundred Duckets. They hold it for a felicity to be able to get one of these that is good; on the contrary for a great disgrace, not to have a Coffin to burie himselfe in, and they are very few which faile in that one point.

Funerall Figures.

Coffin.

Buriall place. The Sepulchre and place thereof is the thing for choosing whereof they use great Sorcerie or casting of Lots, and doe it with great heedfulnesse, and with the helpe of some that are skilfull in this Art. For they hold opinion, that in making a good choice of the place dependeth a great part of their owne good fortune and of their Posteritie. And oftentimes they are a yeare in resolving whether it shall looke toward the North, or to any other part. And therefore the greatest and most contentious Sutes which are in China, are about places of Burials. These places

of Burials are alwayes without the wals in the fields, or Mountaynes wherein they build Vaults very well made and strong of Bricke, stone, or other matter, wherein they lay the Coffin, and then close it up very surely: And afterward now and then they come thither to performe certain Ceremonies, & to bring things to eat. They hold it very unluckie to burie a dead man in the Citie: and if they know it, though he were the greatest man that is in China, they will not suffer him to bewaile his dead Friends much, especially those which are women. There are many which beleeve the passing of the soules from one bodie into another: and therefore after the death of their Father and Mother, they will never kill any living beast, yeelding for a reason why they will not doe so, lest some of them should bee their Mother or Father, or some other person. And likewise many of them fast, because, that whereas some of them bee poore; they desire afterward to be borne againe in a rich and honourable Family.

Unluckie to burie in the Citie.

Transition of soules. Metempsuchicall Superstition.

Although it bee true that the most part of them beleeve not in Idols, and it offendeth them not to speake evill of them, yet commonly all of them at a certaine time of the yeare doe them some reverence, because it is the custome, though in no sort they worship them as Gods: and those which put most confidence in them, burne Paper, Incense, and sweet smels unto them, and kill beasts before them. Their Bookes of these Idols speake of Hell, and in many places, or in a manner in all the Cities there is set up a portraiture of Hell made with bodily shapes, and many Devils, as uglie as wee paint them. It is very well set foorth, but badly beleeved: for it serveth only there for a bugbeare. And if any beleeve that which the Idols say of Hell, that it is a place of torments, they say, that after so many yeeres be passed, all men come out againe, and are transformed into some beast. Those which beleeve in the Idols, come before them to cast lots to know what things shall come to passe: howbeit I have not heard in all China, that there was any answer of a Divell in an Idoll, as is in other parts, in regard of the

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Idolatrie.

Of Hell. See in Pinto.

Lots.

small beliefe that they have in them, and the lewdnesse of the Bonzi that serve them. Their houses wherein they set them, whereof as yet I never saw any good one, are commonly verie filthy and stinking.

Wicked Bonzi.

And besides this consulting of Idols, the Chinois are much given to Divinations to know things to come, and whether they shall have good or bad fortune; whether they shall have that which they desire or no: and there bee an infinite number of these South-sayers, and all of them pratlers, mumblers, and cooseners, whereby they deceive many. And though the Chinois be of good understanding, and know that these fellowes know nothing, and every foot doe take them in lyes: yet for all this, there are verie few that when any occasion is offered, doe not consult with them. And though they seeme to bee but few, yet some of them are in league with the Devill, as oftentimes wee gather by certaine things.

Diviners and divinations.

Many of these grave men of China, have commonly two follies, wherein they doe erre more then in other things. The first is, that they perswade themselves that they can much prolong their Lives; and for this purpose they use a thousand inventions, and take many medicines, which indeed rather doe shorten their dayes. There are many Masters and Bookes of this follie, which usuallie are grave and rich men. There are many that make themselves very old folks, whom the people follow like Saints to learne some rule of life of them, wherein they put all their felicitie. Many doe not beleeve that we are so old, as we say we be, and that we doe dissemble: but that in deed we bee an hundred yeeres old, and that we know this rule to live for ever, and that we doe not Marrie because wee would live long. The other follie is, that they perswade themselves that they are able, and goe about to make Silver, whereof likewise there are many Bookes. They use for this purpose many Hearbs, and Quick-silver, wherein they spend that little Silver which they have, and remaine beggers, but not perswaded but that it is fecible, but that it was not their good lucke, and

Studies to prolong life.

Bookes of Alchimie.

good fortune: and to obtaine this, many of them fast many yeeres.

§. V.

Their bad Souldierie and Artillerie; Degrees, Priviledges, Honours and promotions of Learning. Their Authors and Bookes, and Printing. The Mandarins commended.

Souldiers many and few.

THere are many Souldiers in many Provinces of this Kingdome: and though they have had Peace these many yeeres, yet they still entertaine them: but because they bee lovers of peace and quietnesse, the most contemptible state, except the state of the Bonzi, is the Souldier. And indeed it is a most base people, which hath no valour nor worthinesse, much lesse any fortitude in them. Many of them are Porters, which beare on their shoulders, the Chaires wherein the Mandarins and honourable persons are carried. And at the time of Musters, which are made from time to time, they repaire thither, to obtaine wages, and thus they have no worth, nor jot of honour in them. The punishment wherewith their Captaines punish them, is the same wherewith they punish all other people: they whip them as wee doe Children in Schooles. According to the worthinesse and valour of the Souldiers, the beautie of their Armour, offensive and defensive is answerable, which is fitter to bee laughed at, then to be reported. They have no Harquebusses that are worth any thing: and all those which I saw (and I saw many Souldiers with them) had their barrels but a spanne long: so that it seemeth that they beare it and the rest of their Armour for fashions sake. And I marvell not: for by reason of the exceeding great Peace which they have so long enjoyed, they have none occasion to become valiant: but they are able men when occasion serveth, and it seemeth they will easilie become valiant.

Basenesse.

Armour and Armes.

The barrels of their Pieces but a span long.

The causes of bad Souldiers, dis-respect, disuse, and their choice from the tongue.

The Mandarins of Souldiers, is also a thing of small estimation, and they are nothing comparable with those

which they call the Mandarins of Learning, which are those, which take Degrees. The Mandarins or Captaines of Souldiers, obtaine not the same for Heroicall arts or prowesse, but they make a Discourse or an Oration, upon [III. ii. 370.] some matter concerning warre, and they make choise of certaine of those which had done it best. Likewise they *Exercises Militarie.* shoote two or three Arrowes, to see if they bee skilfull in shooting. They have no use of great Ordnance. *No Ordnance.* Albeit I saw in the Gates of some Cities, certaine small short Pieces, as broad at the mouth as at the nether end, which I know not whether they shot off sometimes or no: I saw about sixe or eight of them upon the Walls. The defence of their Walls is their height, without any other Artillerie. The greatest force and number of Souldiers, resideth in the confines of the Tartars.

Tartarian conquest. It is foure hundred yeeres since a King of the Tartars wonne all China, (whereof Paulus Venetus writeth, which was in that Countrey) and they did also possesse it two hundred yeeres: at the end whereof, a Bonzo a very *Feare of Tartars.* prudent and valiant man rebelled, and cast the Tartar out, and remayned King, whose issue continueth untill this day. They alwayes keepe great Watch and ward upon this frontier. Many youthes of these Tartars remayned in China, and namely in these parts of Paquin, there are *Mahometans.* many which keepe and maintayne their Law of Mahomet, and have Mezquitas or Turkish Temples, and are much different in shapes and countenances from the Chinois. *No weapons in houses.* Except the Souldiers, there is none that keepe Weapons in their houses: not because it is forbidden, but because there is no need of them: but rather the Learned and grave people, count it a dishonest thing to keepe Armour: there is no use of them but in the time of warre. For you shall never see them fight with weapons one with another as wee doe. But their fighting is to buffet one another, to pull them by the hayre of the head, and to *Not bloudie.* draw them by the coller, and in two words to become friends againe. Our men make no great matter of giving buffets and such like, for they kill one another.

The Chinois are greatly given to Learning and studie; for all their honour and riches dependeth thereupon. They have above fortie thousand sundry Letters: though many of them bee made one of another. They have no A, B, C, nor any thing like thereunto, as among us. But to signifie everie thing they have one Letter, and all diverse. Their words are of one syllable, and no more, though their Letters bee so many. Those which are commonly used every day, are eight or ten thousand. They begin to learne to write and reade commonly, when they be seven yeeres old: they write with Pensils. They have many little Bookes which encourage Children to studie, exhorting them to take paines, with the reward that they shall grow to bee Mandarines. They know not, nor studie any Science, neither Mathematickes, nor Philosophie, nor any such thing, but onely Rhetoricke: for all the substance of their knowledge and fame of Learned men, consisteth in nothing else, but to know how to make a very elegant Discourse and Oration upon a theame, like as in our Europe the Oratours used anciently. And as the Chinois have good wits, and by hope of reward are verie appliable hereunto, they doe it with great excellencie, and occupie themselves with nothing else, and have no other knowledge to distract them from it.

Studious.

Many Characters.

Monosyllable language.

Pensil-writing.

Rhetorike sole Art.

Here followed of their Degrees which is more exact in Trigautius, and therefore here omitted.

Every Doctor (after hee hath obtained his degree) setteth up in his Countrey before the doores of his House a Title of verie great letters, which saith: This is the House of a Doctor: which all men have in regard. And before the doore, they set up many high Poles like masts, which everie Mandarin of that Citie where hee dwelleth sendeth him, with a Banner hanged up, and alwaies they remaine there. They make a verie excellent Arch triumphall, to him that hath the first degree, at the gate of his House. The Chinois esteeme more then we doe, the skill to bee able to write well, and Print everie yeere a great number of Bookes, whereof there is no examination nor choise, and everie man Printeth what hee list, good or bad, and so they make a booke of nothing. The

Glory of Doctors.

They Print yeerely great store of bookes in China.

best which come foorth are of no Science: for as I have said, they know none: but they are onely of Morall sentences, to the advancement of good Customes and Government. Their manner of Printing is not like ours: for they joyne not their Letters, but for everie leafe they make a table which hath letters on both sides, it would seeme to bee very hard, but with the custome which they have gotten, they doe it with great ease, speed and cheapenesse. I will send you some Booke well printed, that your Worship may see it. They also print Letters in white, I say white letters, and the ground blacke. And though in the former they come not neare us, yet in this they goe far beyond us. They usually print these letters in Stones, and the letters stand not in the Stone upward to touch the Paper directly, but in the paper and the stone they stand all one way: and this is the order whereby they doe this: They wet the Paper, and laying it upon the toppe of the Stone, they gently beate it with some verie gentle thing, wherby the Paper which lyeth upon the Stone sinketh into the hollownesse of the Letter, and resteth lower then the other, then with a kind of Inke which they have for this purpose, they finely lay it over, whereby the Letters remaine white, because they bee deeper, and the rest remaineth blacke. I send you with this Letter certaine papers thereof, that your Worship may rejoyce in beholding the excellencie wherewith it is done. One of our Bookes of equall volume with one of theirs, containeth much more: for our letter is lesser then theirs. Though in China it be harder to learne to reade and write, then in our Country, yet there be few but know ordinarie Letters to deale betweene man and man.

Easie Printing.

Printing white.

Most can write and reade.

Poetrie.

Likewise they make great account of Poetrie, and also the graver sort give themselves much unto it. It is verie ordinarie with them to send us some Poesie in praise of us, when wee enter into friendship with any. Also they make much account of Paintings, and playing upon Instruments. And albeit they know but little in the first, because they have no Art, nor paint the things with

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Painting and Musicke.

shadowes, and know not how to paint in Oile: yet in the second they are verie readie on their Instruments, and play gravely and leasurely. I heard certaine sorts of Musicke, especially in the Palace of the King: to welcome me, the Eunuches his Musicians played unto me awhile, and they pleased me: although in this, little it seemeth unto me they may compare with our Countrey, yet it is certaine, that they thinke they doe farre excell us. They have not above one kinde of Instrument, which the graver sort use, and make much account of, which is like unto our Harpe, although the fashion and manner of playing upon it, differeth from ours, and from all our other Instruments.

Noble Spirit of the Mandarins.

As in China there is no sort of people more honourable then the Learned men, and Doctors: so there is no people of better condition, and of more Honourable and more Noble manner of proceeding. And albeit before they were Doctors and Mandarins, they were verie poore and base people, and many of their Fathers officers of vile Offices, (as it is verie ordinarie) neverthelesse, after they have obtayned the Degrees, they put upon themselves a more honourable spirit. And therefore albeit in China, wee indured much trouble at the base peoples hand, yet the Mandarins did alwaies use us honourably and with much respect: especially now, for which cause now no man dare trouble us. And if there bee any, which in title are like our Lords, Knights, and Courtiers, they are these. There are among them, men of much excellencie and sinceritie in their Office, which doe seeke the common good: And without doubt they make us wonder, that seeing they bee but Gentiles, which doe nothing for the zeale of Gods honour, nor for his sake, they be of such sinceritie, which they shewed of late more then at other times, in having to doe with this wicked, vicious, and covetous King, which they now have: who though hee be so absolute a Lord, that with the same libertie, and in a manner with the same facilitie, hee doth what he list with the greatest Mandarins of his Kingdome, as well as with the basest people thereof. Yet for all this, of

Sinceritie of some.

The present Kings disposition.

late yeeres there were many, who with great libertie and courage reprehended his faults by writing (which is the manner of speaking most publikely with him) that all men might read it. And though they might feare some grievous punishment (besides the losing of their Offices, for that was certayn) neverthelesse, there were many men of courage which wrote unto him: among whom there was one very renowned: The letter which he wrote to the King, began thus. That although hee were assured, that he were to be hanged, and that the Fire were kindled to burne him, yet hee would reprehend his vices and lewdnesses, and the evill example that hee gave to all his Kingdome: And so hee did, and spake verie freely, and put him in great feare. And it seemeth that for his sinceritie and courage, the King had some regard of him, and though hee punished him, yet it was verie moderately.

Heroike zeale.

There fell out another accident in this kinde within these few yeeres, which because it is notable I will heere set it downe. This King hath many women besides his lawfull wife, which among themselves keepe the order of first and second. Hee hath no Sonnes by his lawfull Wife, but he hath one which is the eldest of the third or fourth, and others younger of the second. The Eldest by the custome or lawes of the Kingdome, is the lawfull inheritour, although he bee of the fourth wife: but hee bare more affection to the other and to her Sonne, and desired, by her perswasion, to advance him to bee Prince, and would not have advanced the lawfull Heire. The time being passed to performe the same, many Mandarins lost their Offices, for reprehending him of this disorder, and for seeking to make him advance the Eldest. But the principall Mandarins of the Court perceiving that hee proceeded on, and would not doe that which they requested, and which was reason, consulted together, and published a Proclamation, which commanded all the Mandarins which are in the Court (which are above some thousands) that under paine of losing their Office, they should all meete at such a day, and such an houre, in such

Kings Wives and Children.

Question of the Successor.

Thousands of Court Mandarins.

a place of the Kings Palaces. When they were all assembled at the day appointed, with their Ensignes of Mandarins, they put up a Petition unto the King, saying, That since so often they had advised him of a thing so Just, and that hee made none account of them, not seeking to advance the true Prince, that hee should seeke those that would serve him, that all of them would there give over their Ensignes of Mandarins, and would no longer serve. It seemeth the King was afraid of so great a resolution of the chiefest men of his Kingdome: And so hee commanded an Eunuch to goe foorth unto them, and answer them, that they should resume their Offices in Gods name, and that hee would fulfill their request. Finally, they did effect so much, that they caused him to doe that which was reason; and so this yeere 1602. hee advanced the true Prince, of whom hereafter I will speake somewhat.

The Prince Proclaimed.

§. VI.

[III. ii. 372.]

Of the Government of China: Of the Mandarins; the China Complements and manifold nicities.

NOw I have touched the state of the Mandarins, it offereth it selfe to speake of the manner of Government in particular; But I confesse unto your Worship, that the multitude of Offices which they have is so great a frame, that I was not able to understand it, to reduce it into order. Onely I will say in generall, that they have many good things belonging unto Government, but not the execution: finally, it is a Government of Gentiles, with a thousand faults. There are no great store of Lawes, but commonly they decide Controversies of their owne heads, and make Lawes in their Jurisdiction after their pleasure, every one diverse. And heere your Worship may imagine, that the Government in the practise cannot bee very just, since every one that can tell how to make a good theame or exercise, are not sufficient to bee Law-makers: And it is very ordinarie among them to

Government good if well executed.

Lawes lawlesse.

direct all things to their owne profit, whereby of necessitie, they commit many absurdities and wrongs, and take all that they can get: Bribes are usuall, and men use these more then any thing else: And though one of them know this fault in another, they all dissemble as being in the same fault, that others may winke at them. And though they seeke to hide it from one another, yet it is like the secret of Anchuelus.

Bribes.

Dance in a Net naked.

The Mandarins are many in all Cities, but very extraordinarie in the Courts of Nanquin, and Paquin. For in this Citie of Paquin, besides the Mandarins of Armes, whereof no great account is made, and are more in number then the rest; and besides those which alwayes repaire thither, upon the businesses of all the Provinces: Those that properly belong to this Citie and Court, are above two thousand and five hundred: who all, or the most part heare Causes ordinarily twice a day; so that wee cannot imagine what businesses occupie so many Mandarins, nor what is the Jurisdiction of everie one. The most principall which are in all the Kingdome and heere, are sixe Presidents of sixe Councels, being the chiefest of the Kingdome. There is one, which is the greatest, to whom belongeth the government of all the Mandarins of the Kingdome, to advance them to higher Offices that doe deserve it, and as much as they deserve, to chastise and to degrade those which badly performe their Office: which because it is a place so great and honourable, the Chinois call him, The Mandarin of Heaven: who proposeth all these things to the King, as to promote, to advance, to disgrade the Mandarins, and the King confirmeth them: So that all the Mandarins how small soever they bee, that are in all the Kingdome, are appointed by the King. The second hath the charge of all things belonging unto Ceremonies, as well humane of Courtesies, and ceremonies in all royall Acts, as in making the King, the Prince, and in marrying of them, &c. And all that which belongeth to the worship of the Sacrifices of the Dead, and others which the Kings offer to Heaven and Earth. There is

Court Mandarins.

Chiefe Mandarin, or of Heaven. See of these after in the discourse of Ricius and Trigautius.

The second.

another chiefe of the Councell of Warre: another of the Kings Treasure, which taketh the account of the Kings rents: another Councell is of the Workes, as of the Kings houses, provision for all things necessarie, for the Walls of the Cities, &c. There is another of Chastisement, whereunto causes criminall and sentences of Death doe belong. Above these (sixe) there is onely one Degree, which are absolutely the greatest, before whom whatsoever the King doth in any thing is consulted of. Although it bee true, that these be rich and opulent in the conceit of the Chinois, yet none of them in any thing may compare with any of the meanest Lord of title, of our Countrey. The wages which they have of the King is small: the attendance which they have, is of base people, and of small countenance, yet they are much respected and obeyed: And the common people kneeleth unto them, as to the Mandarins. The common chastisement which all the Mandarins doe give, is to whip them with peeces of Canes, of foure or sixe fingers broad and thicke, wherewith oftentimes they dye, when it is layd on soundly. Whipping is as common as it is to whip Children in the Schoole: And sometimes for nothing they give a dozen stripes, as well to the Plaintiffe as to the Defendant, and therewith they end the Suites, and they stay to give none other sentence, but say: Give him twentie stripes.

The third, &c.

Counsell of State, or the Colai.

Their wealth and wages meane.

Whipping.

Usually when the Mandarins of any State goe through the streets, men goe before them crying, or making a noise with Instruments, for the people to give place. And in particular Cities, when a great Mandarin passeth through the streets, all men hide themselves and goe into houses, and the Handicrafts-men cease from their worke, and that in such sort, that I saw once in a Citie in a street of great trafficke, a Mandarin appeare, and in a moment every bodie got away, even the very Dogges, with exceeding great silence: so greatly they bee reverenced of all men. And many carrie Chaines trayling them before them, and other Instruments. But in the Courts (though the Mandarins bee greater) the people runne not away, they doe

State and pompe.

no more but give way that they may passe. In the Courts many Mandarins, though they be great, ride on Horseback, and others in Chaires: but besides them, all goe in Chaires carried on mens shoulders, which according to their Offices are two, or foure, or eight.

[III. ii. 373.] Every Province hath a Visitor, which publikely visiteth the same every yeere, and taketh information of the Mandarines. There are secret and privie visitors. Sometime one is sent: But it is no usuall thing, and as I have heard, it is long since it was left off. I speake this, because I alwaies heard when I was in Spaine, that the Chinois used this manner of Visitation.

Visitors.

Punishment by death rare.

The Visitor onely may give sentence of death. They be not cruell in punishments by death. Onely the King useth some cruell execution: and namely this King that now raigneth, which is a very wicked man. One of them is that which lately hee caused here to bee executed upon eight men, by the great frosts of Winter, for no great offence for so cruell a punishment, and as they say, falsely imputed; And this it was: Hee caused their neckes to be put through a thicke planke, which taketh a great part of the head, and they set the plankes to stand upon Formes, so that the man standeth upon his feet day and night in the middest of the street, with men to watch him. Hee condemned them to this punishment for three moneths: but they died before fifteene dayes, with their legs all rotted, and burst with standing alwaies on foot: I my selfe saw them stand on this fashion, which pitied me extremely. I never saw nor heard of any other cruell punishments; though, as I have said, often times the Mandarines kill them with whipping, which is a very cruell thing.

The great frosts of Winter in Paquin.

Bookes of newes.

The Chinois are very curious in writing of newes, which usually they set out in Print, and in a very short space disperse them through all the Provinces. There are alwaies Bookes wherein all the Mandarines of the Kingdome are written, as well their names as their Countries: And because they be changed every foot from one place to

another, they blot out and put in the names as soone as they know them, with great facilitie.

One thing among the rest is (wherein they bee very dutifull and prolixe) in their manifold courtesies, which are of many sorts, according to the estate of him with whom they have to doe. The usuall fashion is when they visite one another, the stranger is set on the most honourable hand (which in some places is the right hand, and in the Northerne Provinces the left) and putting one hand in the sleeve of the contrarie arme, which is very long and wide, they lift up their hands so fastned together, then bending their (head and) body downe to the ground, saying, Zin zin, which is of no signification but an interjection of urbanitie, their bowing veneration they call, Zo ye: they change places to repay courtesies. After this the Guest sitteth downe in * the Chaire of the Master of the house, and the Master of the house another besides that which the Guest hath, and each of them setteth them in their due place, which is the strangers Chaire in the highest place, distant from the wall, and the Chaire of the Master of the house is set in the midst of the lowest place, one over against another. After this (when they have ended their salutations) they straightway cause a drinke to be brought, which they call Cha, which is water boyled with a certaine herbe, which they much esteeme, for this is a want of civilitie and courtesie: and at the least they must drinke of it twice or thrice. He bringeth forth some Fruit or Sweet-meat, and a Spoone to take it up. If the Guest stay any time, straight without faile they will bring out some thing to eate, but with some preparation, answerable to the occasion and person: whereon they eate very little, unlesse it be at the ordinary houres of feeding, and then they eate somwhat more.

Complements of courtesie and entertainment. That which is in a little letter is added out of Trigautius.

**When they salute in the street, they turne to the North, side to side: at home to the head of the house, which is against the doore, Northward also their Temples and Halls for entertaynment being made with the doore to the South. Cha or Chia a drinke made with a certaine herbe. Paytre or visiting paper. These Libels consist of 12. pages of white paper a palme and halfe long, &c. see Ric. pag. 66.*

When they visite one another (unlesse they be very great friends and familiars) a Boy goeth alway before, which carrieth a Libell or Booke of visitation, which they call Paytre, which is as much as, A Paper of visitation: And this name never faileth, for alwaies they use it:

wherein his name with modest epithets (as many perhaps as Visitors) are written, according as the quality is of them that visite, and those that are visited; so is the manner most different whereafter they write the same: to wit, with more humility, either as our better, or as an equall, or as an inferiour, as a scholer, or as a master: for as the relations are many and particular, so the fashions and manners which they use are divers. Of these things, and of all that hereafter I shall say touching this point, I will send you the examples in their owne papers of visitations, which great Mandarins, and ordinary men brought unto us, setting downe in our tongue upon every letter the declaration thereof. And I doubt not but your Worship, our most deare Fathers, and Brethren, and as many others as shall see the same will rejoyce thereat. And when that Paper is brought, they carrie newes into the house to him that is visited, which prepareth himselfe to receive his Guest, which commeth within a while after. When they be not people which they see every day, they use not ordinary apparell in their visitations, but they have garments proper for this purpose, of a farre different fashion. And if by chance one come so apparelled, and another be not, he sayth, that he durst not salute him, nor receive him before he had put on his apparell, so he getteth him away in great haste to put on his apparell, and then they begin to performe their complements.

Salutation or visitation-garments.

Taking leave. When the Guest departeth, hee alwaies goeth before, and at their going out of the doores they use salutations, and offers of courtesie; according to the qualitie of the Guest, and the Master of the house, so he bringeth him more or lesse way, or unto the street: or if he goe so farre, he stayeth till he take his Chaire, or his Horse, and then lifting up their armes and sleeves unto their heads they take their leaves and depart one from the other. When they are departed, the Visitor and hee that is visited, each of them send a Boy to give one another thankes, one for his visitation, the other for his good entertaynment and friendly usage. If hee that is visited be not at home,

[III. ii. 374.]

they leave the Paytre at his house, which is a token that hee came to visite him. Hee that is visited is bound to requite his visitation presently, or the next day, if he bee a man of Worship, or if they bee equals, within three or foure dayes: which payment is performed after the selfe same manner: and if hee finde him not at home, it sufficeth to leave the Paytre there. If hee that requiteth the visitation bee a farre greater person then the first which visited him, (as if he be some great Mandarin) hee which first visited him, returneth the next day in person with a paper, wherein hee giveth him thankes that he came to his house: and if they see one another, he giveth him thankes by word of mouth. When the man which visiteth is of great Worship hee sendeth word a good space before with a Paytre: and the Master of the house commeth forth to receive him, and to bring him into the house. All their Houses and Lodgings, have alwayes an head and more honourable place (which is the highest part) where alwayes they place the Guest. Likewise in their writing they use a great difference, according to the estates, Dignitie and Age: and in their Letter, the greater the Mandarin is, they use the greater Letter: those that are equall, or inferiour use a very small letter: likewise they observe the same order in speaking to every one according to his qualitie. When they meet in the streets, the ordinary courtesie, is, to put their hands into their sleeves, & closing them together to hold them up, & to use a common speech, which they have for this purpose. When a couple enter into new acquaintance, they doe yet more, and that is, they kneele downe, and touch the ground with their head so often, and with so great ceremonies, that I dare not speake of them, lest I should never make an end.

Head place of the house.

Great Letters for great Persons.

First acquaintance.

When they send Presents, they write downe all things which they send in a paper, as they doe their speeches, with words of Honour: whereof I send likewise examples to see, of very grave persons which sent us Presents. And whether the partie receive the Present or not, or only a part, he alwayes sendeth backe another paper with

Sending Presents.

certaine red lines (as herewith is to bee seene) with a Letter which sayth: I thanke you much: And when he receiveth the Present, hee alwayes giveth some money to the youths that bring it: and hereby he remayneth bound to answer him, with another Present as great at the least: And herein they be very precise, especially persons that are not of the greatest account. A thing which I finde very strange, and which doth put us to much trouble, to be driven equally to answer those Presents which the greater Mandarins doe send us, for they alwayes desire some thing of our Countrey, and here we are very poore.

They send us somtimes from Macao some Clockes of sand, or Houre-glasses, some Knives, some cases of tooles for Surgeans, and other things: for they much esteeme all things that come from our parts: and with these things, which in our Countries are little or nothing worth, heere wee procure friends, which stand us in exceeding great stead to conferre with them of our holy Faith, and of the salvation of our Soules.

Banquetting. Besides their Presents and visitations, they have Gossippings and Banquets, whereunto very usually they invite one another. When these be very solemne, they set every Guest two tables for himselfe, one of Flesh and Fish, &c. another of Fruits and sweet Meats. When they be not so solemne, one table for every man, or two at every Table: they provide for these Guests great diversitie of meates well dressed and seasoned, which they bring soft and fayre one after another, that they may be hot. When *Invitations.* they invite one to a Banquet, they send sixe or seven dayes before a paper, wherein they invite him against such a day. If hee cannot come, he sendeth another paper, wherein he saith, I excuse my selfe: If he excuse not himselfe, he is resolved to come. This paper is sent with many words of courtesie, & with much honour. On the day appointed in the morning, hee sendeth another to invite him againe for the selfe same day: and at the appointed houre, hee sendeth another to pray him to come: and then hee goeth: If any of these messages

should fayle hee would not goe. When he is gone to the Banquet, they use many other ceremonies: But the most adoe is, about their places, so that it is long before you can place them, and allot out the roomes how they shall sit, because they ever seeke, or at least make shew that they seeke to give the chiefest roome to others. They feed not as men use to doe in our Countrey: neither seemeth it that the Feast is made to feed, but onely they taste of some small thing for fashion sake; and they drinke very sippingly in small Cups of Porcelane, each of which will contayne five or sixe Thimbels-full of Wine; and heerein and in devising, they spend five or sixe houres at a Banquet, and goe home an hungred. And thus it happeneth unto us; although wee seeke to excuse our selves from them as much as we can, because wee lose much time, unlesse it bee some great Mandarin, who we feare would take it evill, if wee should deny his request. When the Banquet is ended, the next day every one of the Guests sends his Boy with a paper, wherein hee thanketh his Hoast for his good cheare.

Feasts to taste and bride it.

Heere your Worship may see, wherein the Chinois spend the one halfe of their life. For the greatest businesse they have, and that wasteth most of their time, is in Visitations, Banquets, and sending of Presents. And the time wherein they most of all use the same, is their New-yeere, which lasteth fifteene dayes: their Birth day, which all of them keepe with great solemnitie: or when they goe foorth, or come home on a Journey. And to end the whole yeere, I send you some Papers of visitation of all these things (whereof they have sent many unto us) that your Worship may see (though you understand not the outward Letter) the manner and fashion of this people, how farre different Salutations, manners and fashions, we send you from the plainenesse of our Europe, and especially of our Companie, But for the present, wee all thinke it necessarie to eate after this fashion, and to use their customes, to obtayne more free accesse unto them, and to winne them to Christ.

Chinois Complemental and almost all complement.

New-yeere.

[III. ii. 375.]

A Turke dis-respected.

There is a Turke heere, a dweller in this Citie, which above fortie yeeres agoe, brought one or two Lions to the Father of this King: who, partly because hee knoweth no Learning nor Sciences, and partly because hee sought not to apply himselfe to the habite, customes, and manner of China, there is none that will deale with him, nor come neere his house: And through the grace which God hath given us, and because they see us apply our selves to their Apparell, Fashion, and Courtesies, all the gravest Mandarins come home to our house to visite us, and doe us the favour, to hold us publikely for their Friends: which they use not to doe, to their owne Countrey-men, of our qualitie and condition: praysed bee our Lord alwayes, Amen.

The Hierarchy applauded by the Chinois.

I will not omit to declare the great pleasure, wherewith these learned Chinois heare the great consent of the things and ceremonies, of our holy Faith in Europe, and that wee have Bishops, and, as we call them heere, Mandarins, and superiours in Spirituall things: and above all, they rejoyce exceedingly to heare of our Pope, that being so great a personage they preferre a Learned and Holy man by way of Election, and not by Succession; and likewise the obedience and subjection which other Kings doe yeeld unto him; and that there have beene many (as wee told them) who being chosen Popes, refuse it in good earnest, and by no meanes will accept the same: and that we have all things which concerne the Law of God and good manners, set downe in writing, with all other Bookes concerning him, or his Ministers.

Ridiculous nicetie.

And although that which I have spoken hitherto of our high Priest, is a thing very apparent and true, and wee delivered it for such, and they so understand it: yet oftentimes they have given us occasions of laughter. The first was, That when wee told them, that some refused so great an Office: straight-way they aske, where you say that they refuse it, is it not evident that their excuse will not bee accepted? As who should say, if they would accept of it, who is there that would make an excuse?

And thus they say, because they doe so themselves: for when great Offices are bestowed upon them, eftsoone they offer up a Petition, making a thousand excuses to the King not to receive them: and they desire nothing lesse, neither can any thing happen so grievous unto them, as to accept their excuse. But usually they be not admitted: though sometimes they bee, to their great griefe of heart, as I my selfe have seene: But to excuse themselves, or to refuse with some danger, is the use so common, that they will not fayle to doe so: for if they should not doe so, it were more certayne that they should goe without the Office. The second thing that made us more to laugh, is, that many of them tell us, that if wee would returne into our Countrey, without doubt they would make us Popes: The reason (though not openly) which they yeeld, is, that wee have a great advantage above other men of our Countrey, to wit, that wee have seene, and studied, and understand their Bookes; because that they onely, in their opinion, can make a man perfect, and generally seene in all things. Such is the high conceit and reputation which they hold of their Bookes.

§. VII.

Of their Women: Of the Tartars Conquest, Acts and Expulsion. The greatness of the King, and neighbouring States. Of the Queenes Eunuches.

I Will conclude this Letter with two points: the one concerning the Women, whereof I have little to say: and the last is of the King, and of his Palaces and Services. *Palace.*

Every man (as I said before) may keepe as many Wives as hee will, and so they doe: which is the cause of many tumults, quarrels, and disorders in their houses among their wives, and among the Sonnes of divers Mothers: and therefore when wee tell them, that in our Countrey no man marryeth but one Wife, they never are satisfied *Polygamie litigious.*

in praising it in words, though neverthelesse they doe not follow it, nor put it in practise. And the discontentment which the Women have among themselves, and with their Husbands for this occasion, is like to proove a great encouragement unto them, to make them desirous to receive our holy Faith, and to perswade their Husbands to embrace the same, seeing that it doth not permit any more but one lawfull Wife onely.

Closenesse of Women. Of their other Conversation, Customes, and other things, wee know nothing, neither is any thing to bee learned: for they keepe house all their life time, and goe out of doores exceeding seldome to visite either their Mother or Sisters, or nearest kinswomen, for they goe not to any else, no not in thought: And therefore as they have no conversation, (but alwayes to keepe home) I can speake

Apparell. nothing of their behaviour. Their Apparell seemeth unto mee honest and comely: (for sometimes I have seene the Wives of Officers, and of the poore people, for many of them doe goe abroad.) In some parts of the Countrey wee have met many women upon the high way, in short garments, like to the men of our Countrey, without any

[III. ii. 376.] difference, save on their heads, and their feete: for all the rest is all one kinde of Apparell; but these are the common people onely: One of the greatest ornaments

Small feet. that the Women have, is, to have verie little feete, and they are so little, that they goe verie badly, and alway they seeme to goe as though they would fall. I could not know the cause, nor the Chinois themselves know not the originall occasion, why this is counted for a beautie: albeit some say, it began not for a comelinesse, but onely with a purpose to cut off all occasion from them of going abroad.

Histories of their Kings. The Chinois have beene very carefull in their Histories, and therefore they have histories of their Kings of above foure thousand yeeres. And if credit bee to be given to that which their Bookes report, touching those times, and

Knowledge of the Flood. is gathered by divers of their Histories; There are many more yeeres from the Flood to our dayes (whereof they

also have some knowledge in their Bookes) then the most followed and allowed Calculation among us, which treate of that matter, doe allow of: for they say, it is sixe thousand yeeres at the least. They say that they have continued Histories. But I leave this, because I have not well conferred the truth and foundation of the Chinish histories. At the least it is certaine, that they have knowledge of their matters, and certaine Kings within a little after the Flood, whensoever it was. They had many ancient Kings, which were verie good men, which it may bee were saved in the law of Nature, because the heroicall workes of Vertue, which they report of them were great, and there is no record that they worshipped Idols, but some, that they worshipped the Lord of Heaven and Earth. There were some that sought not to leave their lawfull Sonnes to bee their Heires, because they thought them not fit for Government, but choose the wisest and best man, that they could finde, and left the Kingdome unto him.

Moralitie made a King, and Nature made a Mandarine contrary to innumerable Scripture, &c.

This Kingdome in old time was divided into many small Kingdomes, untill by little and little it was united. It is some foure hundred yeeres (as I said before) since a Tartar King possessed it whollie, and two hundred, since a Bonzo or Religious man of China recovered it. This Mahumetan Tartar King, left some tokens of himselfe in things that he did. Hee left in Nanquin, certaine Mathematicall instruments of Copper, the like whereof for goodnesse peradventure are not in all Europe, at least not better.

Mathematicall Instruments.

The Chinese Bonzo which expelled him out of the Kingdome, was a very valiant and wise man, and there bee many Histories of his wisedome, and sentencious sayings, and judgement in hard matters: and the manner and forme of Government, which hee ordayned in this Kingdome, which continueth inviolable, doth greatly declare the same. Hee made new Offices and gave new Names to all of them: An usuall thing when one house beginneth to Raigne, to change all, even the name of the

The China Vindex.

New Lords, new Lawes.

A.D. 1602.

King, as also of all Offices, and also of many Cities. I omit the division of the Government into so many heads, and so good distribution, that it seemeth (and so the Chinois say) it is like to continue thousands of yeeres, so that no man of the same Kingdome is able, nor hath any power to make any Rebellion of importance. For those which in former time revolted, were the Vice-royes of the Provinces, and other great Mandarins, in whose power were the Government, the Souldiers, and the treasure. But hee divided it in such sort, that those which had power over the Souldiers, should have no money at all, neither should the pay of the Souldiers depend upon them: and those which keepe the Treasure must have no superintendencie and dominion over the Souldiers. Others which were mightie and rich, hee impoverished and divided their Authoritie and Revenues among many; and so there is no man that can call himselfe Great. I remember that I had read in a Booke, set out in the Spanish tongue, of the great power of certayne Captaynes, and because the King did not trust them, hee sent one of his house to will them to come unto him.

Rebellion prevented by the policie.

All which relation, with many other things which hee reporteth of the providence of the King, how hee divideth his Authoritie among divers Princes, is not so in truth, neither in truth, neither is there any apparence thereof, neither have the Captaynes much authoritie, neither are they very rich: for though they have many people, yet the government of them is divided into divers heads, so that they can hardly assemble to raise any Rebellion, especially, because they remaine alwayes in the Kingdome, and neere about the King.

Revenue.

The Revenue of this King, without doubt, is exceeding great, and untill wee have gotten it out of their Bookes (wherein every thing is set downe very particularly) I will not presume to publish the same, not as though I knew not that it is so, since whilest a man knoweth more of this Kingdome, he doubteth lesse: Yet because I feare for all this that it will bee hard to make one beleeve the same,

which knoweth it not of a certainty; making the Accounts not very large, his Revenues are one yeare with another an hundred Millions in Silver, Gold, Rice, and an infinite number of other things: although the greatest part is Silver. And he that considereth the greatnesse of the Kingdome, and that every man payeth Tribute to the King of their Persons, Lands, Trees, and other things (without carrying any Tribute out of the same) that which I speake wil not seeme excessive. But as his Revenue is very great, so his Expenses are many. For those which in this Kingdome doe live at the Kings charge are many, to wit, all the Mandarins to whom the King giveth Wages, all the Souldiers, all the Kinsfolkes of the King, his Eunuches, and an infinite number of people, whereby his charges are exceeding great, although alwayes there remayneth a good deale for him to lay up: and there is no doubt but hee hath it in store in exceeding great quantitie.

100. *Millions, others say* 150.

Expences.

[III. ii. 377.]

Many small Kingdomes round about acknowledge the King of China, and pay him Tribute, as Corea, and others, whose names I know not on this Northerne part: and on the side of Malaca and Macao, many others. And sometimes on these Northerne parts they trouble him somewhat, in robbing and killing of people. It may be that your Worship, or some bodie else may demand, why the King of China being so great, subdueth not these small Kingdomes that lye about him to deliver himselfe of trouble? I answere, that he wanteth no abilitie: but I will say one sure thing, a Paradoxe to the people of our Europe, which is, That neither the Chinois, nor their King doe seeke, nor dreame of dilating their Empire more then it is. And this their resolution is such, that although they would give them all these Kingdomes, they would not take them, & much lesse if they were farther off. For they hold it for one of the greatest miseries (especially the Mandarins & grave sort of people) to go out of their Kingdome to any other part.

Neighbour Kingdomes.

Corea or Corai.

A Paradoxe.

Contentednes.

There is one of the best Examples hereof that may be given: which fell out of late, and that was, that as by the

danger which might grow to his Kingdome, if the people of Japon should winne the Kingdome of Corea, which is joyned to China by the mayne Land, as they began to doe; the Chinois ayded the Coreans with many men: and the people of Japon by the death of their King called Quabacondono, did wholly abandon it. The Kingdome remayned in the power of the Chinois, and so continued two or three yeares. After which they wholly gave it over, without any other greater respect, then that there were none that were willing to goe thither to governe it, nor that the King had any need to annexe it unto his Estate. And without doubt, it seemeth that he would doe the like with any other, although they would put it into his hands. And touching those Kingdomes which pay him Tribute, there is no great account made, whether they come or no: and their continuall comming, is more for the profit of those which come, then that the King doth desire it. And therefore the Philippine Ilands which in former times paid Tribute to the Kings of China, were made none account of when they ceased to pay it.

Corea joyned to the Continent of China.

This King hath one lawfull Wife (as other men have) in choice whereof they have regard to nothing else but to her good qualities and externall beautie, for there is no Nobilitie to be sought for. Besides her hee hath a great number of Concubines chosen after the same manner, whose Sonnes (if the lawfull Wives Children faile) inherit the Kingdome, which commonly falleth out, and such is he which now is King, and he which is to succeed him. When any of these women be once entred into the Kings Palace to bee his Wife, there is no name which may bee compared unto her in being kept close; for they may not only not goe abroad, no nor bee seene of their Father, Mother, or Brethren. They have little or none authoritie, but such as they obtaine of the King. Also the service of the King, of the Queene, and of his Concubines, is all by Eunuches, a service doubtlesse unworthy of a King. All these Eunuches (without any exception) are of the most base people which are in all the Kingdome, whose Fathers

Queenes closenesse.

Eunuches.

(because they cannot keepe them when they were young) doe make them Eunuches, in hope that one day they shall get into the Court to serve the King: the manner is farre different from some which are in Europe: for these bee like those which the Turkes use. Because their Fathers doe this for povertie, it followeth that they have no excellencie, for they have no meanes to learne it, and they are little or nothing Learned. *The yard and all cut away.*

They elect and choose these Eunuches from time to time to supply such as die, and this first yeare that I was here, they chose above three thousand, for which purpose there assembled above twentie thousand (as they say) out of which number they made their choice. The Electors were a verie great Mandarin (to whom, as I said before, the Kings private businesse belongs) and another Eunuch of the eldest and most private. The Examination and Election consisteth in two things, which are a good Countenance and a good Tongue: for proofe whereof, they make them pronounce two words, wherein those that have not a readie Tongue doe stumble. When they are chosen, and gone to the Court, they divide them in divers Offices: yet at their first comming, they are appointed to waite upon the old Eunuches as Boyes, which make good triall of their patience, and obedience: and he that after certaine yeares sheweth himselfe towardly, they begin to employ in greater matters. *Their numbers and choice.* *Service.*

Of these Eunuches, the King hath his Musicians and Mathematicians, who, to bee briefe, I say, have no sound understanding in these things at all, but only for complement or superficially: yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any Comet doe appeare, or any such like thing in the Skie, to enforme the King thereof: and to performe other like Offices. They are usually verie covetous, and as they are base, if they rise to bee private with the King, some of them be proud and uncourteous. They serve the King as slaves, obeying his will which way soever he inclineth. The King chastiseth them verie sharply for every light offence: *Ignorance.* *Covetousnesse.*

especially the King that now is, which is a very wicked man. He hath caused many to be whipped to death, for some small matter wherein they have offended him. Yet there are some of them good and discreet, which the King useth for dispatching of his businesse, and other matters [III. ii. 378.] of weight. Though the ordinarie wages which they have of the King bee small, yet it serveth them well to live of, and therefore they goe verie well apparelled in many Robes of Silke verie finely wrought of divers colours, and the manner of their Cap and Apparell differeth from all other peoples. There are of them in number, as they say, above sixteene thousand of them in the Kings palaces. Hereby your Worship may see what Examples and Education the King of China observeth, which spendeth all his time with these and with women.

Although it be the custome of these Kings, to shew themselves from time to time to certaine of the greatest Mandarins: yet they never suffer the rest of the people to see them, nor to speake with them; and when he speaketh with any bodie, they enter not into the place where hee is; but the King commeth forth to a certaine place. If there be any Nation among whom the Law of Nations hath no place in many things it is this: for as they have no commerce with other Nations, so they have not the Law which is common to all men. And therefore they admit no Ambassadour in China, unlesse it be by the way of giving some Present, the King not acknowledging any; neither doe they thinke that there is any in the World, which is able to deale with their King by way of an Embassadour. And if they bring any Message (as the Japons brought within these few yeares, who came to intreate of certaine agreements, by no meanes they are admitted to the sight of the King; neither doth he give them audience: but some Mandarin doth accompany them: and the entertaynment which they give them, and honour which they shew to all strangers which come unto them is verie small. But as for the most part they have no great conceit of strangers, so their entertaynment is like to their

The common people never see nor speake with the King.

Law of Nations contemned.

Embassages.

conceit. 'Whosoever he be that commeth into their Countrey, they shut him up in a verie homely house, not suffering him to goe abroad.

Royall Palace. The Kings Palaces are verie great; and albeit in the excellencie of Architecture they bee not comparable to those of our Europe, yet they much exceed in the hugenesse of Building. They have three wals foure square, the circuit of the first may be as bigge as the wall of a good Citie. Betweene the first and the second wall, there is a wall which environeth the greatest part of the House, and here are many Houses of the Eunuches of the lowest sort, which exercise Mechanicall Arts, or the like, as Porters, &c.

Betweene the second and the third wall there are many pieces of the Kings House, which is not joyned altogether, but in divers parts there be divers Roomes, built for divers purposes, one answering to another. These parcels of Buildings which are here (which are everie one as long as the Careere of an Horse, and very high) have no under Roome, but a great Building raised up with foundations of great Brickes, as broad and long as all the Building, wherein there are Gates of Marble stone very wel wrought to passe from one place to another. This house or Foundation is about eight fathomes high little more or lesse. Above these are guilded Galleries, Tarasses, Hals, and Chambers, which on the out-side shew verie gallant (which is as much as can be seene; for no man can get in to see them.) The greatest part of them is of Timber, with many gilded Embossements, and many other pleasant Pictures. The Roofes are verie well made. The Tiles are of a farre better fashion, in mine opinion, then ours, and so even joyned together that they seeme to be all one piece: they are all anneled with yellow, which is the Kings Colour. To conclude, I say, that it seemed unto me in multitude of Houses and greatnesse a stately thing. Also betweene these wals the River runneth which I spake of: and to passe from one to another there are many faire Bridges of Marble made of very great stones: betweene

Yellow is the Kings Colour.

River and Bridges.

these wals was one of the two fourth parts of the House, on which the fire from Heaven fell downe within these few yeares, and consumed it: and with the blowes of the stones which fell downe many verie great Houses were broken downe to the ground (as sometimes I beheld my selfe) and they remayned with many signes of fire on them. They say, that when this fire fell from Heaven, the King commanded his Sonne to kneele downe, and beseech The Heaven to be mercifull unto him, for he himselfe was too wicked, and that the Heaven would not heare him. Within these wals are many Lodgings of the greatest Eunuches, who like Fellowes of Colledges live many in one House, everie one having his private Chamber. Heere betweene these wals are Mounts and Groves and other recreations whither the King repaireth to recreate himselfe. And the space of these wals is very great, for when I went to the Palace to teach the Eunuches which were in that place to trimme the Clocke, I passed before I came to their Lodging eight great Palaces, and on the other side there were many more. The Lodgings of the Eunuches usually are low and bad, for the Kings Servants, yet very necessarie.

Fire from Heaven.

No peace to the wicked.

Mounts and Groves.

Third partition.

Next after this followeth the third wal, where the King dwelleth, with his Wives and Children, and those which where his neerest servants, whereinto no man entreth but they. And therfore albeit I have heard that it is a very beautiful thing & very much worth the seeing, as in very deed it sheweth to be: yet I cannot give any Relation of any thing concerning the same in particular. Only this I say, that when I was in the House of the Eunuches that were the Mathematicians, I went sometimes up into a Towre, from whence I might see the tops of the Houses, the Groves, and Orchards, and me thought that I never in my life saw so great a frame of Building, although I have seene many in mine owne Countrie. And therefore there are alwaies a great number of Officers of all Offices, some making new Buildings, and others repayring the old. The King never goeth abroad, especially this King, and

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King a home Prisoner.

his Ancestors some one time and no more, unto a Temple which they have builded to The Heaven, and the Earth, where everie yeare they offer Sacrifice. And therefore I know not with what pompe hee goeth abroad: But like as in his service he hath no men of qualitie, it cannot bee such as our Kings use in their going to Church. *Temple of Heaven and Earth.*

There is a barbarous custome among the Kings, that when the Prince is advanced to the Kingdome, within a short time after, all the rest of the old Kings Sonnes are to depart out of the House to certaine places appointed for them, which unto the third Generation are served like Kings, but they never come more in the presence of their Father, Mother, nor elder Brother: and therefore there is great lamentations of their Mothers at their departure. The Posteritie of these doe alwaies remayne as Kinsmen, and with the name of the Kings Kinsmen. To all these (which are very many) the King giveth sufficient mayntenance, which is no great matter. They never beare Office; and deale with other people, and marrie with them, without doing themselves much good or none at all in being the Kings Kinsmen, nor purchase any speciall authoritie thereby. Other Kinsfolkes of the King, married with the Sisters, Daughters, or Cousins of the King, or Queene, although they have sufficient to live upon, yet have they exceeding small authoritie, and haughtinesse. And herein, nor in any thing may they compare with the Mandarins. *Barbarous usage of the Kings Children.*

Here came to visit us one married with the Sister of this King that is now, in a Chaire with three or foure Boyes to wait on him. Another came oftentimes married with the Sister of the Wife of the Prince that is to inherit, on Horse-backe with one Boy only attending on him; and hee entreth into the Examinations that hee may proceed Doctor and become a Mandarin: So litle is the benefit that groweth unto them by the Consanguinity or Affinity of the King which are joyned unto him thereby. *Kings Affinitie and Consanguinitie, little worth.*

Here the time faileth me, though neither matter, nor desire to give contentment to your Worship, and the rest

of my most deare Fathers and Brethren, neither doth nor shall ever faile me. And therefore if I shall understand, that they take this in good worth, I will give Relation of that which shall fall out here by the helpe and grace of our Lord, to whom I humbly beseech all of them to commend mee.

Maps of China I send here withall two Maps of this Kingdome of China, which came to my hand after I had written this Letter, and Relation. I sought to translate all that which is contayned in the China Letters; which is all the Rent which every one of these Provinces payeth to the King of China; and to make a description of all the Houses which everie Province hath, and how many people, and many things else: But your Worship may beleeve that by no meanes I had leysure: and therefore I send you only the figure, and another yeare (if it please our Lord God) I will send you the same with the declaration thereof.

All the rundles and squares which are therein are Cities, or Fortresses of many Inhabitants, both of them walled about. There is no Towne here set downe that it is not walled: the others are many more.

The Rivers are well distinguished. The great lines are the limits of the Provinces: the other small lines, and of little circuit are the Jurisdictions of some one principall Citie.

We print here another Map of all the World of our manner with Chinish Letters, which because wee want time to declare the Letters, I send not till the next yeare, which then we will send if our Lord grant us life.

I send you many other Papers, that your Worships may see the fashion of the Letters of these people of China, and what Characters wee committed to memorie. From Paquin, beeing the Court and Royall Citie of the King of China, the ninth of March, 1602.

Chap. VII.

[III. ii. 380.]

A Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of Ricius and Trigautius, contayning the Countrey, People, Government, Religion, Rites, Sects, Characters, Studies, Arts, Acts; and a Map of China added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the understanding thereof.

§. I.

Of the Name, Scite, and Greatnesse; the Tributaries, Commoditie, Arts, Printing, Seales, Inke, Pencill-pennes and Fannes.

Here in the author begins l. 1. cap. 2. the first being a place. The divers names of this Kingdome.

THis utmost Empire in the East, hath beene made knowne to Europe by divers appellations, as that of Ptolemey, Sina; that later of Marcus Paulus the Venetian, Cathay; and that most usuall received from the Portugals, which call it China. I doubt not also that this is the Region of the Hippophagi, or Hors-eaters, a meat there as common as Beefe here: as also that this is the Region Serica or Silken; forasmuch as there is no Kingdome of the East where Silke is found in that quantitie: and the Portugals ship it thence for Japon, and all India; the Spaniards also of the Philippina Ilands, fraight their ships therewith for all the American World. Moreover, I find in the China Chronicles that this Silke-worke was there two thousand six hundred thirtie six yeares before the Birth of Christ: whence it passed to the rest of Asia, to our Europe and to Africa. But in this varietie nothing seemes so strange to me, as that all these names are so strange to them, not knowne or once heard of, although the change of names be not strange to that Countrey. For as often as the Empire passeth from one Family to

The China custome of changing names & yet this name China, Sina, or Cathay, unknowne to them.

another, according to the vicissitude of humane Affaires: He which attayneth the Throne, imposeth a name at his pleasure. So hath it beene sometimes called Than (which signifieth exceedingly large) another while Yu, that is, Rest; after that successively Hia, or Great; Sciam, Adorned; Cheu, Perfect; Han, The Milkie way in Heaven, &c. And since this Family, called Ciu, which now holdeth the Sovereigntie, hath reigned, it is called Min, which intimateth Splendour, and by usuall addition of one syllable Ta-min, that is, the Kingdome of Great Splendour, Brightnesse or Glory. Yet doe few of their Neighbour Nations observe these changes of Names, whereby each of them almost, stile it by severall appellations. Those of Cocin, Cauchin-china, and the Siamites call it Ciu; the Japanders, Than; the Tartars, Han; the Westerne Saracens, Catay. Also amongst the Chinois themselves, besides that arbitrary name so imposed by their Kings, it hath some common to all Ages. Such are Ciumquo, that is, the Kingdome; and Chiumhoa, which signifieth a Garden, a name arising from their Geography, beleeving indeed the roundnesse of the Heaven, but a squarenesse of the Earth, and their Kingdome in the midst thereof, a conceit growne out of conceit now, by better instruction of the Jesuits.

Conceit of the Earths forme.

The Kings Title.

Their King is called Lord of the World, and they supposed accordingly that their Kingdome contayned the principall part thereof; not deeming the Neighbour Kingdomes worthy to bee called Kingdomes, which yet before their Commerce with Europeans were all they knew. And not unworthily is the name Great prefixed to their Kingdomes appellation, beeing the greatest Kingdome in the World, which at this day carrieth One Name, or hath done in former times. For Southward it beginneth in the nineteenth degree, at the Ile which they call Hainam, that is, the South-Sea, and runneth into the North to the two & fortieth, even to those wals which divide the Chinois from the Tartars. The longitude beginneth from the one hundred and twelfth (reckoning from the Canaries) in the

Largenesse of the Kingdome of China.

Province Yunan, and extends East-ward to the Sea in one hundred thirtie two. These Dimensions wee have observed in divers places of the Kingdome where we have passed, by Astrolabes and other Mathematicall Instruments: adding also the observation of Eclipses in their Almanacks, where the Moones Change and Full are justly described, and specially by authoritie of Cosmographicall Plaines. Yet if others which shall come after us shall more exactly observe the longitude (which I dare say will be no great matter) I shall not unwillingly yeeld. Hence may be observed that this ample Kingdome is for the most part within the temperate Zone; neither doth it extend so farre North-ward as some Maps have described by many degrees. And lest any should thinke that some great parts of so large a Dominion be desert, I will here translate out of a China booke entituled, The Description of that Kingdome, there printed, 1579. that which followeth.

The temperate Climate.

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In the Kingdome (of China) there are two Provinces Royall, Nanquin the Southerne Court, and Pequin the Northerne, and thirteene others. In these fifteene Provinces (you might call them Kingdomes) by another division are numbred one hundred fiftie eight Regions or lesse Provinces, called by them Fu; the most of which have twelve or fifteene Cities of reasonable quantitie, besides Villages, Hamlets, Castles and Townes. In these Provinces are two hundred fortie seven greater Cities, called Cheu (howbeit sometimes distinguished from other Cities rather in dignitie then largenesse) of vulgar Cities, which they call Hien, 1152. Of men growne to ripe age, which pay tribute or poll money to the King, were then fiftie and eight millions, five hundred fiftie thousand, 801. In all which the female sexe is not reckoned: and of the Masculine are omitted, Boyes, Youths, Eunuchs, Souldiers, the Royall kindred, Magistrates, Students, and very many others. And of the Souldiers, although there be a Supine peace (except some Tartarian assault sometimes) there are maintained in the Kings pay, and in perpetuall Armes, above ten * hundred thousand. For the

**Some say many more see the Map and notes.*

three Northern Provinces are almost halfe in pay. In that booke are numbred Kingdomes adjoyning to that of China and tributarie; to the East three, to the West fiftie three, to the South fiftie five, to the North three. Yet I observe that nothing so many doe in these dayes pay tribute, and those which doe, carry more from China, then they bring thither: and therefore the Chinois care not much whether they continue loyall or no.

To the worth of this Kingdome, may bee added, the fortification by Nature or Art round about it. To the South and East, the Sea washeth it, and so many Ilands guard it, that hardly can a Fleet of Ships approach the Continent. To the North, steepe præcipices are joyned together, with a continued Tract of 405. leagues, and exclude the Tartars assaults. To the North-west is a sandy desart of many dayes journey, which prohibite passage of an Armie, or minace their burialls. The South-west hath great Mountaines and little Kingdomes to prevent feare on that side.

Chap. 2. The commodities of China.

From this largenesse of Territories proceeds such diversified varietie of things growing in that Kingdome, some in the torrid, others in the colder or in the temperate Zones: whatsoever is required to the necessitie or delicacie of food or raiment being there naturall, nothing being here in Europe but either is there, or a better supply: Wheat, Barley, Panike, and other Corne; Rice, Pulse (in some Provinces two or three harvests yeerely) fruits and Apples of the best (Nuts and Almonds excepted) Figs and others unknowne in our world, as the Licyas and the Longanas in Canton Province onely; the Sucusina or China Figge, or Apple so called, because they may dry it as they do Figs, & liker to a Peach red, without hoarinesse or stone: in Oranges, Citrons, Limons they exceed all places. So doe they in goodnesse and varietie of Gardens, Herbs, as being there much used, some for religion, others for povertie eating nothing else. Flowers have there taken up their bowers, admirably varied, more respected for sight then sent; the Art of distilling sweet-waters being

Fruits of all sorts.

there unheard of. In the foure Southerne Provinces grow Betre or Betele leafe, and the tree Arequa or Arequeira, so much used in India, and chewed all day long for their stomacke and teeth. Sesame Oile is both odoriferous and plentifull. Wine is not there so good as in Europe (the Grape being neither plesant nor frequent) made of Rice and other things.

Flesh for food. Hogs-flesh is common food: they have Buffalls, Muttons, Goats-flesh; Hennes, Duckes, Geese, innumerable: Horses also, Asses, Mules, and Dogs-flesh are food, and shamble commodities. In some places superstition abstaineth from Beefe and Buffalls, Venison, especially red Deere, Hare, and divers domestick creatures are common; all cheape. Their Horses and Beasts of labour are not so goodly as in Europe, but more in number, and therefore in cheapnesse. The whole Kingdome is very commodious for passage by Rivers both naturall and hand-made: whence the number and kindes of shipping is incredible; insomuch that a moderne Writer hath averred, that there are as many which keepe on the waters as on the land; an Hyperbole, yet not so exceeding the truth to such as saile these Rivers, as may bee seene to others. I am of opinion, that there are as many Ships in this Kingdome, as are in all the world beside in fresh-waters; for their Sea-shipping is fewer and not comparable with ours. But to returne to their Horses, the Chinois know not how to manage and breake them but by gelding; so that their Horses for service are innumerable, but so unserviceable, that they will not indure the neighing of the Tartarian Horse without flight. They shooe them not with Iron, so that in rockie and hard wayes they faile.

Passages by water.

Store of shipping and water dwellers.

Horses.

Fish. Besides the Seas plentie of Fish and Rivers, they are stored also in Lakes, seeming for their depths and largenesse petie Seas. They have more store of Fish-ponds also, then in these parts, whence the Market is daily furnished. Their Woods have no Lions, but store of Tigers, Beares, Woolves, Foxes. Elephants there are not, but for pompe some kept at the Court in Pequin, brought

Wilde beasts.

from other places. Flaxe they have not, but are supplied
Cotton. with abundance of Cotton, the seed whereof was brought thither foure hundred yeeres since, and hath so liked the
Sale of cloth. soyle, that the whole world, as may seeme thence might have sufficient. Of Silke-workes wee say no more. Of Hempe, and of some other Herbs, they make many
[III. ii. 382.] clothes, especially for Summer use. They milke not their Sheepe; they sheare them, yet make no cloth of the Wooll (notwithstanding, woollen-clothes brought thither by Merchants is well sold) but light Summer clothes for blankets and other sleight uses. The North parts, though neerer the Sunne then some Regions in Europe, are colder, the great rivers and lakes frozen over, of which we can give no reason, but the neighbouring Mountaines of Tartaria: against which they are furnished with choice Furres.

Metalls. All sorts of metalls are there found. They make besides Brasse and Copper, another shining like Silver, as cheape as the yellow Brasse. Of molten Iron they make Kettles, Caldrons, Bells, Mortars, Ordnance, and other things. Their Gold is cheaper then with us. Silver they use for money, distinguished not by stampe but weight, in all bargaining using the ballance, which is made the more incommodious for the differing goodnesse of the Silver, and frequent allay and fraud. In some places are Brasse farthings. Plate and Gold vessells are used by the greater, but nothing so much as in these parts. The women spend much Gold and Silver in their head-tires. The vulgar use earthen dishes, called, I know not why,
Porcellane. porcellane; the best whereof is made in the Kiamsin Province of a yellow earth. It endureth without riving hot meates, yea as woodden dishes here with a wyre, they sowe
Glasse. the rifts and make them hold liquor. They make Glasse, but therein are short of the Europeans.

Buildings. Their houses are of Timber commonly, even the Kings Palaces, the walls which serve for partitions of roomes being sometimes of Bricke, but the roofe sustained by Timbers: which together with their shipping argues their

plentie of trees. Oakes are rare, but supplied with a hard and everlasting wood with them used for coffins, in which their curiositie will sometimes spend a thousand Duckets. There is also store of a kinde of reed, which the Portugalls call Bambu, of almost Iron hardnesse, the roundnesse scarcely compassed with both hands, and serves for smaller posts; the lesser of them for Launces and other uses. For fire they use Wood, Coles, Reeds, Straw, and a bituminous substance called Mui (a kinde of Mine-cole or Sea-cole) which is most and best in the North, digged out of the earth.

Hard Timber and Reeds.

Sea-cole.

Of medicinable herbs they have divers, specially Rhubarbe, sold for tenne halfe pence the pound: China Wood, or holy Wood growing in desarts naturally, and thence taken for no other price but the labour: Muske; Salt both made of Sea-waters, and of others easily in the Continent; Sugar more common there then Hony, though both plentifull: Waxe both of Bees, and another whiter and burning better made by certaine wormes, which therefore are nourished in trees; another also made of a certaine fruit: Their paper is not so during as ours, nor can endure the presse on both sides.

Rhubarb. China, Muske.

Salt, Sugar. Home-waxe.

Paper.

I omit their parti-coloured Marbles, their gems, colours for paintings, odoriferous Woods, &c. I cannot passe by some rarities; as their shrub whence they make their drinke Cia. They gather the leaves in the Spring, and dry them in the shadow, and keepe it for daily decoction, using it at meates, and as often as any guest comes to their house, yea twice or thrice, if hee make any tarrying. They sup it hot, bitterish to the palate, but wholesome: not of ancient use, for they have no ancient Character in their bookes for it. The Japanders pay deare for it, ten or twelve Duckets a pound for the best, and use it otherwise, putting the poulder of the leafe to hot water, as much as two or three spoonefulls: the Chinois put the leaves themselves into the hot water, which they drinke, leaving the leaves behinde. They have also a bituminous substance like milke, strained out of the barke of a tree,

Their drinke Cha, Chia, or Cia.

Sandaracha, a rich Varnish.

of pitchy cleaving, whence they make Sandaracha, a varnish for their houses and houshold, ships, and other things: yeelding a smooth touch to the hand and glassie splendour to the eye with long continuance. Thus can they more then counterfeit the colours of any wood, and hereby are provided against provisions of Napery, this serving for Table linnen; they recovering any greasie contagion with a little rinsing of water. They have an Oyle also pressed from an apple not unlike it in use, but not so resplendent.

Spices.

They have Cinamon and Ginger growing, Pepper and other Spices are brought from other parts. They have store of Gun-powder, not so much for Artillerie (which they can use but meanely) as for Fire-works in pompous spectacles, thereby representing, Trees, Fruits, Battels, and other things with great Art and cost. We saw at Nanquin, in the first moneth of the yeere, as much this way spent as would have served a continued fight two yeeres.

Chap. 4. Of their Arts in China. This is not to be understood of Temples, &c. as may appeare by Nanquin Temple, &c.

For Mechanicall Arts, they are not comparable to our mens Architecture, whether yee regard the beautie or continuance of their buildings, they not so much as conceiving or crediting the stately magnificence or long durance of some in these parts. They either make no foundation, or verie sleight, and thinke a mans age to be age enough for a house, and that scarcely without reparations: their houses being also of Timber, and where the walls are Stone, they have Timbers to beare up the roofe, that the wall may easily be repaired or renewed without meddling with the supporters.

Printing. Antiquitie and manner of it.

Printing is ancienter there then here; some thinke before the Incarnation, and most certaine above five hundred yeeres old: much differing from ours because of the multitude of their Characters. They grave or cut these Characters in a table of Peare-tree, Apple-tree or [III. ii. 383.] Zizyphus. In this Table they lightly glue on a whole leafe written, and then cunningly shave the drie paper, that they make very little transparence; after which they cut the wood, that onely the prints or lineaments of the

Characters are eminent: which done, with great facilitie and celeritie they print off leaves at pleasure, one Printer often 1500. in one day; so ready also in cutting, that to mee Ours seeme to spend as much time in composing and correcting. This course is more accommodated to their great Characters then to ours, whose little letters are not easily cut in woodden Tables. They have this commoditie also, that keeping these Tables by them, they may with little labour adde or take away words or sentences: and need not at once print off any more Copies then present use or sale requireth. Wee doe this with Bookes of our Religion or European Sciences, printing them at home by our China servants. They have another way of printing Characters or Pictures printed before in Marble or Wood, laying on a leafe of Paper moist, and on that a woollen Cloth, whereon they beate with a Hammer till the Paper insinuates it selfe into the voide spaces and lineaments of the Characters or Picture: after which they lightly colour that leafe with Inke or other colour, those delineations onely remayning white, and retayning the Prototype-figure. But this is for grosser Pourtraitures. *Another way.*

They are much addicted to pictures, but nothing so cunning in painting, founding, graving, as Europeans. They make magnificent Arches with figures of men and beasts, and adorne their Temples with Idols and Bells, but their Genius otherwise generous and ingenious enough, for want of commerce with other Nations, is herein rudely artificiall. Shadowes and Oyle in picturing are to them unknowne, and their Pictures therefore have no more life of Art then Nature. In Statues, themselves seeme Statues for all rules of Symmetry any further then by the eye, and yet will be doing in huge (indeed) Monsters of this kinde, in Earth, Brasse, and Marble. Their Bells have all woodden Hammers, which yeeld a woodden sound, not comparable to ours, nor seeming capable of those of Iron. They have variety and plenty of Musicall Instruments, yet want Organs and all that have Keyes. Their Strings are made of raw Silke, and know not that *Painting, graving, founding.* *Bells.* *Musicall Instruments.*

any can be made of Guts. The Symmetrie of their Instruments is answerable to ours. All their Musike is simple and single-toned, utterly ignorant of consort in discord-concord: yet much applaud they themselves in their owne Harmonie, howsoever dissonant to our eares. But this pride seemes to grow (as usually it doth) from ignorance, and it is likely they would preferre ours if they knew it.

Want of Hour-glasses, Clocks, and Dials.

They have scarcely any Instruments for measuring of (that which measures all things) Time; such as they have, measure by water or fire, but very imperfectly, as is also their Sun-diall, which they know not to fit to differing places. They are much addicted to Comedies, and therein exceed ours; some practising the same in principall Townes, others travelling thorow the Kingdome (or roguing, if you will) being the dregs of the Kingdome, buying Boyes whom they frame to this faigning facultie.

Comedies.

Their Commedies are commonly antient, whether Histories or devices, and few new written. They are used in publike and in private Solemnities; as also in Feasts, whereto being called, they offer to the Inviter a Booke, in which to take his choise, the Guests looking, eating, drinking together; and sometimes after ten houres feasting, they will spend as much succeeding time in a succession of Interludes one after another. Their pronunciation is with singing accent, and not with the vulgar tone.

Seales.

Seales are of great use with them, not onely for Letters, but for their Poems also, Pictures, Bookes, and many other things. These contayne the name, sur-name, dignitie, and degree: neither content they themselves with one, but have many, inscribing sometimes the beginning and the end of their workes; not imprinting them in Waxe, or such like substance, but onely colour them red. The chiefe men have on the Table a Boxe full of Seales, which containe their divers names (for every Chinese hath many names) and those of Wood, Marble, Ivorie, Brasse, Crystall, Corall, and better stones. There are many workemen of that Seale-occupation, their Characters

differing from the vulgar, and savouring of Antiquitie and Learning.

Various substances esteemed liberall.

There is another Art not unlike, of making Inke for all writing, made into little Cakes or Balls of the smoke of Oyle. For their estimation of exact writing makes the making of Inke also to be holden an Art not illiberall. They use it on a Marble smooth stone; with a few drops of water rubbing those Balls, and colouring the stone, thence taking it with a Pensill of Hares haires wherewith they write.

Inke-making.

Pensils in stead of Pens.

Fannes also are in much use by both Sexes for the causing of winde to coole them in Summer. No man may goe abroad without a Fanne, although the weather be cold, and the winde already bee importunate: the use being rather for ornament then necessitie. They are made of Reeds, Wood, Ivorie, Ebonie, together with Paper or Silke, and a certaine odoriferous Straw, in round, ovall, or square forme. The chiefe men use them of Paper gilded with plaits to be let in or out, and therein inscribe some pithie sentence or Poeme. These are the most common gifts or presents (as Gloves in Europe) and we have a Chist full of them sent us by our friends. In other things the Chinois are liker ours, using Tables, Stooles, and Beds (which the adjoyning Nations doe not, but sit on Carpets on the floore) to eate or sleepe.

Fannes.

§. II.

[III. ii. 384.]

Of their Characters and writing downward: their Studies, Ethikes, Astrologie, Physike, Authentike Authors, Degrees how taken both Philosophicall and Militarie.

NOw, for their more liberall Arts, and Literate-degrees, this Kingdome differs from all others: in which their Learned beare principall sway. The China words are Monosyllables, not one otherwise, howsoever two or three Vowels sometimes are conjoyned into

Cap. 5. Monosyllable Language, as also our proper English is almost wholly.

one Diphthong, to speake after our manner; for they have not Consonants nor Vowels, but divers Characters for so many things, and as many of them, as there are Words, so that a Word, Syllable, Letter, are the same; and when we joyne divers Syllables to make one Word, it is after our fashion, because they signifie the same thing; with them each Syllable is a severall word. And although the number of things and Characters seeme the same, yet doe they so compound them together, that they exceed not seventy or eighty thousand: and hee which knoweth ten thousand of them, hath the most necessary: to know all is in manner for any one man impossible. Of these Characters the sound is often the same, the figure and signification differing: so that no Language is so equivocall; nor can any Speech bee written from the Speakers mouth by the Hearer, nor can a Booke bee read to the Hearers understanding, except they have the Booke before them, by their eyes to distinguish the equivocations which their eares cannot. Yea, in speaking accuratly, the Hearer often understands not without repetition and writing either with Inke, or water on the Table, or forming the Characters in the aire; and this most happens in the most elegant and polite discourses (the stile of Bookes and Inkhorne-dialect of their learned, wholly differing from the vulgar Idiome.) This equivocation and paucity of sounds is in some sort eased by Accents, which are five, and not easie to distinguish; by which of one Syllable (as wee account it) they make it with differing tones five fold in differing signification: and there is no Word which is not pronounced with one of these Accents. Hence is the Language so difficult as none else in the World for Strangers to learne to speake and understand; which importunate labour of ours hath yet attayned. The reason I conceive to be that they alway have laboured to adorne their writing more then their speech, their eloquence still consisting in writing and not in pronunciation, as Isocrates is commended amongst the Greekes.

70000. Characters.

Equivocations.

Five Accents.

Hardnesse of China Speech.

Eloquentia sine eloquio.

This multitude of Characters, as it is burthensome to

the memory, so it hath this commodity, the commerce with divers Nations of different Languages by community of writing; Japon, Corai, Cauchinchina, the Leuhiees, understanding and reading the Characters, each into his owne Language, which the other understand nothing at all. Each Province also hath its owne, and all have one common Tongue besides, which they call Quonhoa, or the Court Language (the Magistrates being all forrainers, and none bearing Office in his Countrey Province) used in their Courts, and by the Learned: this onely did ours learne, nor is the other used by the civiller or learneder in conference, except privatly by Countrey-men: yea, children and women learne this Court-speech. I heare that the Japonians have an Alphabet also of Letters after our fashion, besides these Characters; but in China they have none, so that from their Cradle to the extremest age they are learning their Characters, as many as professe Learning: which howsoever it takes up time from better Sciences, it doth it also from idle youthfull vanities. Hence also riseth a kinde of writing with them, in few Characters expressing that which would cost us long discourses. Their course of writing is from the right hand, the line downward, ours contrary from the left and sideways.

Many nations and Languages have the same Characters.

Court Language.

Their writing.

Of all the noblest Sciences they are best skilled in morall Philosophie (naturall, they have rather obscured) and being ignorant of Logicke, they deliver those Ethicke precepts in confused sentences and discourses without order by meere naturall wit. Their greatest Philosopher is called Confutius, whom I finde to have beene borne 551. yeeres before the comming of Christ, and to have lived above 70. yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to vertue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his sayings and doings, wee must confesse few of our Ethnike Philosophers before him, and many behinde. But with the Chinois, his word is authoritie, and no speech of his is called in question; the Learned, yea the Kings also, ever since worshipping him, not as a God, but as a

Morall Philosophie.

Confutius. His heroike honours.

Man; and his posteritie are much esteemed, the head of that familie inheriting by grant of Kings a title of great honour, with immunities and revenues answerable.

They have some knowledge also of Astrologie, and the *Mathematikes.* Mathematikes: In Arithmetike and Geometry antiently more excellent, but in learning and teaching confused. They reckon foure hundred Starres more then our Astrologers have mentioned, numbring certaine smaller *Phœnomena.* which doe not alway appeare. Of the heavenly Apparances they have no rules: they are much busied about foretelling Eclipses, and the courses of Planets, but [III. ii. 385.] therein very erroneous; and all their skill of Starres is in manner that which wee call Judiciall Astrology, imagining these things below to depend on the Starres. Somewhat they have received of the Westerne Saracens, but they confirme nothing by Demonstration, only have left to them Tables, by which they reckon the Eclipses and Motions.

The first of this Royall Family forbad any to learne this Judiciall Astrologie, but those which by Hereditary right are thereto designed, to prevent Innovations. But he which now reigneth mayntayneth divers Mathematicians, *Colledges.* both Eunuches within the Palace, and Magistrates without, of which there are in Pequin two Tribunals, one of Chinois, which follow their owne Authors, another of Saracens which reforme the same by their Rules, and by conference together. Both have in a small Hill a Plaine for Contemplation where are the huge Mathematicall Instruments of Brasse before mentioned: One of the Colledge nightly watcheth thereon as is before observed. That of Nanquin exceeds this of Pequin, as being then the Seat Royall. When the Pequin Astrologers foretell Eclipses, the Magistrates and Idoll Ministers are commanded to assemble in their Officiary Habits to helpe the labouring Planets, which they think they do with beating brazen Bels, and often kneelings, all the time that they *Eclipses.* thinke the Eclipse lasteth, lest they should then bee devoured (as I have heard) by I know not what Serpent.

Their Physicke Rules differ much from ours; they examine the Pulse alike. They succeed well in their Prescriptions, which usually are Simples, Herbs, Rootes, and the like. They have for it no publike Schoole, but each learnes it of his owne Master, yet in the two Royall Cities Degrees of this Art are given after Examination, but cursorily and without any respect acquired by his Degree, because all may practise which will. Neyther doth any study Mathematickes or Physicke, which is in any hope of the Ethike glory, but such as want of wit or meanes hath deterred from studies more sublime. Contrariwise, that Ethike Science is the Ladder of China felicity. Confutius brought into order the Bookes of foure former Philosophers, and wrote a fift himselfe, which five Bookes hee called Doctrines: in which are contayned Morall and Politike Rules, Examples of the Ancients, Rites and Sacrifices, divers Poems also and the like. Besides these five Volumes, out of Confutius and his Disciples are brought into one Volume, divers Precepts without order, Similes, Sentences Ethike, Oeconomike, Politike: this Booke for the foure parts is called the Foure Bookes. These nine are the ancientest China Bookes, whence the others most what are taken, and contayne most of their Characters. And the ancient Kings enacted that they which professe Learning, should take the foundations of their Learning from those Bookes, not only to learne the proper sense of the Text, but to bee able on the sudden to write fitly of any sentence, for which cause that Tetrabiblion is learned without Booke. Neyther is there any Universitie or publike Schoole (as some of ours have affirmed) the Masters or Professors whereof have undertaken to read and expound those Bookes; but every one gets a Master at home at his owne choice and cost (of which there is a huge multitude.) In this Science are three Degrees bestowed on them which offer themselves to be examined and are judged meete. That Examination is almost wholly in Writing. The first Degree is conferred in every Citie in that place which is called the

Physicians.

Confutius his five Bookes.

Tetrabiblion.

No University.

Degrees.

Schoole, by some learned man designed to that Office by the King, who is by that place called Tihio: the Degree is termed Sieucai. A threefold Examination is premised. First, at his comming to any City of his Province, all that stand for that degree in that City, and the confining limits thereof resort thither and are examined by those Masters which are set over the Bachelours till they have attayned further Degree, mayntayned by the Kings stipend. In this Examination every one is admitted, perhaps foure or 5000. assembled to that purpose. The second is by the foure Governours of the City (for none are admitted to Government but the Learned) which present out of all that number 200. of the better Writers to the Tihio, and he in a third Examination chuseth 20. or 30. of the best, which he entituleth Bachelors: their Ensignes are a long Gowne, a Cap, and Boots, which none else may weare, & in all places they are much respected as in a ranke above the vulgar Citizens, and enjoy also divers Priviledges, being in manner subject only to the Masters aforesaid and the Tihio, other Magistrates scarsly medling with them. This Tihio not only hath authority over these new created Bachelors, but over those which were made before to re-examine them: and these according to their writing hee divideth into five rankes; the first he rewardeth with some publike Office in the City, the second with some inferiour honour, the third he neyther rewards nor punisheth, the fourth he causeth to be publikely whipped, the last he degradeth and maketh againe Plebeians. The second Degree is called Kiugin, and may be compared with our Licentiates, and is conferred but once in three yeares, and that in the Metropolitane City about the eight Moone with greater Majesty. And the degree is not conferred to all, but to a certayne number of the worthiest, according to the dignity of each Province: Pequin and Nanquin have each 150. Cequian, Quamsi, and Fuquian 95. others fewer. Only Bachelors, but not all are admitted to this Examination, the Tihio sending out of each City or Schoole 30. or at most 40. of the best, which number yet

Tihio the Proposer. Sieucai a Bachelors degree, or as Master of Art with us.

Ornaments.

Their Priviledges.

The second degree, Kiugin, as Licentiates or Bachelors in Divinitie, if we compare them with ours.

ariseth in some Province to 4000. of those Examinates or Probationers for this second degree. A little before the eighth Moon (which often fals in September,) the Pequin Magistrates present to the King 100. of the most esteemed Philosophers in the Kingdome, who thence pricketh or nameth thirty, for each Province two, to take charge of the Examination of these Candidates. One of these two must bee of the Hanlin Colledge, the Collegians whereof are most famous thorow the Kingdome. The King doth not name them till that nicke of time when they must presently packe to their Province, diligently guarded also that they speake with none of that Province till the Act or Commencement be past. In the same Province also are chosen the best Philosophers to assist these two Examiners. In every Mother City is a huge Palace built for this purpose, compassed with high wals, with many stations for the Examiners separate from noyse; and foure thousand Cels or Studies besides in the midst of the Palace, wherein is a stoole and table for one man, that none may see or confer with any other.

Examiners.

[III. ii. 386.]

Palace of examination.

When the Examiners sent by the King, and those of the Province are come thither, they are presently shut up in their stations before they can speake with other men, or with each other, during all the Examination time. Night and day, meane-whiles the Magistrates and Souldiers guard the Palace from Colloquies. Three dayes (the same thorow the Kingdome) the ninth, twelfth and fifteenth of the eighth Moone, from morning to night are appointed for their writing, the doores being shut. A light refection provided the day before is given to the Writers at publike cost. When the Bachelors come to the Palace, they are thorowly searched whether they have any Booke or Writing with them, and are admitted only with the Pensils which they use in writing, their Plate, Paper and Inke; these also and their Garments searched to prevent all fraud, which found causeth the twofold punishment both of losse and sence. When they are admitted, the doores shut and sealed, the two Royall

Dayes of Examination.

Examiners out of the Tetrabiblium propound three Sentences for so many Theames to every of them; and foure out of the five Bookes of Doctrines for so many other Theames. These seven Writings must bee made for elegance of words and weight of Sentences according to the Precepts of China Rhetoricke; neyther must any Writing contayne above 500. Characters. Two dayes being passed for the Examination of these; the next day out of the Chronicles, or other three Cases of Politie are propounded, wherein each which three Theames or Writing expresse their minde, or Libel-wise admonish the King what were fittest to be done. The third day three Law Cases, such as happen in the Magistrates Offices, are propounded, for each thereof to expresse his Sentence. These in great silence, each in his appointed Cell, having written their Theames, subscribed with their owne, their Fathers, Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers names, and sealed so that none but men appointed may reade them, offer them to certayne Officers, which before the Examiners see them; cause them to bee transcribed by certayne thereto appointed: which Copies to be distinguished from the Originals are written in Red Inke, without the Authors names (the Originals laid up safely) that none might by the hand or name know the Authour. In this Examination the Assistants first reject the worst & present unto the two Examiners twice so many as are to be chosen Licentiates; as if one hundred and fifty are to bee chosen, three hundred are tendered to passe their last scrutinie: who first lay by the best, so many as are to bee elected, and thence take the first, second, and third, and set them accurately in order, and then conferre them with the Originals, thence taking the names which they cause to bee written in great Cubitall Letters, in a huge Table, which they expose about the end of the eighth Moone in great concourse of Magistrates, and applause of the new Elects Friends and Kindred. The Priviledges and Ornaments of this Degree are more then of the former, and if they intend to proceed no further, they are

Theames given.

Seven writings.

Care to avoid corruption.

Creation and Priviledges.

hereby capable of very good Magistracies. After the Act, the Kings Examiners publish a Booke of their proceedings, the names of the Graduates and their principall Writings, especially his which is as the Elder Brother (they call him Quiayuen) and whose Theames were best liked. The Bachelors of other Provinces may not here be admitted; some only except of the Kings Schoole in Pequin and Nanquin.

Third degree as of Doctors called Cinsu.

The third Degree is like our Doctorship, called Cin-su, which is conferred every third yeare also, but onely at Pequin, and alway is the next yeare after that Commencement of Licentiates. Only three hundred chosen out of the whole Kingdome obtayne it, although the Licentiates of every Province are admitted to the Examination.

Colai.

This Act is in the second Moone on the same dayes that the former and in like forme, saving that the diligence is greater, as for a greater degree, and the Colai, the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome are Examiners. The Doctors being pronounced in the same Palace, where the Licentiates use to bee; all of them in the Kings Palace, before the chiefe Magistrates of the Court (yea anciently the King was wont to bee present) make a Theame, according to the judgement whereof, the order of the Magistracies which they are to beare, is declared, being distributed in three Rankes.

First and second place glorious.

Hee that in Examination of Doctors had the first place, hath in this second Examination the third place without question: but hee which hath the first or second enjoyeth a great dignitie during his life, besides the greatest Offices in the Common-wealth; and might (compared with ours) bee as a Duke or Marquesse, if it were Hereditary. These Doctours presently have their peculiar Vest, Cap, Bootes, and other Ensignes of Magistrates, and are preferred to the best Offices, such as the Licentiates may not attayne, and are as the prime men of the Kingdome.

Those Licentiates which are rejected from the Doctorship, if they meane to proceed no further, are preferred to Magistracie; but if they list still to stand for that degree [III. ii. 387.]

Ambition will be highest or nothing.

they betake themselves home to their Bookes afresh, till the third-yeare-examination returnes, so that some stand ten times, continuing so long private to become more publike. A Booke is also published of them and of their successe. Another is yearely set forth contayning the Names, Countrey, Parents, Offices of all the Doctors; and where they governe, whereby a man may know how any hath risen or descended all his life, as is there usuall after their merits. It is remarkable also how the Licentiates and Doctors of the same yeare respect one the other as Brethren ever after, and love the Friends also of their Colleagues, and honour their Examiners as Fathers.

Military degrees.

They use to grant at the same times and places the same Titles (in the Moone following) to Military Professors, but with lesse pompe, because Souldierie is of no such reckoning with them, and few stand for them. This

Threefold tryall.

Military tryall is three-fold, in the first they shoot nine Arrowes on Horse-backe running; in the second they shoot as many at the same marke standing: and hee which hath hit the Marke with foure on Horse-backe and two Arrowes on foot, is admitted to the third tryall wherein they have some Theame of Military matters propounded, and the Judges examining this Triple tryall out of the whole number pronounce about fifty Licentiates in every Province. And when the Doctorall Act is at Pequin, one hundred of the choice of these after a Triple Examination are made Military Doctors. These Doctors are more easily admitted to Military Prefectures (but scarcely without Bribes) then the Licentiates. Both the Philosophicall and Military, over their doores, set up in great Letters this their new attayned dignity. All the Examiners, whether of Mathematicall, or Military, or Philosophicall degrees, are of those Philosophers, without assistance of any Captaine, Mathematician, or Physician, as if thereby they were inabled to all things.

§. III.

Of the Tartarian Conquest; Of Hùmvu the Establisher of the present Government. The Revenues. Magistrates in the Courts Royall, Provinces, Cities, Orders, Exaltations, Visitations, Deprivations.

THe Government of China is Monarchicall. In times past, there have beene Lords of Title, as are Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles in Europe, but taken away eighteene hundred yeares since. It was never subdued by any Forreiners before the Tartarian Conquest. The Jesuites thinke that that Conquerour was Tamberlane: for the Chinois call him Tiemor, and say that he had before subdued Persia and Tartaria. Hee (whosoever hee was) conquered all the Chinois and left them to his Posterity till the yeare 1368. At that time the Tartarians growing weaker, divers Captaynes arose in divers parts of the Kingdome which shooke off that yoke. Amongst them all the most famous was of the Family Ciu, whom afterwards the Chinois called Humvu, a famous Captayne, or rather a Floud of Armes. He of a common Souldier grew to such greatnesse, that hee first expelled the Tartars, and then repelled the Rebels thorow all the Kingdome, and possessed that Sovereigntie which still continueth in his Line. For the Crowne there goeth by Inheritance: only two or three of the Ancient Kings have commended it to others, their owne Sonnes seeming unworthy; and the people have by Rebellion sometimes raysed a new Family, divers yet losing their lives rather then acknowledging that Faction, this being Proverbiall in their Philosophie, An honest Woman hath but one Husband, and a faithfull Servant but one Lord.

There are no ancient Lawes, but the first Founder of any Royall family makes new Lawes, which his Posteritie are not easily permitted to transgresse. So the present

Chap. 5. Polo hath related the Conquest of Mangi by Cublai Can, whose successor (and perfecter haply of that Conquest) was Temur or Tamor, sup. 83. & 126. about 100. yeares before Tamerlane, yet it seemes they were not fully subject (for Mandevile served in the wars of Echiant Can against Mangi sup. 135) till Tamerlane; of whom, see sup. 154. But to ascribe it to Tamerlane, and to end the Tartars Reigne at 1368. argues small skill in History of the Tartars, Tamerlane then being but young, if so soone borne. The time how ever) is here misreckoned.

Lawes of China are no ancienter then Humvu, who either made new, or confirmed the old. Out of ignorance of other parts of the world, they thinke their King Lord of the World, and call him Thiencu, the Sonne of Heaven, or (which is all one in their Theologie) of God. His usuall title yet is Hoamsi, that is, supreame Monarch: whereas they stile other Kings Guam, an inferiour title. To prevent Rebellions and Factions, Humvu ordayned that none of the Royall bloud should intermeddle with Government. Those Captaynes which had ayded him in expulsion of the Tartars, hee gave militarie Commands with revenues and titles, to descend to their Heires. The Royall race hee gave the titles of Guam, as pettie Kings, with large revenues to bee yeerely payed out of the Exchequer, and commanded all Magistrates to reverence them. Their Posteritie hee honoured with inferiour Honours and revenues, so much lesse as further from the originall, and after certaine generations to have no more then might well maintayne them without labour. The like in Marriages and Titles were provided for the Royall Daughters. Those assisting Captaynes he honoured with a plate of Iron like a Charger, in which are engraven those [III. ii. 388.] their exploits for deliverance of the Kingdome; which being shewne to the King, is priviledged with pardon of any penaltie, though mortall, three times, except for Treason which forfeiteth presently all Priviledges. Every time it obtaynes any pardon, it is engraven in the Plate. The Sonnes in Law, and Fathers in Law of the King, and some which have extraordinarily merited of the State, enjoy like Honours and Revenues with the same diminution of time, as before.

Magistrates. He also ordained that all Magistracie and Government should belong to those Licentiates and Doctors, whereto neyther the favour of the King or other Magistrates are necessary, but their owne merits, except where corruption frustrates Law. All Magistrates are called Quonfu, and for honours sake they are stiled Lau ye or Lau sie, that is, Lord, or Father. The Portugals call them Mandarins.

Quonfu and Lau Ye or Lau Sie.

Mandarin a Portugal name.

These have some representation of Aristocratie, in that Government: for though they doe nothing but first petitioning the King, hee also determines nothing without their sollicitation. And if a private man petitions (which is seldome, because Officers are appointed to examine Petitions before the King sees them) the King, if hee will grant it, sends it to the Tribunall proper for that businesse, to advise him what is fit to bee done. I have found for certaine, that the King cannot give Money or Magistracie to any, except hee bee solicited by some Magistrate: I meane this of publike Revenues; which doubtlesse doe exceed one hundred and fiftie Millions yearely, & are not brought into the Palace Treasurie, nor may the King spend them at his pleasure: but all whether Money or Rice and other things in kinde, are layed up in the publike Treasuries and Store-houses, in all the Kingdome. Thence the expenses of the King his Wives, Children, Eunuches, Family, and of all his Kindred are in Royall sort disbursed, but according to the ancient Lawes, neither more nor lesse. Thence the Stipends of Magistrates and Souldiers and all Officers thorow the Kingdome are paid: the publike Buildings, the Kings Palace, Cities, Walls, Towres, Fortresses and all provision of War are thence sustayned, which cause new Tributes sometimes to be imposed, this huge Revenue notwithstanding.

Kings Revenues 150. Millions.

How dispensed.

Of Magistrates are two sorts, one of the Court which rule there, and thence rule the Kingdome; and other Provinciall, which governe particular Cities or Provinces. Of both sorts are five or six Bookes to be sold every where, printed twice each moneth at Pequin, as by their course of printing (you have seene) is easie; contayning nothing else but the name, Countrey, and degree of the Magistrates; and therefore printed so often because of the exaltings, shiftings, setting lower, death of Parents (which suspends three yeares to mourning in private) their owne deaths or deprivations.

Bookes of Officers.

Of the Court Tribunals are reckoned sixe; the first, Lipu (Pu is asmuch as Tribunall or Court, and Li, as

1. Li pu, or Court of Magistrates.

Magistrates) to which it belongeth to name the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome, bringing up from the lower to the higher according to the Lawes prescribed, or if they deserve it, abasing or quite depriving them. For those Licentiates and Doctors continually ascend, except their owne faults deject them, wherein a deprivation makes for ever uncapable. The second is called Ho-pu, that is, the Exchequer Court, or that of the Treasury; which exacts and disburseth the Kings Revenues. The third is the Li-pu, or Court of Rites, which ordereth the publike Sacrifices, Temples, Priests, Kings, Marriages, Schooles, Examinations, Festivall Dayes, common Gratulations to the King, Titles given to the wel-deserving, Physicians, Colledges of Mathematicians, entertayning and sending Embassages, with their Rites, Presents, Letters; the King holding it abasing to his Majesty to write to any. The fourth, is the Pimpu, or Military Court, which rewards the meriting, and takes from the sluggish Souldier; ordereth their Musters and gives Military degrees. The fifth is Cumpu, which hath care of the publike Buildings, Palaces for the King or his Kindred, and the Magistrates; Shippes for publike burthens or Armadas, Bridges, Walls of Cities and all like provisions. The sixth Court is Himpu, which inquireth into Criminall Causes and sentenceth them; also all the publike Prisons are subject hereto.

2. *Ho-pu.*

3. *Li-pu.*

4. *Pimpu.*

5. *Cumpu.*

6. *Himpu.*

All the affaires of the Kingdom depend on these Courts, which therefore have Magistrates and Notaries in every City and Province, to admonish them faithfully of all things, the multitude and order facilitating this so weighty a Designe. For first, in every Court is a Lord Chiefe Justice or President called Ciam Ciu, who hath two Assistants, one sitting at his right hand, the other at his left, called Cilam: their dignity in the Royall Cities is accounted principall. After these every Tribunall hath divers Offices, each of which hath divers Colleagues, besides Notaries, Courtiers, Apparitors, and other Servants. Besides these Tribunals there is another the

The President or Ciam Ciu. Cilam.

greatest in the Court and Kingdome; they call them Colaos, which are three or foure, sometimes sixe which have no peculiar businesses, but take care of the whole Re-publike, and are the Kings Privy-Counsell in all Affaires. These are daily admitted into the Kings Palace, and there abide whole dayes, and answere as they see cause to the Petitions which are put up to the King (who was wont to define matters with these Colai in publike) and shewing their answere to the King, hee alters or approoveth the same, and sets his hand thereto for the execution.

Colai, or Counsell of State.

Besides these Orders of Magistrates and others not mentioned (as like to our owne) there are two sorts not usuall with us, the one Choli, the other called Zauli. In each of these Orders are above sixty choice Philosophers, men approved for their wisdome and courage before experienced. These two Rankes are used by the King in Court or Province businesses of greater weight, with great and Royall power, which causeth to them great respect and veneration. These by Libell admonish the King if any thing be done contrary to the Lawes in any parts of the Kingdome, not sparing any of the Magistrates, nor the Kings House, nor the King himselfe; to the wonder of other Nations. And although the King sometimes bee touched to the quicke, and toucheth them to the quicke againe, yet cease they not still to rip the sore till it be cured. Other Magistrates may doe it, yea any private man, but these mens Libels or Petitions are of most worth, as proceeding from their peculiar Office. The Copies of them and of the Kings answers are printed by many, so that the Court and State Affaires flye thorow the Kingdome, and are by some written in Bookes, and those of most moment transcribed into the Annals of the Kingdome. Of late when the King would for love of a second Sonne have excluded the eldest, so many by Libels reprehended the King, that he in anger deprived or abased one hundred of the Magistrates. They yet ceased not but one day went together into the Kings Palace, and offered

Choli and Zauli Magistrates extraordinary.

[III. ii. 389.]

See Pantoia.

up their Magistracies if he persisted to breake the Law. Lately also when the chiefe of the Colai did not observe the Law, in two moneths space about one hundred Libels were put up, notwithstanding they knew him a great Favourite; and hee dyed within a while after, as was thought, of griefe.

Colledges. There are also besides Magistrates, not a few Colledges instituted for divers purposes, but the most eminent is *Han lin Yuen.* that called Han lin Yuen, into which none are chosen but choice Doctors after due Examinations. They which live in that Royall Colledge, meddle not with Government, yet are of higher dignitie then the Governours. Their Office is to order the Kings Writing, to make Annals of the Kingdome, to write Lawes and Statutes. Of these are chosen the Masters of the Kings and Princes. They wholly addict themselves to their studies, and in the Colledge have their degrees of honours, which they attayne by writing. Thence they are preferred to great dignities but not out of the Court. Neither is any chosen to bee a Colao, but out of this Colledge. They gaine much also by Writings for their Friends, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and the like; which all seeke to have of them, their name giving credit and reputation of Elegance. These are the chiefe for Examinations of Licentiates and Doctors, who hold them for Masters and send them Presents.

Cause of the removing the Seat Royall from Nanquin to Pequin. All these Pequin Magistrates are found also at Nanquin, but obscured by the Kings absence. Hum vu had fixed his Seat at Nanquin, but after his death Yun lo one of his Nephewes, who in the Northerne Provinces defended with an Armie those Borders against the Tartars, perceiving Hum-vus Sonne but weake, thought to deprive him of the Kingdome, which hee effected by helpe of the Northerne Provinces, and with force, fraud and largesse obtayned his Uncles Throne. And because he was strongest in the North parts, and most feare was from the Tartars there, he there fixed his Residence, where the Tartar Kings had wonted to abide and called that Citie

Pequin, that is, the Northerne Court, as Nanquin signifieth the Southerne, leaving to this the former Offices and Immunities.

Provinciall Government.

The Government of the other thirteene Provinces depends on two Magistrates, the one Pucinsu, the other Naganzasu: the former judging Civill Causes, the later Criminall; both residing with great Pompe in the Mother Citie of the Province. In both Courts are divers Colleagues and they also chiefe Magistrates called Tauli, which governing other Cities often reside in them. The Provinces are all distributed into divers Regions, which they call Fu, each of which hath a peculiar Governour called Cifu. These Regions are subdivided into Ceu, and Hien, that is the greater or more eminent Townes, and those which are more vulgar, which are not lesse then our Cities, if you except our greatest. These have their speciall Governours called Ciceu and Cihien. The Governours of Cities and Regions have their foure Assistants and Colleagues as Auditors, and Judges to helpe them. As for the opinion of some that thinke those only to bee Cities, which are called Fu, and Ceu, and Hien to bee Townes, it is an errour: for the City wherein the Governour of the Region resides, is also called Hien, and hath its peculiar Governour called Cihien, and Assistants; and the Cifu hath no more power there then in other places of his Jurisdiction; which is the first Appeale to him as Superiour from the Cihien or Ciceu. The second Appeale is to the Pucimfu and Naganzosu and their Colleagues in the Metropolitane Cities, which Cities likewise have their Cihien and Cifu, aswell as the Subordinate; all in incredible Symmetrie.

Pucin-su.

Naganzasu.

Tauli.

Division of Provinces.

Regions or Shires.

Ceu and Hien.

Title fu mistaken.

Cifu, Cihien and Ciceu.

Appeales.

And because the whole Provinciall Government hath reference to Pequin, therefore in every Province besides these, are other two superiour to them sent from the Royall Citie, the one fixing his Residence in the Province, called Tutam, which may bee compared to our Vice-roy, having command over other Magistrates, and in Martiall affaires: the other is yeerely sent from the Court, and is

Tutam.

Cia-yuen or Chaen. called Cia-yuen, as a Commissioner or Visitor, which reviewes all the Causes of the Province; the Cities also and Castles, inquireth of the Magistrates, and punisheth some of the meaner sort, acquainting the King touching the rest, how every one demeaneth himselfe; and he onely executeth Capitall punishments. Besides these, are many others in Cities, Townes and Villages: and beside them, many which have command of Souldiers, especially in the [III. ii. 390.] Confines and on the Coasts in supinest Peace, watching and warding in Ports, Walls, Bridges, Castles, as in the hottest Warres, with Musters and Martiall exercises. All *Militarie commands.* the Magistrates of the Kingdome, are reduced to nine Orders, whether you respect the Philosophicall or Militarie Senate: to all which out of the Treasury is proportionably *Magistrates fees.* distributed monethly pay, Money or Rice; yet little answerable to that their Magnificence (the highest Order not having one thousand Duckets yeerely) and equall to all of the same ranke, the supreame in matters of Warre having as much as the supreame in the literate Order, if you looke to that which the Law alloweth. But much more accrueth extraordinarie then this fee or stipend, besides what any mans industrie, covetise, fortune, bribing addeth, by which they oft attayne to great wealth.

Robes and Ornaments. All the Magistrates use the same Caps, both Mercuriall and Martiall, of blacke Cloath with two Eares or wings, of Ovall figure, which may easily fall off, which being a disgrace, causeth the more modestie and steadinesse in carriage of their heads. They all weare like Vest, and like blacke leather Bootes of peculiar fashion; also a Girdle wider then the body, about foure fingers broad, adorned with circular and square Figures: On the breast and backe, they weare two square Cloathes Embroidered: in which and the Girdles is great varietie, according to their divers Degrees; by which the skilfull know their ranke and place. The cloathes intimate it by the figures of Flowers, Fowles, Beasts; the girdles by the matter, of Wood, Horne, Sweet wood, Gold or Silver; and the best of all of that Jasper before mentioned, called Yuce,

brought from Cascar. Their shadowes or Sumbreros, by their Colours and numbers intimate like difference. They have other Ornaments, Banners, Chaynes, Censors, Guards with Cryes to make way, that in most frequent streetes no man appeareth, more or lesse, according to the Magistrates Dignitie. *See in Goes. Cap. 4. Umbelle.*

The Chinois having plentie of all things, care not for subduing the neighbour-Nations, better keeping their owne, lesse caring for others Countries, then our Europeans: their Chronicles of foure thousand yeeres not mentioning any care of enlarging their Empire. And if any China impressions or foot-prints bee, it is from men voluntarily going to other Countries, not from the Kings ambition sending them. It is also remarkable that Philosophers beare all the sway, the Souldiers and Captaynes being subject to them, and sometimes beaten of them as Schoole-boyes by their Master: even in Militarie matters, the King more using the advise of Philosophers then Captaynes; whereupon every haughtie spirit rather affects meane places in the Literate Order, then great in the Martiall. Yea these Literate are more magnanimous, and more contemne their lives in zeale of the publike then the Souldierie. No lesse admirable is the Symmetrie and Order of Magistrates in their subordinate Orders, in Obedience, Reverence, Visitations and Presents; the Inferiour giving honourable Titles to the Superiour and kneeling to them. None beares any Office above three yeeres, except the King confirme it. And the chiefe Magistrates of Provinces, Cities and Regions, every third yeere must appeare at Pequin, and doe their Rites to the King, at which time severe inquirie is made of the Magistrates, and they thereupon rewarded or punished. I have also observed, that the King dares not alter any of those things, which in this publike Disquisition are ordered by the Judges. Anno 1607. we reade foure thousand Magistrates condemned, that being the Search-yeere, and a Booke published thereof. *Contentednes. Philosophers Empire. Beautie of Order. No Office above 3. yeeres. Appearing at Pequin. Severe Justice. 4000. Judges judged.*

These Condemned are of five sorts; First, Covetous 1. *Covetous.*

which have taken Bribes to pervert Justice, or have usurped the publike or private mens fortunes: these are wholly deprived of all Offices for ever. The second are the Cruell, which have too severely punished, which are also deprived of their Places and Ensignes: The third are the Old and sickly, and the Remisse and negligent; these are deprived, but permitted the Immunities and Ensignes. The fourth sort, are the rash, headdie, and unadvised, which are put in lower Offices, or sent to more easie places of Government. The last are such, as have not governed themselves or theirs, worthy of that place of Government; these are wholly deprived. The like Inquisition is made every fifth yeere of the Court Magistrates, and the same time also, of Militarie Commanders.

2. *Cruell.*

3. *Remisse.*

4. *Rash.*

5. *Ungoverned.*

Care to prevent rebellions factions, and bribes.

None may beare Office in his native Province, except Militarie. The Sonnes also or Domestike servants of Magistrates, may not goe out of the house lest they should bee Factors for bribes: but all services without doores is done by Officers, designed to his place: and when hee goeth out of his House hee sealeth the doores, whether private or publike, that none of his Servants may goe out unwitting to him.

Strangers.

They permit no Stranger to live with them that mindes to returne to his Countrey, or is knowne to have Commerce with forraigne Nations: and no Stranger although of a friendly Nation and Tributarie, may have accesse to the inward parts of the Kingdome; a thing whereof I have seene no Law, but Custome: neither have I ever seene any of Corai in China, except some Slaves which a Captayne brought thence, although a tributarie Nation which useth in manner the China Lawes. And if a Stranger steale into the Countrey, they punish him not with Death nor Slaverie, but permit him not to returne. They most severely punish those, which without the Kings leave have commerce with Strangers: and hardly can any bee perswaded to be sent abroad with Mandates; and such are rewarded with some Dignitie at their returne. None beare Weapon in Cities, not the Souldiers or Captaynes, but in

their Traynings; nor have any men weapons in their Houses, except some rustie blade which they use when they travell for feare of Theeves. Their greatest Brawles goe no further, then scratching or pulling by the hayre; hee which flees or abstaines from wrong is esteemed both Wise and Valiant. When the King dyeth, none of his Sonnes are permitted to remayne in the Royall Citie, but the Heyre; and it is Capitall for them, being dispersed in divers Cities to stirre thence. Some principall amongst them, compounds their strifes and rules them; in Cases with others, they are subject to the Magistrates.

[III. ii. 391.]

Weapons.

Brawles.

Succession and royall kindred.

§. IIII.

Their manifold rites in Salutations, Entertaynments, and other Civilitie: to the King and Magistrates: Of Buryals and Marriages, Birthdayes; their Men, Women, Names, and Games, Habites.

COurtesie or Civilitie, is reckoned one of their five Cardinall vertues, much commended in their Bookes. (Their common Rites yee have had largely in Pantoia.) When greater respect is used, as after long absence, or on a Solemne day, after the common bowing, both fall on their knees with the forehead to the ground, and then rise and downe againe in like sort three or foure times. When they doe this reverence to a Superiour, hee stands at the head of the Hall, or sits, and at all those prostrations joyning his hands, bowes a little and sometime for greater modestie hee goeth to the side of the Hall, whose head is Northwards as the doore is Southwards. The same rites they performe to their Idols; and sometimes as the Servants to their Master, or the meanest of the people to honourable persons, which is presently to kneele and knock the ground thrice with their forehead: they stand at his side when their Master speakes, and kneele at every answer. When one speakes to another,

Cap. 7. Courtesie in mutuall veneration and circumspect behaviour to others.

Side-reverence.

Respect of persons. See Thaosos Epistle. sup. 344.

they use not the second person, nor the first person when they mention themselves, except to their inferiour, and have as many formes of depressing themselves, as of exalting others, the lowliest of which is to call a mans selfe by his proper name, in stead of I. When they speake any thing of another mans, they use a more honourable forme; Of their owne, or theirs, a more modest: which a man must learne both for manners sake, and to understand their meaning.

Visiting one another.

The Visitors send their Libels or papers of visitation, so many that the Porter is faine to keepe a note of their names, and where they dwell, lest wee should forget; and if the partie to bee visited be not at home or at leasure, that libell is left with the Porter for a testimonie. The more honourable the Visitor, the larger hee writes his name. In sending Presents they use like libelling; setting downe also each gift in a line by it selfe, part of which may bee sent backe without offence, which is done with a like libell of thankes. They often send money or pieces of Gold for presents. They have Garments proper for visitations. The chiefe place in both Royall Courts, is given to Strangers, most remote especially, which made us commonly to bee preferred. The servant, when they are set, brings as many little Cups of Cia as are Guests.

Tedious courtesie.

When they part, neere the Hall doore, they reiterate their bowings, then at the Doore, and at the passing out, and after they are in their Chayre or on Horsebacke, againe without doores; and lastly, a Servant is sent after in his Masters name, to salute them, and they send their servants likewise to resalute.

China banquetting.

Their Banquets are not so much commessations as Compotations; for although their Cups be as little as Nut-shels, yet they drinke often. Their Civill and Religious affayres are therein handled, besides the demonstration of kindnesse.

Feeding.

In eating they have neither Forkes, nor Spoones, nor Knives; but use small smooth stickes, a palme and a halfe long, wherewith they put all meats to their mouthes, without touching them with their fingers. They bring all

things to the Table cut in little pieces, except it bee of softer condition, as Egges, Fish, and such things as their stickes will divide. They use to drinke hot, even in hottest weather, whether their Cia-decoction, or Wine, or Water: which it seemeth is profitable to the Stomacke; for they live long, and are strong at seventie or eightie yeeres: Neither is any of them troubled with the Stone, which I suppose is occasioned by our cold drinke. When any is Invited, a Libell is sent a day or more dayes (if it bee to a solemne Banquet) before, signifying, that the Inviter hath prepared a Banquet of Hearbs, and hath washed his Cups, that at such a day and houre (which commonly is neare night) hee may heare and learne somewhat of him: At the day they send another like Libell (on the out-side of these Libels, there is a red paper added with the more honourable Name of the invited, which the Chinois use besides their proper name) in the morning to each Guest, and a third at the houre. Their furniture is not Hangings (whereof they have no use) but Pictures, Flowers, Vessels; to each Guest his Table, and sometimes two to one, the one before the other. These Tables are some Cubits long and broad, but more in length, and covered with a cloath as our Altars. The Seats shine with their Varnish, adorned also with Pictures and Gold. The first entertainment is with Cia in the Hall: and thence they goe to the Feasting-roome. Before they sit downe, the Inviter salutes the principall Guest with a low courtesie, and holding a cup of Wine: then goeth to the doore or porch, and first making a low courtesie, turning his face to the South, powres out that cup on the ground, offering it to the Lord of Heaven, and bowing downe againe, returneth, and filling another cup goeth to that principall Guest, and bowing salutes him in the place in which the rites of salutation are used: and then they goe together to the Table where the chiefe Guest must sit. The midst of it is the chiefe place; there with both his hands he sets a dish with great veneration, and taking the two sticks (which usually are of Ebonie, or

Hot drinke. The Stone unknowne in China, which so tormenteth Europeans, both in the Kidney, Ureters, Bladder: this last deprived me of my honorable Patron and best friend, B. King, Anno 1621. *and Anno* 1622. *Master Bifield my neighbour, the painefull Minister at Thistleworth dyed of a Stone, which I weighed, and found (a miracle in Nature) much above* 32 *Ounces, whiles these our China relations are in the Presse; therefore here mentioned. My selfe also having stone passions, am therefore not stonie in compassion.*

[III. ii. 392.]

Ivorie tipped with Gold or Silver, where they touch the meate) layes them by, and taking a seat, brusheth it with his sleeves lightly, and sets it in the middest; after which both goe backe and bow themselves in the middest of the Roome. Thus hee doth to every one, placing the second on the left hand, the third on the right. Lastly, hee which shall have the chiefe roome receiveth of his servant the Inviters Dish and Cup, and bids Wine to be filled, and together with the other Guests and the Inviter, boweth downe and placeth the Dish on his Table (which is placed in the lower part of the Hall, with his backe to the South, and face to the chiefe Table) with the stickes and seat, as he had done before to him; and then all goe againe to their place, with great ceremonie, to fit them better with both hands, he to whome the rite is done, standing by the side of the door with his hands in his sleeves, and modestly bowing with thanks. They wash neither before nor after. After all this, they performe the last rite of inclination to the Inviter together, and then each to other, and then sit downe. When they drinke, the Inviter with both hands takes the Cup in the Dish, and lightly lifting it up, and then letting it down invites them to drinke, all turning to him at the same time, and beginning to drinke, or to sip rather, foure or five times setting it to his mouth, not as we use with one continued draught. After the first Cup the Dishes are brought in, of which the Inviter beginning, all with their stickes apply a bit or two to their mouthes, diligently observing, not to lay downe their stickes before the principall Guest hath layd downe his: and then the servants fill his, and after every mans Cup, with hot Wine: and the same rite is againe and againe repeated, but more sipping then eating. Mean-while some discourse, or Comedie, or Musike continue. The grace of their Feast is variety, a little of each, Flesh also and Fish mixed, taking off nothing, but setting one Dish on another like Castles and Towers. Bread, and Rice (which there supplyes our Bread) comes not in solemne Banquets. They have games also, in which the loser is

The Guests courtesie to the Host.

Sipping oft, not drinking one draught.

fined to drinke, with others disport. None is compelled to drinke above his strength. Their drinke is tipsie, boyled like our Beere. Their solemne Banquets last all night, the remainders given to the Guests servants. Neere the end of the Feast they change Cups. In eating they are more moderate.

King observed. The King is observed with more Rites then any other in the World. None speakes to him but his Eunuches, and those which live in his Palace, Sonnes and daughters. None of the Magistrates without the Palace (the Eunuches also have their degrees) speake to the King but by Petition, and those with so many formes of veneration *Petitions.* that none can make them, which is not well exercised, though he be learned. Every new yeere which beginnes *New yeere.* with that New Moone which next precedeth or followeth *New Moone.* the Nones of February, out of every Province a Legate is sent to visite the King, which is done more solemnely every third yeere. Also in every Citie on every Change day, all the Magistrates assemble to one place in their Citie, where the Kings Throne and Dragon-ensignes are carved and gilded, often bowing and kneeling before it with peculiar composition of the body to veneration, and wish ten thousand yeers of life to the King. The like is done on his Birth-day yeerely, the Pequin Magistrates and *Birth-day.* Provinciall Legates, and the Kings kindred make their appearance there and presents. All also which are named to any Office by the King goe to give thankes to the Throne (for the King is not there) with rites prescribed with habite peculiar to that purpose, with an Ivorie Table covering their mouth as oft as they speake before the King: the King was wont to come forth to a window, with such a Table in his hand, and another on his head, over his Crowne hanged about with threads of gemmes, his face hidden in presence from the beholders.

Kings colour yellow, Sun-like. Dragons. The Kings colour is yellow (forbidden to others) of which his garment is wrought with many golden Dragons, which are carved or painted in all the Palace, and Vessell, and furniture; in the roofe also; whence some have

thought the Tiles to be of Gold or Brasse, being of a yellow Earth, each nayled to the Timber: with Nayles gilded on the heads, that all may appeare yellow. It were treason for another to arrogate that colour or Armes, except he bee of the Royall linage.

The Palace and gates. The Palace gates are foure, to the foure corners of the World. They which passe by, descend from their Horses or Seats, and goe on foot till they be past, the greatest soonest alight, and that at Nanquin also, where no King hath of long time resided. The gates to the South both [III. ii. 393.] inner and outward are three, the King only going in and *Kings gate.* out at the middle (which otherwise is shut) others at the other gates on the right and left hand. Their computa- *Time.* tion of time is onely by the Kings Raigne. Sometimes *Title.* the King bestoweth a Title on the Parents of the principall Magistrates by a certaine writing, made by the Kings Philosophers in the Kings name; esteemed wonderfully, acquired with any cost, and kept in the familie as a thing sacred. The like opinion is of other Titles given to *Widowes.* Widowes, expressed in two or three Characters, given to Widowes which to their old age have refused second *Old men.* marriages; or to old Men which have lived an hundred yeeres, and in like cases. They set these Titles over their doores. Magistrates also doe the like to their friends. *Arches.* To good Magistrates Arches are erected at publike cost, of Marble: by Citizens also to some of their Citizens which have attayned any notable dignitie. The most precious Artifices thorow all the Kingdome are yeerely *Pequin.* sent to the King to Pequin with great costs. The Magistrates of the Kings Citie goe abroad with lesse pompe, on horsebacke; and few of the principall in Seats, and those carried but by foure Porters: all in reverence of *Funerals of Kings.* the King. Foure times in the yeere, once a quarter, all the Court Magistrates assemble at the Sepulchres of the antient Kings and Queenes, and make there their offerings: giving the principall honour to Humvu. They prepare to this solemnitie certaine dayes fasting at home and surceasing of suits.

Next to the King they honour their Magistrates, both in formes of words and visitations, to which none aspire but Magistrates; and they which have beene deprived lose not all honour in this kind, but sometimes comé forth in their habits, and are respected by their Citie Magistrates. If one bee preferred to another dignity, which hath well executed his Office, they honour him with publike gifts, and reserve his Boots in a publike Chist, with Verses in his praise. To some they erect Temples also, and Altars with Images, and some are deputed to keepe lights there burning, and odours, at publike Rent charge perpetually, with huge Censers of Bell-metall, as they doe to their Idols. Yet doe they distinguish betwixt this and Divine worship, of their Gods asking many things, whereas these Rites are onely memorials, though many of the vulgar * confound them together. Cities are full of such Temples, by friends often erected to unworthie men, to which at certaine times they goe and performe kneeling and bowing Rites, and offer Meats. Their Bookes are full of precepts for observing Parents with due honour, and in outward shew no Nation performes so much. They will not sit over against them but on the side, speake to them with great reverence, they sustaine their poorer Parents with their labour in best manner they are able, and in nothing are more curious then their funerals.

Honour of Magistrates.

**As in the doulia and latria of Saints worship and that of God.*

Honour of parents.

The mourning colour is white, and all their habite from the Shooes to the Cap of a strange and miserable fashion. The cause of three yeeres mourning for Parents, is because so long they carried them in armes with so much labour of education: for others as they please, a yeere, or three moneths, as they are in neerenesse: For the King they mourne three yeeres thorow all the Kingdome, and for the Lawfull Queene. Their funerall Rites are written in a Booke which they consult on that occasion, all the parcels of the habite there pictured. When a man of ranke is dead, the Sonne or next Kinsman sends Libels to the friends within three or foure dayes: all the Roome is white, with an Altar in the midst, on which they place the

See in Pantoia of Funeralls and mournings.

Mourning by booke.

Coffin and Image of the dead. Thither all the friends come in mourning one after another, & offer Odors and two Wax-candles on the Altar: whiles they burne, making foure bendings and kneelings, having first censed against the Image. The Sonnes stand at the side, and the women behinde, covered with a Curtaine, mourning the while: the Priests also burne Papers and Silkes, with certaine rites to minister Clothes to the deceassed. They abstayne from wonted Beds (sleeping on Straw-beds on the ground neere the Corps) from flesh and other daintier food, Wine, Bathes, companie with their Wives, Bankets, not going out for certaine moneths, remitting by degrees as the three yeeres expire. On the funerall day the friends are by another Libell invited, to which they goe in Procession forme, in mourning; many Statues of Men, Women, Elephants, Tigres, Lions, of Paper all going before, diversified in colour and gilding, which are all burnt before the Grave: a long ranke of Idoll Priests, Prayers, and Players on divers Instruments observing divers rites in the way; huge Bell-censers also carried on mens shoulders; after which followes the Herse under a huge carved Canopie adorned with Silkes, carried with forty or fifty men. Next the children on foot with staves, and then the women enclosed within a white gestatory Curtaine, that they may not be seene: followed by women of the kindred in mourning Seats. The Graves are all in the Suburbs. If the Sonnes bee absent, the Funerall pompe is deferred till their comming. They bring (if it may bee) the deceassed in another Countrey to lie by his friends. The Graves are adorned with Epitaphs in Marble magnificently. Thither on certaine dayes yeerely the kindred resort to cense and offer, and make a funerall banquet.

Buriall.

Marriages. Their Marriages and Spousals are with many rites, done in their youth; the Contracts compounded by the Parents without their consent; they observe equalitie in yeeres and degree in the lawfull Wife. In their Concubines, lust, beauty, price beare sway. The poorer also buy their Wives, and when they list sell them. The King and his

kindred respect onely beauty, Magistrates appointed to make the choise. One is his lawfull Wife; the King and his Heire having nine other Wives a little inferiour, and [III. ii. 394.] after them sixe and thirty, which are also called Wives: his Concubines are more. Those which bring forth Sonnes are more gracious, especially the Mother of the eldest. This is also familiar to other families thorow the Kingdome. Their first Wife sits at Table; others (except in the Royall families) are as Hand-maids, and may not sit, but stand in presence of either of them: their Children also calling that lawfull Wife their Mother, and for her (though not the true Parent) observe trienniall mourning. In Marriages they are curious not to take any of the same sur-name, of which sur-names there are not a thousand in all that vast Kingdome. Nor may any man frame a new sur-name, but must have one antient of the Fathers side, except he be adopted into another familie. They respect no affinity or consanguinity in a differing sur-name, and so marrie with the Mothers kindred almost in any degree. The Wife brings no portion, and although when shee first goeth to her Husbands house the street-full of houshold attends her, yet is all provided by his costs which sends money some moneths before as a gift to her for that purpose.

Sur-names few. In England antiently were few or none. See Cam. Remaines.

Affinitie and consanguinity.

Portion.

Every mans Birth-day is festivally celebrated with Presents, Banquets and jollity: especially after the fiftieth yeere explete (at which time they are reckoned amongst old men) and then every tenth yeere. The Children then procure Emblemes of their friends, and Epigrams, and some write Bookes. That day is also festivall in which they are of age to take the Mans cap, which is about twenty yeeres, till that time wearing their haire loose. But the first New and Full Moone of the yeere is most generally festivall; each man then having ingeniously devised Lights or Lamps made of Paper, Glasse, or other matter, the house seeming by the diversified Lights to bee on a light fire. They runne up and downe also with great stirres in the night with Dragon-

Birth-day.

Virilis pileus.

Candlemas.

fashioned Lights, and make great shewes of Powder-fire-workes.

Fire-workes.

Cap. 8. *Chinois persons described.*

The Chinois are white (but neerer the South more browne) with thinne beards (some having none) with staring haires, and late growing; their haire wholly blacke; eyes narrow, of Egge forme, blacke and standing out: the nose very little, and scarcely standing forth; eares meane: in some Provinces they are square faced. Many of Canton and Quamsi Provinces on their little toes have two nailes, as they have generally in Cachin-china. Their women are all low, and account great beauty in little feet, for which cause from their infancy they bind them straight with clothes, that one would judge them stump-footed: this, as is thought, devised to make them house-wives.

Women.

Haire.

The men and women both alike let their haire grow without cutting: but Boyes and Girles till they are fifteene yeere old, are cut round, leaving a locke onely on the crowne: after which they let it grow loose over their shoulders till twenty. The most of the Priests shave head and beard every eighth day. When they are men they binde up their haire in a Cap or Coife made of horse or mans haire, or in a silken Cawle; and in Winter of woollen: on the top it hath a hole, where the haire comes forth, and is tyed in a neate knot. The women weare not this Cap, but binde up their haire in a knot, and make it up with a dresse of Gold, Silver, Stones, and Flowers.

Rings.

They weare Rings on their eares, but not on their fingers.

Apparell.

The men and women weare long garments. The men double them on their breast, and fasten them under both the arme-holes; the women on the midst of the breast. They weare wide long sleeves; but the womens wider, the mans straighter, at the wrists. Their Caps are artificially wrought. Their Shooes are much differing from ours; the men weare them of Silke with divers workes and flowers, exceeding the elegance of our Matrons. Shooes of Leather none but the meaner sort weare; and scarcely admit they Leather soles, but of Cloth. The Caps of their Learned are square, of others, round. Every one

spends halfe an houre at least in combing and trimming his haire. They winde also long clouts about their feet and legs, and therefore weare their Breeches loose. They weare no Shirts, but a white Coat next the skinne, and wash often. They have a servant to carrie a Shadow or great Sumbrero over their heads against the raine and Sunne; the poore carrie one for themselves.

Name-ceremonies. For Names, besides the sur-name of which is spoken, the Father gives one to the Sonne (for females have no name but the Fathers sur-name, and called as they are borne, first, second, third, in order of the Sisters:) by this name they are called by the Father and Elders; others call them likewise from that order amongst the Brethren, as is said of Sisters. They in their writings call themselves by that which their Father gave them; but if others either equall or superiour should so call them, it were both uncivill and injurious. When a Boy goeth to Schoole his Master giveth him another name, which is called his Schoole-name, whereby onely his Master and Schoole-fellowes may stile him. When he hath his Mans cap put on, and marrieth a Wife, some more honourable person giveth him a more honourable name, which they call, the Letter: by this any man may call him, but those which are subject to him. And when he is now at the full growth, he receiveth of some grave person his most honourable name, which they call Great, whereby any may call him present or absent: but his Parents and Elders still use the Letter-name. If any professe a new Sect, his Instructer calls him by a new name, which they call, of Religion. And when one visites another, he will aske what is his Honourable name, to stile him thereby: and we were therefore fayne to take a Greater name then that which we received in Baptisme, for them to call us by.

Women have none.

Fathers name.

Schoole-name.

Letter-name.

Great name.

Religious name.

Greater then Christian name.

They are studious of Antiquities: much value old Trivets of Bell metall, Pictures in blacke and white Characters and writings, sealed with the Authors seale (for there are many Counterfeiters.) The Officers have all a Seale proper to their place given by Humvu, which they use [III. ii. 395.]

Seales of Magistrates.

only sealing with red colour: and if they lose the Seale they lose the Office, and are besides severely punished; and therefore they carry it with them, in a sealed and locked Boxe, and never leave it out of sight, at night keeping it under their Pillow. Grave men goe not on foote thorow the streets, but are carryed in a seate closed, except they list to open the fore-part, whereas Magistrates seates are every way open. Matrons seats are altogether closed, but easily knowne from mens by the fashion. The Law forbids Coaches and Litters. Some Cities are in the midst of Rivers and Lakes, in which they have very neate Boates to passe the streets. And because they goe more by water then ours, therefore there Shipping is more convenient and elegant. But the Magistrates, built by publike cost are as commodious as Houses, with divers Lodgings, a Hall, Kitchin, Cells, so neate as seeming Great mens houses, rather then Ships; and therefore they make their solemne Banquets a Ship-board, passing along the Rivers and Lakes for further pleasure. All within shines with Ciaram or shining Vernish in divers colours, and the Carved workes gilded in places, with combined sweetes to the Eyes and Nose. They honour their Masters more then with us, so that if a man have beene anothers Scholler but one day in any Art, hee calls him Master ever after, and never sits in any meeting but at his side, and doth him all honour.

Seats in which they are carryed on mens shoulders.

Boates & ships.

Masters respect.

Games.

Chesse.

Dice-play and Cards are common with them: Chesse also with the graver persons, not altogether unlike ours: but their King never removes but to the foure next roomes, and the Bishops have their Queenes. They have also which they call Poulder paunes, which goe before the Knights and follow the Paunes. They have a grave Game in a table of three hundred roomes with two hundred men white and blacke, in which Magistrates spend much time, and the cunning skill whereof gets much credit to a man, although hee can doe nothing else: and some chuse such their Masters with wonted rites. Theft is not punished with Death: the second fault therein, is branded with an

Theft punishment.

hot Iron and Inke in the Arme, with two Characters, the third time in the Face, after with their terrible Whipping or condemning to the Gallies, for a time limited: so that there are abundance of Theeves. Every night in Cities, many Watchmen at certayne times beate Basons as they walke the streets, the streets also enclosed and shut, yet many thefts are committed, the Foxe being the Gooseherd, and the Watch partners with the Theefe. The Cities in greatest Peace in the midst of the Kingdome, are shut every Night, and the Keyes carryed to the Governour.

§. V.

Of their Superstitions, Cruelties, feares of Magistrates, of the Kings kindred, of Strangers and Souldiers. Their Deities and three Sects: Priests, Nunnes, Monasteries, Legends, Lyes.

NO superstition is so generall in the Kingdome, as the observation of luckie and unluckie Dayes and Houres, for which purpose yeerely is Printed a two-fold Table of dayes by the Kings Astrologers, in such plentie that every house is full of them. In them is written on every day, what may bee done or not, or to what houre yee must forbeare businesse, which may in that yeere happen. There are others more dangerous Masters, which make a living by this Wizardly profession of selling lyes, or prescribing fit houres: wherby many differre the beginning of Building, or Journeying till their appointed day or houre come: & then how unfitting soever that prooveth with crosse weather, they set on neverthelesse, though it be but a little onset, that the worke might thence appeare to take beginning. The like superstitious observation they have of the moment of the Nativitie, which they precisely set downe, divers professing by Astrologie, or by superstitious numbers, or by Physiognomie, or Palmestrie, or Dreames, or words in Speech, or posture of the body & by innumerable other wayes to

Chap. 9. Observation of times.

Two fold Almanacke.

Imposters.

Divinations and telling of Fortunes.

foretell future Fortunes; many Gipsie-juglings used to such impostures, as by a stalking Knave which shall professe his Fortunes exactly told him by the professor, or by learning out of printed Bookes which describe every Citie, Street and Familie, what hath hapned as an argument of the truth of that which they say shall happen. Yea, their credulitie breeds such strong imagination, that some being foretold of a Sicknesse such a day, will then fall sicke of conceit.

Strength of imaginations.

Devils consulted.

Many also consult with Devils and familiar Spirits, and receive Oracles from the mouth of Infants, or of Beasts, not without fraud. They are superstitious in chusing a plot of ground, to erect a dwelling House, or Sepulcher, conferring it with the head, tayle and feete of divers Dragons, which live (forsooth) under our earth, whence depends all good or bad Fortune. Divers Learned men busie their wits in this abstruse Science, and are consulted when any publike Buildings are raysed. And as Astrologers by the Starres, so these Geologers by inspection of Rivers, Fields, Mountaines and scite of Regions, foretell Destinies; dreaming by setting a Doore or Window this or that way, conveying the rayne to the right or left hand, by a higher or lower roofe, honour and wealth shall accrue to the House. Of these Impostors the Streets, Cities, Courts, Shops, Markets are full, which sell that which themselves want, good Fortune to all Foole-fortunate buyers: yea, Women and blinde folkes professe it, and some find such Chapmen of the Learned, Noble, King, and all, that they grow to great riches by others little wits. All disasters publike or private are attributed to Fate, and ill scite of some Citie, House or Palace. The noise of Birds, the first meeting in the Morning, Shadowes caused by the Sunne in the house, are their Fortune-guides.

Dreames of Dragons. [III. ii. 396.]

Geologers.

Augurie.

Cruell vices and unnaturall Chinois.

For other vices, some will make themselves Servants to rich men, to have one of the hand-maydes become his Wife, so multiplying issue to bondage. Others buy a Wife, but finding their family becomne too numerous sell

their Sonnes and Daughters as Beasts, for two or three pieces of Gold (although no dearth provoke him) to everlasting separation and bondage, some to the Portugals. Hence is the Kingdome full of Slaves, not captived in warre, but of their owne free-borne. Yet is service there more tollerable then else-where; for every man may redeeme himselfe at the price payd for him, when hee is able; and there are many poore which with hard labour, sustayne themselves. A worse evill in some Provinces is theirs, which finding themselves poore, smother their newborne Babes, specially Females, by an impious pietie and pittilesse pitie preventing that sale to Slaverie, by taking away that life which even now they had given. They pretend hereunto also their Metempsychosis, dreaming that the Soule of that Infant shall the sooner passe into some more fortunate body: and are not therefore ashamed to doe this in others presence, yea not the meanest of the communaltie. Many more inhumanely kill themselves, either wearie of a miserable life, or willing after death to bee revenged of some enemy, whiles to the Enemy of mankind many thousands yeerely Sacrifice themselves, by Halter, Drowning, and Poyson. Another immanitie in the Northerne Provinces is used upon Male Infants, whom for hope of Palace preferments their Parents make Eunuches; of which in the Kings house are ten thousand, a dull and blockish kinde of unkind unmanly men. Their Whippings also take away more lives, then the executions of sentences to Death; their Reedes slit two ells long, a finger thicke and foure broad, at the first blow breaking the skinne and flesh on the hinder part of the thighes: to prevent which many bribe the Magistrates, of whose domineering fulnesse of power they live in perpetuall feare, where calumnies and lyes are so rife: which China perfidiousnesse made the Kings come so guarded abroad and unknowne, and now not to come foorth at all.

Child-selling.

Child-killing.

Pittilesse pitie.

Transmigration of soules.

Selfe-slayers.

Eunuches.

Whip-killing.

Slavish feare.

The Kings kindred are now growne to sixtie thousand, and daily increasing become a burthen to the publike, and daily increase in idlenesse, impotence, numbers, the King

Kings kindred.

China suspicions. being very jealous of them, and setting Guards, besides their perpetuall exile from Pequin and Nanquin. No marvell if Strangers be no better trusted in China, where the Natives and Bloud are suspected: out of whose Bookes they scorne to learne, and repute them little better then Beasts: and the Characters whereby they expresse them are taken from Beasts. How Legats are held as prisoners in publike houses is else-where delivered. Commanders of Souldiers, which guard places are guarded and watched, and not trusted with the pay of their Companies: neither is there any more base then the Souldiery, most Slaves or condemned persons, for their owne or their Ancestors evils: and when they are free from exercises of warre, they become Muletters, Porters, and of other base Offices. The Captaynes onely have some authoritie. Their armes are worthlesse for offence or defence, and onely make a shew, the Captaynes being also subject to the Magistrates whippings. Their Alchimisticall vanitie, and study of long Life, with precepts and huge bookes of both, I omit. The founders forsooth of these Sciences have gone body and soule to Heaven. The making of Silver hath made many spend their silver, wits and credit, cheated by professing Artists; and the great Magistrates (few in Pequin free) are taken up with the other Study; some shortning their life to make it longer. They write of one of their Kings which had procured such a potion of immortalitie, whom a friend of his was not able to disswade from that conceit, enraged, by his sudden snatching & drinking his prepared potion: which he seeking by death to revenge, the other answered, how can I be killed, if this draught cause immortalitie? and if I may, then have I freed thee of this errour.

Strangers contemned.

Souldiers base.

Studies of Alchimie and long life.

Chap. 10. China Gods. What pitie is it that Lutherans and Calvenists, may not aswell be saved without the Pope, as these Idolaters without God and Christ, and worshipping that, which by Nature is not God?

Touching the China Sects, I read in their Bookes, that the Chinois from the beginning worshipped one God, which they call the King of Heaven, or by another Name Heaven and Earth. Beneath this Deitie, they worshipped divers tutelare Spirits of Mountaynes, Rivers, and of the foure parts of the world. In all actions they held

Reason to bee obeyed, which light of Reason they confessed they had from Heaven. Of that supreame Deitie and his administring Spirits, they never had such monstrous conceits as the Romans, Greekes, Ægyptians, whence the Jesuites hope that many of them in the law of Nature were saved. Their Sects are reckoned three: The first of the Learned, the second of Sciequia, the third Laucu. One of these is professed by all which use their [III. ii. 397.] Characters. That of the Learned, is most proper to China and most ancient and all their Learned learne it in the course of their studies. Confutius is the Prince therof. This Sect hath no Idols, worships one God, beleeving all things to bee conserved by his providence. They worship in inferiour sort the Spirits. The best of them teach nothing of the Creation: rewards and punishments, they confine in this life to a mans selfe or his posteritie. Of the immortalitie of the Soule they seeme to make no doubt, for they speake of the deceased living in Heaven; but of Hell they make no mention. The later Learned deny both, with the soules immortalitie: yet some say, that the soules of good men are corroborated with vertue and made able to hold out, others dying with the body.

God supposed the soule of the world.

The principall opinion seemeth borrowed of the Idoll Sect, five hundred yeeres agoe; which holds that this whole Universe consists of one matter, and that the Creatures are as so many members of this huge body, so that every one may attayne to the similitude of God being one with him; which we confute out of their owne ancient Authors. Though the Literate acknowledge one supreame Deitie, yet they erect no Temple to him, nor any other place proper to his Worship, nor any Priests, persons or rites peculiar, nor have precepts thereof, nor any which prescribeth, or punisheth defect of Holies; nor any which privately or publikely recite or sing ought to him. Yea they affirme, that the Office of Sacrificing to the King of Heaven and his worship belongs to the King: and if any should take on him that Office, hee should usurpe the Kings, and be thereby a Traytor. For

Persians had no Temples.

Two Temples Royall. King high Priest: Magistrates inferiour.

this purpose, the King hath two stately Temples in both Royall Cities, one dedicated to the Heaven, the other to the Earth: in which sometime hee used to Sacrifice, but now in this place certayne Magistrates have succeeded, which there sacrifice many Oxen and Sheepe, with many Rites. To the Spirits of Mountaynes, Rivers, and of the foure Regions of the world, onely the chiefe Magistrates Sacrifice, nor are the people admitted thereto. The precepts of this Law are contayned in the Tetrabiblion and five Bookes of Doctrines; nor are any other Bookes allowed, but onely some Commentaries thereon. Nothing in this Sect is more of note then their yeerely Obits, or parentations to their deceased Parents, common to all from the King to the meanest, observing their dead Ancestrie as if they were living. Neither yet doe they suppose that they eate of the meate which is set them, or need it, but they have no better meane to expresse their love.

Obite.

Confutius Temple and Rites.

The Literate have a costly Temple to Confutius in every Citie, by Law appointed, in that place where the Schoole is, and adjoyning to the Magistrates Palace, which is set over the Bachelors or Graduates of the first degree. In a principall place of that Temple his Image is erected, or else his Name in golden Cubitall letters, written in a curious Table. Hither the Magistrates assemble every New-moone, and Full, also the Bachelors, with wonted kneelings, Odours and Wax-lights, to acknowledge their Master. On his Birth-day and on other set times, they offer festivall Dishes, thankefully confessing his learned workes, whence they have attayned their Degrees and Offices, but pray not to him nor looke for ought from him; but as is observed of their dead Parents. Other Temples also are seene of the same Sect to the Tutelare Spirits of each Citie, and to the Magistracie of each Tribunall, wherein they solemnly binde themselves by solemne Oathes, to observe Law and Justice, when they first enter into their Office. In these they offer Dishes and Odours, but in differing Worship: for in these they acknowledge,

Temple of tutelar Spirits.

Tribunall Temple.

Oath of Magistrates.

there is a Divine power to punish the perjurious, and reward the good. The scope of this Literate Sect, is the peace and good of the Common-wealth, and of Families, and of each persons; their precepts agreeing with Nature and Christianitie. Five Relations or Societies are observed by them, comprehending all duties of humanitie; of Father and Child, of Husband and Wife, of Master and Servant, of elder and younger Brethren, of Fellowes and Equals. They condemne Single life, permit Polygamie, and in their Bookes largely explaine that precept of Charitie, to doe to another as a man would be done to. They deny this to bee a Sect, but a certayne Acadamie instituted for the government of the Common-wealth; and because it prescribes not, nor prohibiteth any thing touching the Life to come, many adjoyne the other two Sects to this.

Five combinations.

The second Sect is called Siequia or Omitose, and by the Japonians, Sciacca and Amidabu. Both have the same Characters, and the same Totoqui or Law. It came to the Chinois from the West, brought from the Kingdome of Thienscio or Scinto, now called Indostan, betwixt Indus and Ganges, about the yeere of Christ 65. It is written that the King of China, warned in a Dreame, sent Legats thither, which brought Bookes and Interpreters from thence, the Authors of them being dead. And therefore I see not how truely the Japonians affirme that Sciacca and Amidaba pierced thither, and were Native of Siam. The Authors of this Sect, have taken some things out of our Philosophers. For they hold foure Elements, and manifold Worlds and transmigration of Soules, and other things. Somewhat it seemes to acknowledge the Trinitie fabling of three Gods becomming one; it acknowledgeth just rewards to the good in Heaven, to the bad in Hell. It extols Single life, so as it may seeme to reject Marriage. They leave house and friends and travell into divers places Begging. The Rites of this prophane Sect, have great affinitie with our (Romish) Ecclesiasticall: the Singings of men saying their service may seeme nothing to differ from

Second Sect began A.D. 65.

Democritians Sythagorians.

our Gregorian; they have Images also in their Churches;
[III. ii. 398.] their Priests Garments are altogether like ours, which with an Ecclesiasticall terme wee call, Pluvialia. In their Service they often recite the name Tolome, which themselves confesse to be ignorant of. But they denie eternitie in their Heaven and Hell, ascribing a new birth after I know not what revolutions of time, in some other of their conceited Worlds, then and there to be penitentially purged; with other fooleries. They prohibite to eate of living creatures, but few impose on themselves this abstinence, and they find easie absolution from this and other sinnes, if they give to the Priests, who professe to deliver from Hell by their Prayers or Recitations, whom they will.

This Sect came in at first with great applause, as clearely professing the Soules immortalitie: but nothing more disgraced it, then that that King and these Princes which first embraced it (which the Literate often object) died miserably with violent death, and publike losse and misfortune followed. By writing of many Bookes they have entangled it in inextricable Labyrinths. The notes of Antiquity appeare in the multitude of their Temples, and most of them sumptuous: in which huge Monsters of Idols of Brasse, Marble, Wood, and Earth are seene; with Steeples adjoyned of Stone or Bricke, and in them huge Bells, and other ornaments of great price.

Many and costly Temples, Steeples, Bells, Images.

The Priests of this Sect are called Osciami, they shave their head and beard, against the fashion of the Countrey: some travell, as is said, some leade a very austere life in Mountaines and Caves, but the greatest part which amount to two or three millions, live in Monasteries, sustayned with their antiently-given Revenues, and Almes, and also by their owne industry. These Priests are accounted, and justly, the most vile and vicious in the whole Kingdome, sprung of the basest plebeians, sold in their childhood to the elder Osciami, and of Slaves made Disciples, succeed their Masters in Office and Benefice, a course which they have found for their propagation. For,

Their Priests many and miserable.

few are found which voluntarily by desire of sanctitie doe adjoyne themselves to those Monkes. Ignorance also and illiberall education makes them liker their Masters, few of them learning Letters or civill rites; and daily growing worse. And although they have no wives, they are much addicted to women, and cannot but by grievous penalties be kept from them.

The Colledges of the Osciami are divided into divers Stations, in every of which is one perpetuall Administrator, to whom his servants or as many as he brings up, succeed. They acknowledge no Superior in those Cells, but every one in his owne Station builds as many Lodgings as he can (most of all places, in the Court) which after they let to strangers, so that they are rather Innes then Monasteries, as full of tumults as empty of devotion. Although they bee of base esteeme, yet are they employed to Funerals and other Rites, by which wilde beasts, and fowles, and fishes are set at liberty, by the professors of this Sect with opinion of great merit. In this our age this Sect hath much revived, and many Temples are built and repaired, by Eunuches, Women, and the rude vulgar, and especially by the Ciaicum, or Fasters, which all their lives abstayne from Flesh, Fish, (Egges, and Milke) and worship a multitude of Idols with set prayers at home, and are by hire to be called to any other mans. Nunnes also observe the same Monasticall rules, being single and shaved; they call them Nunnes, nothing so many as the Monkes.

Monasteries, Innes.

Redemption of wilde creatures. See Pintos River faire.

Fasters.

Nicu, or Nuns.

The third Sect is called, Lauzu, derived from a Philosopher which lived at the same time with Confutius, whom they fable to have beene carried 80. yeeres in his parents wombe before he was borne, and therefore called, Lauzu, that is, the Old Philosopher. He left no Bookes of his Opinion, nor seemes to have intended any new Sect, but certaine Sectaries, called Tausa, made him the head of their Sect after his death, and wrote divers elegant Bookes gathered out of divers Sects. These also live single in their Monasteries, and buy disciples, base and wicked as

Third Sect. Lye of Lauzu.

the former. They weare their haire as the Lay-men, differing herein, that where they weare their haire tyed on a knot, these have a Cap on the crowne of Wood. Some also are married, and say over their Holies in their owne houses. They say, that with other Idols they worship also the Lord of Heaven, whom yet they imagine Corporeall, and to have suffered many things. They tell, that the King of Heaven which now raigneth, is called Ciam, and he which before ruled was named Leu. This Leu came one day to the Earth riding on a white Dragon, and Ciam a Wizard entertayned him with a Feast, where whiles Leu was eating, Ciam gat up on the white Dragon, and was carried to Heaven, and excluded Leu from that soveraignty; only he obtayned of this new King, that he might rule over a certaine Mountaine in his Kingdome, where they say he still liveth: thus confessing (as the Greekes of Jove) themselves to worship an Usurper and Traitor. Besides this Deity of Heaven, they acknowledge three others, one of which they say, Lauzu is, having some dreame also, as the former of the Trinitie.

Leus Legend. See before of Leus Hill, neere the great Lake.

They also speake of places of rewards and punishments, but differing from the former: for they promise a Paradise for soule and body together, and have Images of some in their Temples which have so gone thither. To obtayne this, they prescribe certaine exercises of sitting in divers postures, set Prayers, Medicines by which the life is lengthned, if not made immortall. Their Priests exorcise Devils, and drive them out of houses, by painting horrible shapes of them in yellow Paper on the walls, and making horrible cryes as if themselves were become Devils. They arrogate also to bring downe or to stay Raines, and other publike and private fortunes, most impudent impostors, either Lyars or Magicians. They assist the Kings sacrifices in those Temples of Heaven and Earth (thereby acquiring much authority) being Masters of the Musike therein: and are called to Funerals, to which they goe in precious vestments with divers musicall Instruments, making a pompous-procession showe thorow

Way to fooles Paradise.

[III. ii. 399.]

the streets. The like pompes they use at the streets ends on certaine times, hired by the dwellers.

They have a Prelate called Ciam; which dignity he transmitted to his posterity 1000. yeeres since by hereditary successions, and seemeth to have taken beginning from a Magician which lived in a Cave of Quiamsi Province, where his posterity still continueth. Their Prelate liveth most commonly at Pequin, observed by the King, and admitted into the inmost Palace to consecrate and hallow the Roomes suspected to bee hanted by ill spirits. Hee is carried in an open Chaire, and with other pompe competent to the chiefe Magistrates, and is allowed by the King a great Revenue. But I have learned of a Convert that these Prelates now are so ignorant that they know not their owne Charmes and Rites. Hee hath no power over the people, but the Tansus (Priests) and their Monasteries, many of which are also Alchimists. These three Sects have diversified themselves into 300. in seeming, daily encreasing and growing worse and worse. Humvu ordayned that these three Lawes should be kept for the good of the Kingdome, onely the Literate to rule; whence it comes that they seeke not to ruine each other. The Kings make use of them all for their purposes, often repairing the old, and building new Temples. The Kings wives are more prone to the Idoll Sect, and maintayne whole Monasteries without the Palace, and buy their Prayers with Almes. The Idols are not onely in Temples in this Kingdome, but in private houses in peculiar places, in streets, ships, Palaces, they are the first things you see, and yet put they little confidence in them. Their wisest men seeke to mixe all three Sects together, and so whiles they embrace all, are of none, and prove Atheists.

Ciam Prelate.

Multiplication of Sects.

§. VI.

Of Strangers, and forraine Religions in China.

HOw inhospitall the Chinois are to Strangers, we have in part heard, neither permitting egresse to the Natives, nor ingresse to Aliens except in three respects. The first, such as come to pay their annuall Tributes. The second, such as pretending honour and tribute, come (as wee have heard) from the West with seeming tribute, a colour to their gaine by merchandise. The third, such as in admiration of the Chinian vertues and learning, come thither (as the Queene of Sheba to Salomon) to learne the same, which is the Jesuites pretence: but these must here fixe their habitation, nor may be suffered to returne; such is their jealousie, of discovering their mysteries to others. And this made the Jesuites, after so long stay, free from feare of expulsion, which yet since complaine of persecution. But it may not be known, that they have any intelligence or commerce with strangers: & therfore the Jesuites, which have obtayned two so great priviledges, the Eunuches Palace for their residence, and the imployment in correcting the China Kalender, both by Royall approbation; yet could not obtayne leave to goe into the Province of Canton, though with Mathematicall pretexts for that Kalender-busines, to observe longitudes and latitudes of places, because they were said to be Countrymen to those of Macao. Yea, a Colao, or Counsellor of State, was deprived, for sending a message to a bordering King; a tempest of libelling complaints thundring and showring against him therefore. In the bordering Provinces they set narrow watch at Custom-houses, Bridges, and in the very Rivers, by ships of warre thereto appointed. But if they be once gotten into the inner parts of the Kingdome, there are no such Officers, nor searches. Neither may any stranger passe out of the Kingdome, after once entring, without the Kings licence. The Jesuites steale their ingresse and egresse by meanes

of the Portugals, which had the Towne of Macao assigned them by the Chinois, for trafficke. These come usually twice a yeere to the chiefe Citie of the Province of Canton, which is not called Quantum, or Canton, (the name of the Province) but Quam ceu. All the day time they have free entrance in the Citie about their merchandise, but must lie on shipboord at night. In the midst of the River there is a little Iland, and therein a Temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike devotions. There by Boat did they provide to steale in or out of the Countrey. The Mahumetans that come in by land, if they stay nine yeeres (as is observed) may never return home againe. Of these there are now many thousand Families in China, dispersed into the most of the Provinces and chiefe Cities. They have there their Temples very sumptuous, and their Circumcision. But as farre as I could ever learne, they neither teach, nor care to teach, others their devotions, but are unskilfull of the Saracens Tenents, and are contemned of the Chinois. It seems, that their comming in was in the time that the Tartars reigned here, which since have increased, and after so long continuance, are not held in suspicion, as other strangers. Some say, after the fourth generation they are reputed as Natives: yea, they are admitted to the studies of Learning, Degrees, and Magistracy, as well as the Chinois. But most of these, thus dignified, relinquish their former superstition, retayning nothing thereof, but abstinence from Swines flesh, which rather by Nature, then for Religion, they abhorre.

This is also testified by Mons. de Monfart.

Many Mahumetans in China.

Touching Christians in China, there is not so great certainty. Certaine Mogores told Ricius of some in the Xensian Province, in the North parts of China, at a place called Xucheo, which were white, bearded, used Bells, worshipped Isa, that is, Jesus, and Marie, and honoured the Crucifixe; their Priests married, which cured diseases without medicines. A Jew at Pequin gave more full intelligence, that at Caifumfu, and at Lincin, in the Province of Sciantum, and in the Province of Sciansi, there lived certaine Strangers, whose Ancestours had come out

[III. ii. 400.] *Christians.*

of forraine parts, which worshipped the Crosse (which the Chinois expresse by the Character of Ten) and made the signe thereof with the finger on their meate and drinke. They also made the same signe with Inke on the foreheads of their children, to preserve them from misfortunes. A Jesuite also saw, in the hands of an Antiquarie, a Bell, with a Church and Crosse thereon graven, circumscribed with Greeke letters. The Jew also reported that those Crosse-worshippers had the same doctrine in their prayers which the Jewes held: this the Jesuites interpreted of the Psalter common to them both. Hee affirmed that there were many of them in the Northerne Provinces, which so flourished in Letters and Armes, that they grew suspicious to the Chinois, which hee thought was caused by the Saracens some sixty yeeres before. The Magistrates were so incensed hereby, that they for feare were dispersed, some turning Jewes; some Saracens; others Idolaters: and their Temples were also converted into Idolatrous Temples, one of which he mentioned in his Countrey. Ever since they hide their profession, and when the Jesuites sent one of their Converts to make enquirie, he could learne of none: which they thought proceeded from their feare, taking him for a Spie sent from the Magistrates.

See sup. in Pinto. 269.

All these Sects the Chinois call, Hoei, the Jewes distinguished by their refusing to eate the sinew or leg; the Saracens, Swines flesh; the Christians, by refusing to feed on round-hoofed beasts, Asses, Horses, Mules which all both Chinois, Saracens, and Jewes doe there feed on. The Saracens called the Christians also Isai, as before; and Terzai, which is a name given in Persia to the Armenian Christians (as an Armenian affirmed to Ricius) whence hee conjectured, that these Christians came out of Armenia. And by the report of Haiton the Armenian, which sayth, their King came to the Great Can of Cathay (which wee have before observed, at least the best parts thereof, to be the North parts of China) to perswade him and his to become Christians; which in great part also hee affected,

See sup. pag. 115.

besides other Christians there reported to bee, by Paulus; and those of Sarnau, subject to the Great Can, mentioned by Vertomannus, which seeme to be neere these in China. The Malabar Christians have Chaldee memorials of China, converted by Saint Thomas; and their Metropolitan hath his style of all India and China. *Siam.*

A certaine Jew at Pequin hearing of the Jesuites there, came to them to see and conferre with them, imagining them to be Jewes. This Jew was borne at Chaifamfu, the Mother-citie of the Province Hõnan, his name was Ngai, his countenance not resembling the Chinois; hee neglecting Judaisme, had addicted himselfe to the China studies, and now came to Pequin to the examination, in hope of proceeding Doctor. There did hee enter the Jesuites House, professing that he was of their Law and Religion. Ricci leads him into the Chappell, where on the Altar stood the Image of the Virgin, Jesus, and John Baptist, kneeling; which he taking to be the Images of Rebecca and her Twins, did worship unto them, contrary (he said) to their custome. The Images of the Evangelists he supposed to be so many of Jacobs sonnes. But upon further questioning, the Jesuite perceived that he was a professor of the Law of Moses: he confessed himselfe an Israelite, and knew not the name of Jew; so that it seemed, the dispersion of the ten Tribes had pierced thus farre. Seeing the Hebrew Bible, hee knew the Letters, but could not reade them. He told them that in Chaifamfu were ten or twelve Families of Israelites, and a faire Synagogue, which had lately cost them ten thousand Crownes; therein the Pentateuch in Rolls, which had bin with great veneration preserved five or six hundred yeers. In Hamcheu the chiefe Citie of Chequian, hee affirmed, were many more Families with their Synagogue; many also in other places but without Synagogues, and by degrees wearing out: his pronunciation of Hebrew names differed from ours, as Herusoloim, Moscia; for Messia, Jerusalem. His Brother, hee said, was skilfull in the Hebrew; which he in affection to the China preferment

Chaisamfu. Jew at Pequin his report.

Israelites dispersion.

Jewes at Hancheu.

had neglected; and therefore was hardly censured by the Ruler of the Synagogue.

To this Citie did Ricci send one of his to enquire, who found those reports true, which also copied the beginnings and endings of their Bookes, which they compared, and found to agree with their owne Pentateuch, saving that they wanted prickes or points. He wrote also in China Characters to the Ruler of their Synagogue, that hee had the rest of the Bookes of the Old Testament, and other Bookes of the New, which contayned the acts of the Messias, being already come. The Ruler doubted, saying, that he would not come till ten thousand yeeres were expired. Hee also promised, that because hee had heard much good of him, if hee would come thither, and abstaine from Swines flesh, they would make him Ruler of their Synagogue. After this, three Jewes came from thence to Pequin, and were almost perswaded to become Christians. These complayned, that through ignorance of the Hebrew, their Religion decayed, and that they were likely all of them in a short time to become Saracens or Ethnikes. The old Archisynagogue, was now dead, his sonne a young man succeeded in place, but ignorant of their Law. And that their Jewish Religion was indeed languishing, appeared by this, that they both worshipped the Popish Images, and complayned that in their Synagogue and private houses they had none. They were offended that they were forbidden the eating of any creature, which themselves had not killed, which had they observed in this Journey had cost them their lives. Their wives and neighbours esteemed Circumcision of their Infants on the eighth day a cruell thing, which they could be willing to alter, with acceptation of the Christian Law, nor would much stand about Swines flesh.

Pentateuch. Want of pricks.

Decay of Judaisme.

[III. ii. 401.]

As for the Christian Religion thither carried by the Jesuites, you have heard the whole substance of their owne large Histories; I meane not of Miracles, and other like stuffe and stuffings, but the meanes of convaying the Gospel to the Chinois, which are merchandise, money, &

gifts, Mathematiks, Memorative-art, Morality, which to China Covetousnes and Curiosity with their conforming to Confutius Ethikes, and China Literature, Habite, Names and officious Rites, were good Orators, and made way with much adoe to that little which is done; a mutuall exchange in many things, of Romish for Chinois Beades, Shaving, Vests, Songs, Mumsimus, Tapers, Censers, Images, Legends, Monkes, Nunnes, Processions, Pilgrimages, Monasteries, Altars, hee and shee Saints, and other things innumerable pertayning rather to bodily exercise which profiteth little, then to Godlinesse, or God-likenesse, who being a Spirit, requireth men to worship him in spirit and truth; and by foolishnesse of preaching saveth them that beleeve, not by wisedome of words, in elegant writings, and those more of Arts then Christianity. The great Doctor of the Gentiles tooke another course, not with excellency of words, sayth he, or wisedome; yea, hee esteemed to know nothing among the learned Corinthians but Jesus Christ and him crucified: neither stood his word in the entising speech of mans wisedome, but in playne evidence of the Spirit; not the wisedome of the World, but the wisedome of God in a mysterie, &c. Which I speake not as denying the service of Arts to Divinity, but of Divinity in manner to Arts, where the profession is not as of a Tent-maker to live that he may preach, but as of an European Philosopher, where Hagar domineereth, and Sara at some times whispers a little, and except in Images and Shewes scarcely shewes her selfe, as more fully appeareth in the fore-going History. But would God any Arts or any Preachers may occasion the opening of their eyes, which were wont to bragge of two eyes, and say Europeans had but one, when as they have but this one naturall eye, and in spirituall things are blinde: and would God the Chinois might as generally acknowledge themselves thankfull to Jesuiticall labours in professing the Gospell, as I doe here my selfe for this Historicall light of China.

1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

Jo. 4. 23, 24.

1. *Cor.* 1. 21, 17.

1. *Cor.* 2. 1, 2, 3.

Haiton, c. 1.

[§. VII.

§. VII.

The Map of China, taken out of a China Map, printed with China Characters; illustrated with Notes, for the understanding thereof.

THe originall Map, whence this present was taken and contracted, was by Captaine Saris (whose industrie and acts have both heere and elsewhere enriched this worke) gotten at Bantam of a Chinese, in taking a distresse for debts owing to the English Merchants; who seeing him carefull to convay away a Boxe, was the more carefull to apprehend it, and therein found this Map, which another Chinese lodged at his house, lately come from China, had brought with him. The greatnesse of the danger at home (if knowne) made him earnestly begge for that which was on the other side as earnestly desired and kept. Master Hakluyt procured it of the Captaine, professing his intent to give it to Prince Henry of glorious memory, who being suddenly advanced to a higher view in Heaven, and Master Hakluyt following, this Map came to my hand, who sought to expresse my love to the publike in communicating what I could thereof. For it being in China Characters (which I thinke none in England, if any in Europe, understands) I could not wholly give it, when I give it; no man being able to receive, what he can no way conceive.

Tom. 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. *&* 2. *&* 3.

The Chinois jealous of Strangers.

And as in greatest things our little understandings easier apprehend negations then affirmations, and can better tell what they are not, then what they are; so this Map easily tells at first, even without Commentaries, the comments and conceits of our Geographers, Ortelius, Mercator, Hondius, and whatsoever other our Authors of Maps, and Globes, who all have heerein fayled, giving nothing lesse then China in their China; whether wee regard the generall figure and shape thereof, or the particular Rivers, Hills, Provinces, Wall, Latitude, and (if wee beleeve the Jesuites) Longitude also. They present

Benefit of this Map in confuting others.

it in forme somewhat like a Harpe, whereas it is almost foure square; they make Hills, Rivers, Lakes, Ilands, (Coray also for one, which is part of the Continent) Cities, Provinces, every thing out of due place. Whose industry I commend; but industry guided by fansie, and without light, is but the blind leading the blind, or like a seeled unmanaged Horse, the more spurred, the more ready to carrie his Ruler into precipices, or out of the way at least. Our Geographers have indeed payd the Chinois in their owne Coine: for they, as before yee have read, knew nothing in manner of the other parts of the World, and expressed them as fansifully in their Maps; and wee likewise knowing nothing of them, have entertayned, and beene entertayned with Fansi-maps, in stead of those of China. As therefore by Sir Thomas Roes honourable industry wee have given you Indus and India before, which no Geographer before had done (they all bringing Indus thorow Cambaia, and some seeking for Ganges at Canton in China) so here we give you a true China, the Chinois themselves being our Guides, and the Jesuites their both Examiners and Interpreters.

Coray no Iland.

[III. ii. 402.]

The Originall is above foure foot one way, and almost five foot the other, whereof a yard and some foure inches square is the Map it selfe; the rest are China Discourses touching the sayd Map in their Characters and Lines (running downward, and beginning at the right hand to bee read, after their manner) which are heere omitted, as not understood. Yet have wee some understanding (as where wee see a man farre off, whom we know to bee a man, and can observe his habit, gesture, motion, though wee see not the proper complexion of his face) by that which Pantoia hath told us before; namely, that those China Characters contayne all the Tributes of each Province, yea the number of Houses and persons in the same. And in the Map (of which wee have given an extract) hee sayth the Rounds and Squares are Cities and Townes of principall note all walled; adding that the Rivers are distinctly delineated; and the great Lines are boundaries of

Provinces, (wee have heere expressed them after our manner in little prickes,) the lesser expresse the chiefe Cities Jurisdiction. Ours hath no such lesse Lines, but those mentioned Rounds and Squares, which perhaps hee meaneth; for therein are many others in Characters, without such lines round or square, and therefore as I suppose without Jurisdiction; and in this extract wee have left them out, because we exactly knew not their meaning, and perhaps sometimes are Cities, sometimes Castles or Townes, or Hills, or some other thing: and silence seemed better, then labour to expresse an unknowne Character, or boldnesse to expresse our owne folly or to occasion others, deceiving and being deceived. These Rounds and Squares also have their Characters in them, and those greater Squares with Crosses, have, some three others foure Characters.

Besides Pantogia, another hath helped further to the particular understanding, namely our famous Countryman Master Candish, who in his voyage about the Globe, brought home certayne references taken out of the Map of China, neere which hee sayled, and it seemes by some skilfull of the Languages both of China and Portugall, had the same interpreted to him. That the Provinces beare other names then in our Map or discourse is no wonder; for both the Chinois themselves in divers Provinces speake divers languages, and in all have the Court language besides the peculiar: and the China Characters are the same to many Nations, each of which reades them into his owne language, dialect and appellation. Thus what one Province calleth Lanquin (wanting the N.) by diversitie of Dialect, is else-where called Nanquin; Pequin, Paquin, and Puckin; yea, by other language Taybin, and Cambalu, and Suntien, or Citie of Heaven. I durst not interpret all, chusing rather to give an uncertayne truth, then to hazard a certayne errour. Master Candishes Notes are these.

1 THe Province of Cansas * hath 4. great Cities, and 20. small Cities, and 77. Townes and Castles: it contayneth in length 55. leagues [n] it hath 362000. Houses of great men that pay Tribute and 13900. men of Warre, and hath 47000. Horses which are the Kings, kept for his defence.

*Perhaps this is Sciansi.

[n] *These leagues seeme doubtfull.*

2 The great City of Paquin where the King doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great Cities, and 18. small Cities, with 118 Townes and Castles, it hath 418789. Houses of great men which pay Tribute: it hath Horsemen for the War, 258100. this City is in the latitude of ° 50. degrees to the North-wards, being there as cold at it is usually in Flanders.

Pequin.

° *This note of degrees is false, if the Jesuits be true: and I thinke rather the guesse of the Portugall Interpreter, then that there was any such note in the Map. For the Chinois were scarsly so good Cosmographers to observe degrees.*

3 The Province of Soyehin hath 7. great Cities, and 16. small, with 12. Townes and Castles, and one great Citie, to which many repayre to fight against the Tartars: it hath ( ) leagues in length, and hath 164118. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 96000. men of War.

4 The Province of Santo [p] hath 6. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; it is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great Houses which pay Tribute: 63808. horsemen, and 31000. footmen of War.

[p] *Sciantum.*

5 The Province of Oyman [q] hath 7. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great Houses that pay Tribute, 82800. men of Warre. Out of this Province commeth Copper, Quick-silver, and Black-lead.

[q] *Honan.*

6 The Province of [r] Cutchew hath 8. great Cities, and 12. small; and 83. Townes which make Armour to fight with the Jewes which do inhabit beyond Cauchin-china: it is 100. leagues broad, and hath 32920. Horsemen and Footmen with 405670. great Houses which pay Tribute whereof the men of War are payed.

[r] *Or Quicheu.*

7 The Province of Languyn hath 14. great Cities, and 17. small, and 95. Townes and Castles: it is 120. leagues over, and hath 962818. great Houses which pay Tribute: it hath in it 208900. men of Warre. Whereof there are 52500. Tartar Horsemen that take wages.

Nannuin.

[III. ii. 403.] 8 The Province of Uquam hath 14. great Cities and 19. small, 150. Townes and Castles, and is 210. leagues broad; and 53161. Houses that pay Tribute: and 71600. men of Warre.

9 The Province of Som hath 7. great Cities, and 11. small, and 105. Townes and Castles; and is 200. leagues broad: and hath Houses that pay Tribute 139567. and men of Warre 345632.

10 The Province of Essiram hath 11. great Cities, and 75. small, and 80. Townes and Castles, and is 440 leagues broad; and hath great Houses that doe pay Tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of Warre.

11 This Lake lyeth behind Siam, and before Champa, and doth joyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serveth the Kingdome of China: and the Indians and the Chinians doe report this Lake to be the whole World, and so they paint the Sea, the Moone and the Stars within it.

Lacus Constellationum.

12 The Province of Lansay, hath 13. Cities and a chiefe Citie, and 73. Townes and Castles, and is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1393629. and 12700. men of Warre.

13 The Province Cuausa hath 12. great Cities, 45. small, and 51. Townes and Castles, it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1306390. and men of Warre, both Horsemen and Footmen 100100.

14 The Province of Vanam hath 14. great Cities, and 36. small, and 34. Townes and Castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute, 589296. and 15100. men of Warre.

15 The Province of Fuguien hath eight great Cities, and one principall Citie, and 54. Towns and Castles, and two great Cities of Garrison to keepe watch upon the Japons, and is 200. leagues broad, and hath 5009532. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 4003225. men of the Kings Guard.

16 The Province of Canton hath 40. great Cities, and seven small, and 77. Townes and Castles; and a Citie that

putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchin-china, and is 380. leagues in breadth, and hath 483383. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 39400. men of Warre.

17 The Province of Enam hath seven great Cities and 13. small, and 90. Townes and Castles: and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 15100. Souldiers.

The Spanish Friers of the Philippinas, as Mendoza recordeth, thus out of the China Bookes relate the names of the Provinces, Paguia, Foquiem, Olam, Sinsay, Sisuan, Tolanchia, Cansay, Oquiam, Aucheo, Honan, Xanton, Quicheu, Chequean, Susuam and Saxii; tenne of which are seated on the Sea-coast. He also addes that Paguia or Pequin hath forty seven Cities (stiled Fu) and one hundred and fiftie others termed Cheu. Canton hath thirtie seven of the one, and one hundred and ninetie of the other, and so proceedeth with somewhat differing account, reckoning in all five hundred ninety one Cities entituled Fu, and 1593. of the Cheu Cities, which he makes Townes: whereas the Jesuites have taught us that Fu is the Title of a Region or Shire, in each Province, which are sub-divided into Ceu and Hien, those the more, these the lesse principall, but yet equall to our Cities, as before is observed.

Againe, in a Dialogue printed at Macao, in the Confines of China, 1590. by the Portugals, these Provinces are thus reckoned, Sixe upon the Sea, Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin; the other nine In-land Provinces, Quiansi, Huquam, Honam, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queichen, Junan, Coansi. Perera reckons them thus, Fuquien in which Cinceo is the best knowne City; Cantan, Chequeam, Xutiamfu, Chelim, Quianci, Quicin, Quanci, Confu, Urnan, Sichiua, &c. all which diversity proceedeth partly from ignorance, partly from different Language and Dialect in the expounding these Characters. And it must needs be so, the Chinois wanting use of, and Characters to expresse b. d. r. and all

their Characters being of things not Letters; in proper names is very great difficulty to expresse ours in their Characters, or theirs in our Letters; insomuch that one Jesuite doth not perfectly agree with another, nay, often dissents from himselfe, as in Janseu, Yamceu, Hianceu, for their great River which Polo cals Quian; and Chi, and Ci, and Qui I find often confounded in their syllables, as also x and sci, as Xauchin, Sciauchin, and the like. Yea, such is the difficulty, that the Jesuits can scarsly devise to expresse in China Characters, the forme of Baptisme, to put the Latine words thereof, into China Characters, that Baptisme might uniformely bee administred after the Romish Rite, as themselves confesse.

Trig. Epist. Note of Souldiers Peeces. Touching their Souldiers, I thought good, to adde this note for their Peeces whose Barels Pantoia sayth, are but a span long, that Captayne Saris beeing asked told mee, hee saw many of them, and they were as long as Pistols, but the Cocke such as makes them of little service.

Pantoia mistaken, perhaps the Printers fault.

Pictures. I have added these Pictures of a Man and Woman of China, not by ghesse, but out of certayne in China Pictures made also in China in very good Colours, but with Arte meane enough, fine cloth inserted in strong Indian Paper; of which Captayne Saris communicated many to me. [III. ii. 404.] Their little Eyes and Noses, long Hayre bound up in knots, womens feete wrapped up, long wide-sleeved Garments, Fannes, &c. I have (taking divers parts out of divers) presented to thee. A taste of the China Characters thou hast in the Title. That of Ricius I have added from the Jesuits, in thankes for his great paines, and to shew the habit of the head, &c.

Provinces and their names. The names of the Provinces I have hunted out of the Jesuites Journeyes and other Relations. In the most I am sure I am right, in the other * you have my conjecture; for neyther know we their Characters, nor have any given us a particular Geography or Chorography, but only the names of the Provinces. I have added names also to some Cities and Rivers of principall note. As for the truth of the Map I finde well to agree with the Jesuites

**Three or 4. to the South-West.*

Journeyes; but it hath not European Art, it being neyther graduated, nor Hils, nor Woods, or other differing places presented to the view; only having Characters, Lines, Lakes, and Rivers. I have adventured to adde Degrees to helpe such Readers as cannot doe it better themselves, following the Jesuits prescripts in generall, although I cannot but marvell at that longitude, so farre differing from the generall opinion, and could almost doubt, that herein these Portugals are minding that division agreed on betwixt the Spaniards and them, which hath anciently caused such contentions, and wherein you have read some Offices of the Jesuits in these China Discourses. But I will not contend, where themselves speake faintly.

Degrees.

Now for Quian which Polo hath mentioned, as the greatest River in the world (it is here called Jansu, or Hiansu, or Yamsu, that is, the Sonne of the Sea, and Jansuchian) and another called Caramoran (Cara signifieth blacke, and this great Northerne River is alway thicke and troubled) and their Marriage by Art, is here viewed; and more then two hundred Cities (one of Polos Wonders) communicating their Merchandizes by that Quian, or Chian, as they now terme it Jansuchian, chian signifying the chiefe River. For the name Cathay to bee given by the Tartars to China, Goez his Journey hath made it out of doubt; also that Pequin is Cambalu, that is, the Citie of the King. I doe conceive that Polos Mangi was the nine Southerne Provinces of China; the Northerly before conquered was knowne by the name of Cathay; a name by the Tartars given to divers Countreyes, as Cara Catay and Catay Calay and Great Catay. This Great Catay is China.

Quian.
**Mandevile & others speake of the irregularitie of Caramoran.*

Polo and other Authors speake of Cathay and Mangi as two; perhaps the Tartars so accounting them; the one, to wit, the North parts being formerly subject to them, and called by their ancient name, the other called Mangi in contempt; as the Romanes called the subject Britaines of this Iland by their former name, and the others Picts and Barbarians; and as our Ancestors called those Britons

which withstood them Walsh or Welch in a kind of disgrace. Nay still the Northerne Chinois call the Southerne Mangines, that is, rude or barbarous, as the Jesuites have taught us. But neither Cathay, nor Mangi, was then the name which they assumed, but was given them by the Tartars, as China is a name unknowne to them now. If any will find no other Cambalu, nor Cathay but Pequin and China, I will not contend, though my Reasons elsewhere given out of Polo, and Chaggi Memet, and others, with the former Relations of Pinto and Alhacen, make me scrupulous, and still to beleeve some greater Prince or Can with his Cambalu or Court in the more Northerly parts of Asia, then the Jesuits could learne of; which the China jealousie, admitting no entercourse of Strangers, and the many quarrelling Tartar Princes in the way have concealed from us hitherto.

P. Pil. l. 4. *c.* 12. §. 2.

The great blacke space on the North-west hath in the Originall certayne Characters in it which expresse it: whether it intendeth Mountayns which their Art could no better expresse, and the Rivers thence running may import; or that sandy Desert on the North-west, I cannot so well determine. The Jesuits say, that ab occasu qui Aquiloni vicinior est, counterminus visitur arrenæ sitientis ager, qui multorum dierum penuria advenarum exercitus ab Sinarum Regno aut deterret, aut sepelit. I rather thinke that it is Cara Catay or Blacke Catay, before often mentioned, both Mountaynous, and Desert, and perhaps coloured blackish, as the name intimates, by black sands, or as health grounds with us: it was the first Tartarian Conquest, and beginning of the greatest greatnesse which this World hath yeelded; the Countrey before of Presbyter Joannes Asiaticus.

The wall is in this forme in the original, not in the Picture made up of Mountaynes, wherein I thinke they had not art to imitate Nature; the Art in the whole Map much resembling our old Maps, of wooden prints, save that I see not one Mountaine presented in swelling fashion to the Eye. The Ilands are very many with their Char-

A.D. c. 1604.

acters, but poorely delineated, their names here omitted for their uncertaynties: so little (and yet how much more then any other?) doe wee give you of China, till Time give us more. The degrees are not so perfectly accommodated to the Map, by reason that we must at once follow the Chinian Map which had no degrees (nor could their Art without degrees give every place his just longitude or latitude) and the Jesuits Rules: yet we have comne somewhat neere, as may be seene. Other things appeare in the History.

Chap. VIII.

[III. ii. 405.]

A continuation of the Jesuits Acts and Observations in China till Ricius his death and some yeares after. Of Hanceu or Quinsay. An Extract of Monfarts travell.

THus having with Pantogias eyes taken some view of the Kings Palace, and with Ricius of their whole Government, I hold it fit not to leave this China Apostle (so Ricius is called) till wee have seene some fruits of his labours untill and after his death. He tels us that three dayes after they had beene shut up in the Palace of Strangers as yee have read, they were brought forth into the Kings Palace to performe the wonted Rites to the Kings Throne. This is done in a large and glorious Court or Porch, where 30000. men might be contayned; at the end whereof is a high Chamber, under which by five great doores is a passage to the Kings Lodgings; in that Chamber is the Kings Throne, where anciently he sate to heare and dispatch businesses and Embassages, and to receive the Rites of Magistrates, rendring thankes for their Preferments. But in the present solitarinesse of the King, those Rites are done to the Empty Throne, many there gratulating the King every day. In this Court, environed

Ricii Expedition. l. c. 13.

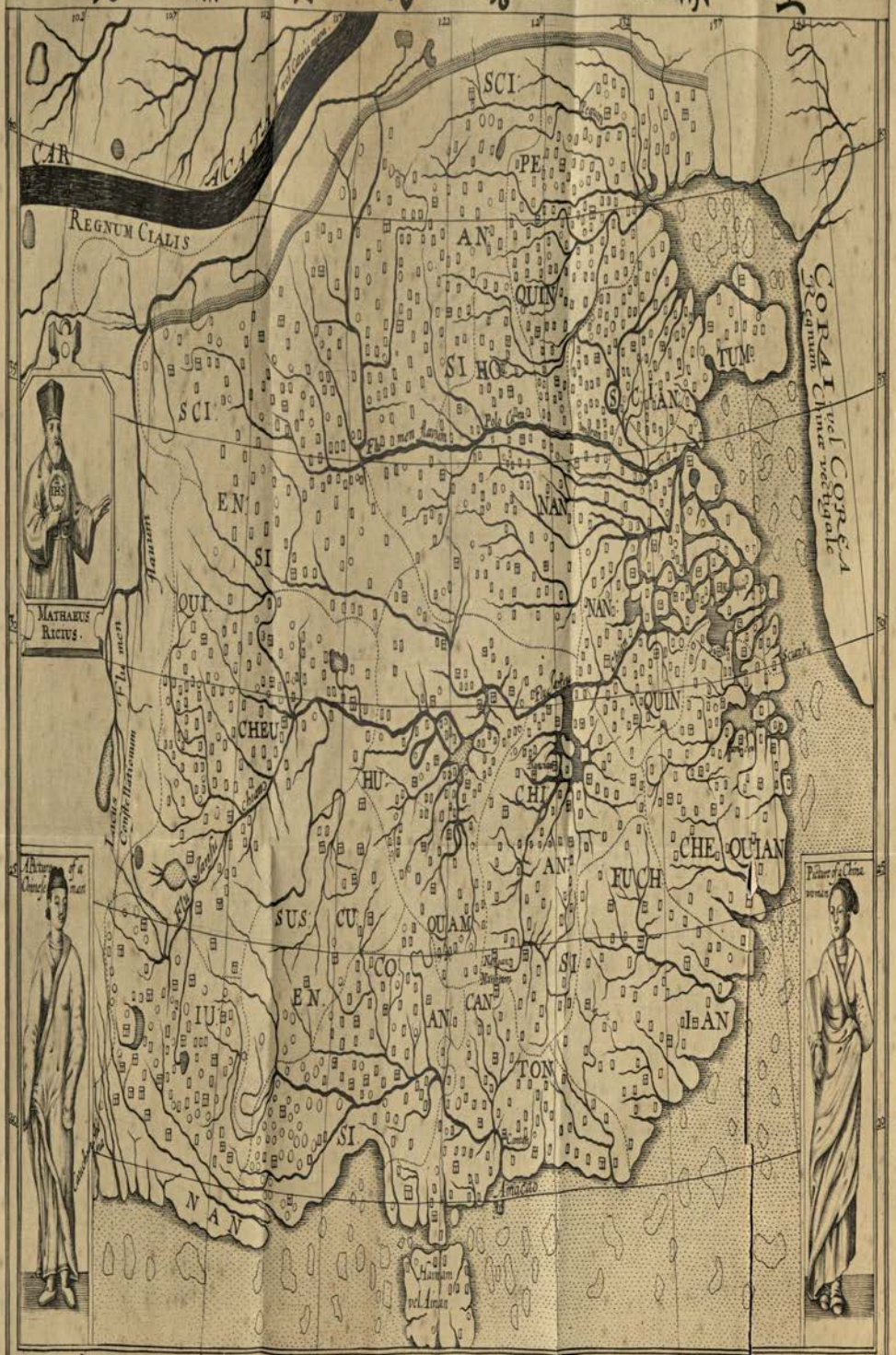
Atrium.

Kings Throne reverenced and guarded.

with stately Workes, 3000. Souldiers watch every night, besides others watching in Towres without, a stones cast from one another. In each of the five Gates is an *Elephants.* Elephant, which with the Souldiers goe forth when it is day: and those are admitted which come to gratulate the King. These come in a peculiar Habit of Red, with an **See the like sup. 23.* Ivory Table in their hand to cover * their mouth, and exhibit their kneelings and bowings to the Throne, as they *Rites to the Throne.* are taught by Officers of Rites or Masters of Ceremonies: one crying out to that purpose at the performance of each gesture. The Governour of Strangers having shut them up, first petitioned the King sharply against Mathan the Eunuch and them, but seeing no answere, he petitioned more gently but would have them sent from Pequin; which the King liked not, yet without Petition from the Magistrates would not detayne them. The Eunuches also laboured their stay for feare the Clockes should *Kings politike pietie.* miscarry beyond their skill. The Kings Mother hearing of a selfe-striking bell sent for it, and the King sent it, but to prevent her asking it, caused the Wheeles to be loosed, so that not seeing the use, she sent it againe.

When the Rituall Magistrates could get no answere to their Petitions, for not touching their stay at Pequin; the Præfect sent to Ricius that he would make a Petition to give him leave to stay there in pretence of Sicknesse and Physicke, which hee did, and the other presently answered, giving him libertie to hyre a House; continuing also his former allowance, with foure servants to bring it every fifth day, (Flesh, Salt, Rice, Wine, Hearbs, Wood,) and another servant in continuall attendance: so that now they recovered libertie and credit. The Eunuches also told them of the Kings approbation of their stay; and they *Their libertie and allowance.* had out of the Treasurie eight Crownes a moneth, which their goeth much further then heere: and the Captayne of Strangers by open Sentence gave them full libertie. One of the Colai, and then the onely, became their great friend, with his Sonne, after some European Presents, which hee bountifully rewarded: likewise the supreame

皇明一統輿方之圖 THE MAP OF CHINA 覽備



President of the Court of Magistrates, and other, of the Grands, besides the Eunuches of the Palace, and some of the Queenes and Royall family. Amongst others was Fumochan a great man, who for withstanding the Eunuches capacitie in Uquam Province, was depriued, whipped, and three yeeres Imprisoned; but by others honored with Temples, Odours, Images, and Bookes in prayse of him, as a Saint, and the King wearyed by multitude of Petitions for him, granted him againe his libertie. Also Lingoson a great Magistrate and Mathematician as they accounted, became Ricius his Scholler, and was baptised Leo, borne at Hanceu, the chiefe Citie of Cechian, of which afterward. *Fumochao.*

Yet had Ricius a great enemy of a great Learned man of Hanlin Colledge, who in zeale of the Idol-sect had put away his Wife, and professed himselfe one of their Votaries or Shavelings, drew many Disciples after him, and writ many Bookes against the Literate Sect; and writ also against Ricius his bookes. One of the Kings Admonishers accused him to the King by Petition, and the King rescribing severely, hee slue himselfe: yea, the King ordayned, that if the Magistrates would become Apostata shavelings, they should leave their Robes and get them to the Deserts; many accordingly chusing rather to leave their Offices, then their Idols. One Thacon was so famous, that the chiefe Queene daily worshipped his habit, (having no other meane of entercourse) and so proud that hee sent to Ricius to come and visite him, with the rites of kneeling. But on occasion of search for a Libell against the King, hee was found guiltie of writing ill of the King, for not professing Idols, and of ill usage to the Kings Mother, for which he was Whipped so, that before they could adde bonds, hee dyed. One which by torments confessed himselfe author of the Libell, had 1600. gobbets plucked from his flesh and then beheaded, a Death most (for the division of the body) abominable to the Chinois. *One of Hanlin Colledge turneth Idol-Priest.* *Thacon a famous infamous Priest.*

In the Xaucean Residence some stirre happened, whiles *Xauceum residence.* [III. ii. 406.]

Hoaquan a three eyed Monster.

they brought to the Jesuits house their Idoll Hoaquan, made with three Eyes, one in his forehead (for though the Chinois have no Idols representing any formes but humane, yet they admit Monsters) as their God of Eye-sight, for whom they intended to build him a Temple, and carryed him from house to house a begging to that purpose; the Jesuites refusing to give them. Rumours also of Mathans detayning the Presents were soone apprehended; as likewise certayne Stage-players, which comming from Amacao, set forth in Pictures those things which the Chinois hated in the Portugals, as their short Garments (seeming to them ridiculous) praying on Beads by men in Temples, with Swords girded to them, kneeling on one knee; their quarrels one with another and combats, Women going with Men in company, and the like; a Magistrate also accused the Jesuites to the Tauli, who spake for them and visited them. It happened also that by occasion of a great Drought, Processions and Fasts were commanded, and the Shambles shut up, the Governour and people in divers places appointed thereto, begging rayne with their bowings; and when this prevayled not, they brought an Idoll out of the Suburbes, called Locu, which was carryed about, adored, offered too, with no better successe. Hereupon they consulted a Witch, which sayd the Quoayn or Goddesse was angry, that her backe was daily scorched (spoken of the Converts burning their Idols) which caused some conspiracie, quenched with the Taulis favour and the rayne following. At Nanquin one borne at Scianhai, and first pronounced Licentiat in the examination of 1597. was Baptised by the name of Paulus, who converted his whole Family. Anno 1604. hee was made Doctor, amongst three hundred and eight, of which number foure and twentie were chosen of Hanlin Colledge, after the China course of best Writing, of which hee was the fourth: this Choise of foure and twentie is but for probationers, for at the most after long tryals by the Colai, but twelve or fifteene are set in possession, in which examinations hee was still a principall.

Portugall customes odious to Chinois.

Fasts and processions.

Locus unluckinesse.

I thought to adde this by the way, that Ligotsun a learned friend of the Jesuites, had beene put from his great place into I know not what pettie Office, for too light demeanour and too frequent Chesse-play, which continued three yeeres. *Severitie.*

The Hollanders much impoverished the Portugals by taking the Japan Ship of Amacao, the fewell of the Jesuites beneficence. *Hollanders take a Portugall ship.*

At Nancian they Converted three of the Blood royall, Baptised by the names of Melchior, Gaspar, Balthasar, and their Mother a woman much addicted to Idols, and observing the China Fast; who sent them a Charter, called the Directorie of Hell, which the Shaveling Impostors had sold her, written to the Infernall King, to give her good entertaynment, and remit her punishment. *Hell Pasport. Inferni directorium.* The Jesuites exchanged their Images for her Idols, and their Ecclesiasticall Fast for that Pegan.

At Nanquin, Chiutaiso was baptised by the name of Ignatius, striking the ground foure times first with his forehead, and reciting the profession of his Faith, which hee delivered in writing to the Fathers; the contents of which and of Paulus, are expressed in our Author. *Chiutaiso Baptised.* The Hollanders sought entrance into China, to bee admitted Trade in Fuquien Province, but were denyed notwithstanding both promises and threats. Feare of them made the Portugals at Amacao begin to build a Tower and to fortifie. But a quarrell falling betwixt a Regular, and a Secular Priest, one fleeing to the Jesuite Rector for refuge, *Jesuiticall uprore.* there grew such a combustion that the Chinois fled to their Countrey, perswaded that Cataneus then there intended to get the Kingdome, whereof hee had such expense; at Canton was such terrour, that above one thousand Houses without the walls were pulled downe, the Gates toward Amacao filled up with Lime and Stones, all commerce with Amacaons prohibited, great Watch kept; Francis Martinez betrayed by a false brother a Convert, as a Spie, was twice so Whipped that hee dyed soone after the stripes, as hee was entring the Prison. *The Jesuite Martinez whipped to death.* At Nanquin three thousand were found, Anno 1606. to have

Traitors. conspired the Death of the Magistrates, and to invade the ancient Treasuries. Those which were taken were put in those Pillorie boards, which force them to stand till their Legges rot, some of them holding out a Fortnight, as was thought by bribing the Executioners: the suspition hereof was by some cast on the Jesuites. Two Guides or Fraternities were erected of China Converts.

Scianhai in Nanquin Province described. Ziu Paulus the learned Convert, being to leave his place for three yeeres, to mourne for his Father at Scianhai his native Towne, he obtayned Cataneus to bee sent thither with him, where hee stayed two yeeres. This is one of the meanest sort of Cities which they call Hien, one hundred fortie and foure Italian myles from Nanquin, and in that Province, in twentie nine Degrees, over against Corai and the Japonian Ilands, within a little of the Easterne Sea. The name Scianhia, signifieth on the Sea; and it is fortified with Garrisons and a Fleet against the Japonians, being a passage with a good winde of foure and twentie houres sayle. The walls are two myles compasse, the Suburbes contayne as many Houses as the Citie; so that there are numbred fortie thousand Housholds (by this you may measure the frequencie of great Cities,) the Territorie is an even Playne, and so cultivated that they seeme a Citie of Gardens, full also of Villages, Hamlets, Towers, contayning twentie thousand Families in this Townes jurisdiction, there being in that Circuit 300000. men. This Jurisdiction alone, payeth to the King the yeerely value of 150000. Golden Crownes, in the weight of Silver, and as much in Rice, in all 300000. (whence the incredible revenues of this Crowne appeare also credible) [III. ii. 407.] the Ground being fertile of Cotton, whereof there are 200000. reckoned 200000. *Weavers.* Weavers, Pequin and other parts being hence served with Cloathes. There are many good wits and Students, a good Ayre, and they live long, eightie, ninetie, and a hundred yeeres.

Wee are now come to the Death of Father Ricius (the Author of our Jesuiticall Discourse of China hitherto); occasioned by multitude of businesse that yeere, five

thousand Magistrates comming to visite the King, and five thousand others standing for their Doctorship, of which about three hundred onely are chosen. Wearyed with his Ecclesiasticall Fasts also and labour of building a Church, hee fell sicke and dyed, May 11. 1610. having much propagated the Gospell by his writings, and furthered it by his Mathematickes. For all Sects have beene there more encreased by Writing then Preaching. Hee dyed leaving much sorrow to his friends and care also in that China scrupulositie, how and where to interre him. It was the counsell of their friends, to put up a Petition to the King, whereupon they resolved, and Pantogia by Doctor Leos helpe, thus Petitioned in behalfe of Ricius his Corps. I James Pantogia, subject of the Kingdomes of the great West, Offer a Supplication in behalfe of another Forrainer now deceased. I humbly beseech your great Clemencie for a place of Buriall, that your Royall beneficence may extend to all, even Strangers of remotest Regions. I James Pantogia am a Stranger of a most remote Kingdome, but mooved with the vertue and fame of your most Noble Kingdome, have in three yeeres sayle, with much trouble, passed hither above sixe thousand leagues. In the eight and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, (for so, as wee, they account their yeeres by the Kings raigne) in the twelfth Moone, I, with Matthew Ricius, came into your Court; where wee presented some gifts, and have since beene sustayned at the Kings charge. The nine and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, in the first Moone, we Petitioned your Majestie for a place of residence, and have many yeeres enjoyed the Royall bountie. In the eight and thirtieth yeere of Vanlie, the eighteenth day of the third Moone, Ricius dyed. I, a Client of the Kingdome of the great West, remaine a fit subject of pitie. The returne into our Countrey is long, &c. And I now, after so many yeares stay, suppose that wee may bee numbred to the people which followeth your Royall Chariot, that your Clemencie, like that of Yao, may not contayne it selfe in the Kingdome of China alone, &c.

He was a King of old, accounted a Saint.

So proceeds he to set foorth the good parts of Ricius, and with a long supplication to begge a place of Buryall, some Field, or part of a Temple; and hee, with his fellowes, should observe their wonted Prayers to the Lord of Heaven, for thousands of yeeres to him and his Mother. This Libell was written with peculiar forme, Characters, Seales; many Rites herein necessarily observed. Before any bee offered to the King, it must bee viewed of some Magistrate; and they got this to bee allowed by one which is Master of Requests, which sent it presently to the King. They must also have many Copies thereof, to shew to those Magistrates, to whom it appertaines; which they did: one of them affirming, That Ricius deserved a Temple also, with his Image to bee there set up. This message hee sent them by another: for when they favour a cause, they shew great strangenesse. The King commonly answers the third day (except hee mislike, for then he suppresseth) and sends it to the Magistrate that had presented it, who shewes which of the sixe is the peculiar Court, which judgeth of these things: This being sent to the Rituall Tribunall, their answer is sent to the King within a Moneth (which there is a short space) and repeating the Petition verbatim, and the Kings command to the peculiar Office, answers what the Law sayth in that case, and concludes the Petition to bee agreeing to Justice, and earnestly pleades and sues for confirmation. The King sends this answer to the Colao, which subscribed his approbation; which being sent againe to the King, hee subscribed with his owne hand Xi, that is Fiat, or bee it done, which the third day after was delivered them.

The Jesuites having so speedie and prosperous successe, bethought of gratifying their friends, which had furthered this designe with Dyals, especially to the Colao, which used Pantogia very kindly and writ to the Governour of Pequin to looke out a place fitting. Three or foure were offered to their choyse, one of which much pleased them.

It was above a quarter of a myle from one of the Citie

A.D. c. 1604.

gates, built by an Eunuch, who now was condemned for some crime; and lest his Palace which hee had heere builded, with the expence of above foureteene thousand Duckats (which in China is a great summe, in that cheapnesse of all things, farre beyond European computation) should fall into the hands of spoylers (the goods of Eunuches in this Kingdome, usually becomming his which first can catch them) hee consecrated his Palace, and made it a Temple, maintayning therein one Priest. Such Palaces many of the Magistrates have neere to the Cities, as retyring places and Tusculanes for their Muses. The portraiture of this whole House, with the Garden, and other appurtenances, Trigautius hath set foorth in Picture; being after the China building, with the doore Southwards, and so running a great length into the North, with foure great Halls one beyond another; in the middle parts, and on each side, Chambers and other Roomes; beyond all the Garden, the pillars of Timber bearing up the roofe; the walls and pavement of Bricke. The outmost of these Halls was converted into a Temple or Idoll-Chappell, in which was a great Altar of Stone and Bricke cunningly fretted, paynted red (a colour forbidden to private Houses) and upon the middest thereof sate a huge Monster of Earth, gilded from top to toe, of massie quantitie. The Chinois call it Ti cam, the God (as they fable) of the Earth & Treasures, as Pluto in the Poets. In his hand was a Scepter, on his head a Crowne, not unlike those used by our Kings. On each side stood foure ministers of the same matter: on both sides of the Roome two great Tables, and on each of them five Kings, or great Officers of Hell. On both the wals were painted the same Officers, or Judges, sitting on their severall Tribunals, giving sentence on wicked men, every one according to the condition of his Court. Before them stood many Devils, more terribly formed then with us. The paines of Hell also were so deciphered, that could not but strike terrour to the beholders; some rosted in yron Beds, some fryed in scalding Oyle, some cut in pieces, or divided in

Place assigned to the Jesuites.

Spoylers spoyled.

Chappell of Ticam the China Pluto.

His Image or Idoll.

[III. ii. 408.]

Devils & Hell.

Minos, Æacus, Rhadamanthus here have two other assessors.

the middle, or torne of Dogges or otherwise tortured. The first of those Judges examined the faults, which they said hee saw in a certayne Glasse. Those which hee found guiltie, were sent to the other Judges, according to the qualitie of the crimes. One of these was Judge in Cases of Transmigration, which sent the soules of cruell men into Tygres; of uncleane persons, into Swine, and the like: or if their crimes were smaller, into the poorer sort.

μετεμψύχωσις.

Ballances like those in divers Legends, as of S. Francis, in M. Paris, &c.

There was a great Balance; in one of the Scales, a man laden with sinnes; in the other, one of their Hypocriticall Prayer-bookes, which counterpoysed the other Scale, and freed the Sinner. There ranne through the midst of Hell a discoloured River, which carried away many. For over it were two Bridges, one of Gold, the other of Silver; by which, those passed over, which had beene devout Idolaters, carrying in their hands Ensignes of the same: these were guided by the Priests, which led them through the midst of Hell to faire and pleasant Groves and Gardens. In another part were painted the Dungeons of Hell, with horrible Serpents, Flames, Devils. To the Brazen Gates thereof there comes an Idolatrous Priest, which in despight of all the Devils delivers his Mother from those flames. There was no infernall punishment painted, but had such an Inscription: He which shall pray to such an Idoll a thousand times, shall bee free from this punishment. The Jesuites beat the Earthen Idols to dust, and burnt those of wood, wherein the Chinese Converts were the forwarder, because the Country custome is to fill the hollow bellies of these Images with devoted Money or Jewels. They demolished the Altar and playstred over the Pictures, and in place thereof erected the Image of Christ. No private man may erect a Temple by Law, which yet the mighty Eunuchs transgresse.

Stix.

Elysian fields.

**The Jesuites say, that the Chinois maintayne their Idoltries, saying they worship not the Idoll, but God thereby represented, &c. Trigaut.*

A little before this exchange of Idols into (Images after their distinction, and a * silly one it is) some tooke their last leave of Ti cam: one kneeling and bidding it farewell; another chafing, said; Thou masse of Dung and Earth, if thou hast no power to maintayne thy Temple

and thy selfe, what helpe may I looke for at thy hand? Neither art thou worthy of any honour at mine. Others said, that this had sometime borne the name of some other Idoll, and therefore was avenged for that change.

Ricius, having thus taken possession of China by his dead bodie, and living name, wee shall briefly out of the Jesuits Epistles adde some later accidents, and so leave our China Discourses, which if they have seemed tedious and troublesome, remember that China is both excessively rituall, and also inhospitall to Strangers; and I have but imitated my subject, in long and wearisome entertaynment. These tell us of the Kings unkindnesse to his Heire, proclaymed, as yee have seene against his will, scarsly allowing him necessary sustenance, nor permitting his Mother at her death to be mourned for with wonted Rites. He is indevout, his Mother egregiously Superstitious, mayntayning many Priests, erecting or repayring Temples, that it is a Proverbe, In the Court the Priests, in the Provinces are Magistrates observed. In that their studie of long life One had beene so mad, that he being a Licentiate, bought children whom secretly he killed, of their bloud making compositions for that purpose; which comming to light by one of his Concubines, he was put to a deserved death, three thousand pieces of flesh first cut from him.

Prince and his Mother disrespected.

Long life-study cruel shortner of life.

In their Winter is greatest scarcity of water in the Rivers, and many shelves then cause many shipwrackes. As they want b. d. r. so they end no word in any other Consonant but m. and n. The China Converts are very zealous in selfe-whipping penance, and fasting, altered from their forme to the Ecclesiasticall, which is hard to them accustomed to eate thrice a day: Their Priests use Beads, mumbling thereby their Devotions and many things alike. They built a Church at Nanquin, Anno 1611.

Dry winters.

The Province of Chequian yeelds only to the two Royall, Nanquin and Pequin, beeing more excellent then any of the rest. Neither hath it lost other Provinciall

Chequian sometimes the Imperiall Province.

Ornaments howsoever it hath lost the seat of the China Empire, but is still the best of thirteene. On the East it is washed with the Sea, which the winds favouring admit passage to Japan in foure and twentie houres: on the West it confineth with the Provinces of Nanquin and Kiamsi (or Chiansi) on the South with Fuquian: to the North is Xanto (or Sciantum.) It hath twelve Cities of principall note, which are the heads of sixtie three lesse; besides innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages. The soile is the most fertile of the Kingdome pleasantly interlaced with Rivers, many of them produced by Art in imitation of Nature, in commodiousnesse no whit inferiour, yeelding a spectacle of amazement to the amused Posteritie, how humane force could effect such wonders. These Rivers for further commoditie are towred with innumerable Bridges of huge massie stones arising into divers Arches, like to the European workmanship. You have alreadie Almeidas Epistle of his and Rogers going into this Province, to Xao Him, whence soone after they returned. The Chinois have a Proverbe of Hamceu the Metropolis, and of Suceu, thien xam, thien tham, ti xam Su ham, that which in Heaven is the Hall of Heaven (lactea via, as he else-where interprets it) that on Earth Suceu and Hamceu. The Countrey so aboundeth with Mulbery-trees and Silke-wormes, that China, Japon and India are thence furnished. Ten Vests of Silke are there cheaper, then in our Countrey one of cloth. Hamceu stands from Nanquin South-eastward nine dayes Journey, almost in thirtie degrees elevation: about three dayes Journey from Scianhai, where Cataneus was, who with Trigautius our Author were sent thither by Leos procurement. They went from Nanquin by the River Jansu first, and then into hand-made Rivers, Cities, Townes, Villages, so frequent in the way, that nothing seemes in the whole Kingdome more populous Mid-way, where Nanquin and Chequian Provinces joyne is that famous Suceu, seated in the Continent, and seeming yet the Daughter of the Sea, like another Venice, but more

[III. ii. 409.]

See sup. p. 343.

happie with her fresh waters: the Ports so frequent, and ships so many, as if the whole shipping of the Kingdome were thither comne to some Faires, which yet are in succession perpetuall. When the Fathers were comne hither, the Chinois by I know not what rumour were conceited that their Foe or Gods were comne thither in Visitation. And a Magistrate sent to Leo about it, to know if, and how, hee might visit them.

Hamceu, Hamcheu, or Hanceu.

But to leave their Fooleries, let us take view of their Citie. Hamceu is the chiefe Citie of this Province: yea, in all this Kingdome, lesse perhaps somewhat in compasse of walles then Nanquin, but better peopled: no place in the Citie emptie, nor occupied with Gardens, but all builded, and all the Buildings almost with divers Stories, which in other Cities of China is not usuall. The Inhabitants are so many, and the Tribute so much, that the Jesuites durst not relate that which hereof they had heard by grave testimonie, for the incredibilitie: the description would aske a whole Volume. The chiefe street is almost halfe a dayes Journey in length, and cannot be lesse then admirable. For whereas the Chinois use to erect triumphall Arches, as Monuments, to wel-deserving Magistrates, and Ornaments to their Cities; this one street hath at least three hundred such (besides very many others in other parts of the Citie) of massie stones and exceeding curious Workmanship, that if the Houses on both sides yeelded the like splendor, the World could not shew such a spectacle. But they occupie it all with shops, and build the most magnificence of their Houses inwards, and yet those not like the European Palaces.

The Lake. See the Map.

There is also a Lake close to the Citie, which the eye can scarsly measure, which sliding into a Valley encompassing, embossed with divers Hillocks, hath given occasion to Art to shew her utmost in the adorning the same, beautifying all those spacious bankes with Houses, Gardens, Groves; a very Labyrinth to the bewitched eyes, not knowing whereat most in this Maze to bee most amazed, wherein most to delight. And in delights doe

they spend their dayes, filling the Lake with Vessels, furnished with Feasts, Spectacles and Playes on the water. There is a pleasant Hill in the middle of the Citie, whereon is a faire Towre or Steeple, where they measure their houres by a strange device. Out of huge Vessels water droppeth from one to another, the lowest being very large, in the middle whereof is perpendicularly raysed a Rule, distinguished with houre-spaces, which by the ascent or descent of the water, divide the rising and declining day, and declare the houres: every halfe houre some men appointed by Tables with Cubitall Letters, to give notice of the time to all men. From this Hill is a prospect over all the Citie. All the streets being set with Trees, make shew of pleasant Gardens. It is so full of Rivers, Lakes, Rils, Ponds, both in the Citie and Suburbs, as if a man would frame a Platonicall Idæa of elegancie to his minde. The Idoll Temples are many and stately, which Idolatry where it is wanting in China, hath a worse Successor, Atheisme.

Qainsay, civitas cæli. See it described, sup. 98.

Let us stay awhile and gaze (for where have you such an Object?) Is not Quinsay (whilome the Royall Seat of the Kings of Mangi, as Venetus recordeth, supposed by our Moderne Geographers to be swallowed up with some Earth-quake, or in Bellona's all-consuming belly) here raysed up from the Grave? The Lake situate on the one [b] side, (so Paulus reports of Quinsay) the Name Quinsay signifying the Citie of Heaven, and this called a Heavenly Paradise by the Chinois; and Han signifies Lactea via, in Heaven; and Ceu, perfect: yea, Quinsay, or as Odoricus calls it Canasia, and Han or Chanceu, not so disagreeing in sound, as different Dialects are wont: the excellencie being chiefe Citie in the Kingdom, and this Province sometimes Royal, as Pequin now and Nanquin are: the situation, South-east from Cinczianfu, [c] five and twentie miles from the Sea: the high Houses, and Shops underneath: the exceeding Trade, Revenue, Pastimes by water, multitudes, fairenesse, and length of the streets; all so conspiring to proove this Han or Hamceu to be

[b] *Ha da una banda un lago, &c.*

[c] *That which is before said almost 2. daies journey, is to be understood of the Chinois journeyes, which make slow passage, sometime but 6. myles a day.*

that Quinsay, of Paulus. True it is, that Quinsay was then greater, beeing as Venetus saith, one hundred miles about: But the everting of that Farfur and his Family, then reigning, the diverting of the Court to Cambalu by the Tartars, and after to Nanquin by Humvu and never returning hither, might lessen the same. And might not warres, in that long siege by the Tartars, in the recovery thereof by the Chinois, easily circumcise her superfluitie? Besides, who knoweth whether all this huge Lake might bee contayned in that account of Paulus, still compassed about with Buildings? Or before those Warres, the Lake it selfe might (as Suceu now is) be builded on; which Time and Warre hath consumed; nor since the remoove of the Court were so necessarie. Mandevill mentions [III. ii. 410.] Warres at Quinsay in his time; Nicolo di Conti (which was heere about the yeere 1440.) sayth, Quinsay was in his time new built, of thirtie miles compasse.

But that Quinsay of Conti and Ahacen, is perhaps Thiensin, being (as they lay it) neerer Cambalu. I confesse, much may bee sayd for Nanquin to finde Quinsay there, and I have given such a note * upon it, to incite industrious search, because it was the Ancient royall Chamber: Neither could I finde any other Royall Citie but Pequin, in Ricius or other Writers, till Trigautius later Epistles intimated, that the Chequian Province hath beene sometimes Imperiall; which I conceive to bee that time of Farfur mentioned by Polo, and Hanceu his Quinsay.

Thien sui sup. 314. *Thien signifieth Heaven.* **See pag.* 338.

Anno 1618. Trigautius writes of Persecution in China, raised by an Idolotrous Magistrate in Nanquin, and effected by bribes, which hath caused the Jesuites to bee sent thence: but because our intelligence is little, wee will leave them heere (as much as lyeth in our power) and visite some of the other Northerne people; having first given you a briefe view of a French-mans travell, Monsieur de Monfart, who having travelled thorow the Indies, saluted Canton in China, and Cauchinchina; whose knowledge therefore could not bee so solid, as the Jesuites,

nor yet is so contemptible that it should utterly bee forgotten. Wee will therefore present his Service as a French Page, and one attending the Jesuites Gravitie, and thus as it were bearing their trayne.

Macao. FRom Malaca I went to Macao, (neere a moneths travell) which is a Citie scituate on the Sea coast, at the foote of a great Mountayne, where in times past the Portugals had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into China, but the place is of no great importance; they are Gentiles, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned.

Cauchinchina. Thence I travelled two moneths to the Cochinchines, finding nothing by the way worthy of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that wee were fayne to carrie our Victuals with us, the greatest part of the way. They are Subjects to the King of China, but sometimes they rebell and make Warre against him; And there is great number of Christians among them. Their Kings treasure consisteth in a certayne kinde of Wood, called Calamba: for which the Portugals pay one hundred Crownes a pound, to make Pater-nosters with. It is of a mixt colour, with blacke and yellow veynes; the better sort of it is moyst, so that being cut it expelleth a kinde of fat oylie liquour. It groweth out of a certayne Tree, which they fell and let it lye a while a putrifying: then they bruise it, and within the same, they finde this kinde of Wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to bee cold, low of Stature, flat Nosed, and little Eyed, with a very few hayres on their Chins, and Mustachoes: none at all on their Cheekes, the hayre of the Head they weare long like Women, tyed up with a blacke silke hayre-lace, and weare a flat Cap upon them. They weare Cloath breeches made very levell, and a short Robe above them, like a Master of the chamber of Accounts.

Christians.

Calamba for Beades.

Huge Serpents. There are found a kinde of Serpents that will swallow up a whole Stagge; two Friers assured me that travelling

in that Countrey, together with sixteene other men, through a Fennie-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met to their seeming, a great Tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, upon which they all began to sit downe and rest themselves: but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a Tree, fiercely rowsed it selfe from under them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground, for indeed this was one of those Serpents.

Wild Beasts: this of Lions is doubtfull.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselves in ambush among the boughes of a Tree, and when they espie their prey to draw neere, bee it Man or Beast, they fall upon him with open mouth and devoure it. There are also store of Lions, Leopards, and Tigers: and there the Fruits begin to resemble those of these parts: but the Fruit, which above all others aboundeth there, is the Mirabolan.

Canton in China. This is not the principall Citie, except, of that Province, and for travelling further, he speakes true of ordinarie courses, but other accidents and the Art Liberall of the Fathers have found admittance, as in the former Relations is seene. This testimonie touching Jesuites is worth the noting: For some of Ours which upon great offers could not finde meanes to enter China, have held that none have beene there.

Thence I sent forwards to Canton, the principall Citie of all China, (some three Moneths travell distant) beyond which there is no passage, say any body what hee will to the contrary; for never any man proceeded further, except (as they say) sixe Jesuites, who dwelled twentie yeeres at Canton, as well to learne the Language perfectly, as to let their hayre to grow long, after the Countrey manner, of whom there was never since heard any newes, nor is their hope ever to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is abovesayd; they are likewise Gentiles, and worship the same Image with three heads. Their Women of the better sort, and qualitie which are able to live of their owne without working, never goe out of their houses but as they are carryed in a Chayre. And to that effect, from their Infancie, they put their feete into certayne woodden Slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent, in so much as they are not able to goe: the reason they alleadge for it, is, that Women were made to no other end, then to keepe at home.

The Christians are not permitted to lye within the Citie, but as soone as Night approaches they must retire [III. ii. 411.]

themselves to their Ships, being lawfull for them to Traffique wheresoever they please by Day-light. And for their traffique, what rarities soever there bee throughout all China, are to bee had in this Citie, which are diligently brought thither, to wit, great store of cloath of Gold and Silke, Cabinets, wrought Vessels, Venus shells, Massive gold, and many other things. They will exchange or barter Gold for twice as much waight in Silver; for they have no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carrie with them a piece of Gold, and will cut off as much as they intend to bestow on what they take. They make carved Images of Silver, which they erect heere and there through the Streets, and no body dares touch them.

The Citie is governed by foure Rulers, and each one hath his Government, or Circuit apart, secluded from each other: those of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and those which cause themselves to bee carryed, from one part to another, must change their Bearers when they come to the Gate of the next circuit: those Gates are opened every morning, and shut every night, unlesse there bee any complaint made of some misdemeanour, committed within the Circuit: for then they shut them suddenly, or if they bee shut, they open them not, till the offender be found. The King bestowes these commands on those who are best Learned. This is a most faire Citie, and well built, very neare as bigge as Paris, but there the Houses are arched, and nothing neare so high. There is so much Sugar in that Countrey, that it is by them very little set by, yet is Silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more course then ours, by reason of their store, being so great as they are constrayned to make it abroad in the Fields, on the very Trees, in this wise; when the Wormes are hatched, (whereof the Egges are farre greater then ours) they observe what quantitie of Wormes each Tree will bee able to feede, then they lay so many on it, leaving them there without any more adoe, except it bee to gather the cods, when they

Silkes and Silke-wormes.

are ready to bee spunne, which is done as they gather Apricocks: for indeed a farre off they appeare to bee so, and is a very fine sight to behold: they use a strange kinde of Fishing with Cormorants. They tie their neckes a little above their stomackes, lest they should devour the Fish they take: then comming to their Master, hee pulleth it alive, out of their throates: Likewise for water Fowle, they make use of great Bottles with two holes, which they leave floating up and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the Fowles therewith: then some fellowes will wade up to the necke in the water, thrusting their heads into those Bottles, and having a bagge underneath, come as neere the Fowle as they will, taking them with their hands, without the rest being afraid of it.

See Polo, Perera, &c. of this Fishing.

Voyages and Discoveries

[III.iii.413.]

of the North Parts of the World, by Land and Sea, in Asia, Europe, the Polar Regions, and in the North-West of America.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Treatise of Russia and the adjoyning Regions, written by Doctor Giles Fletcher * Lord Ambassadour from the late Queene, Ever-glorious Elizabeth, to Theodore then Emperour of Russia A.D. 1588.

**I have in some places contracted, in others mollified the biting or more bitter stile, which the Author useth of the Russian Government; that I might doe good at home, without harme abroad.*

Chap. I. *The description of the Countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and Names of the Shires.*

THE Countrey of Russia was sometimes called Sarmatia. It changed the Name (as some doe suppose) for that it was parted into divers small, and yet absolute Governments, not depending, nor being subject the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doth signifie, as much as to Part, or Divide. The Russe reporteth that foure Brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Variuus, divided among them the North parts of the Countrey. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by foure other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling

his Territorie after his owne Name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yeere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I finde in some Cosmographers, that the Russe Nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, and were the very same Nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the Etymologie of the word (which is very farre fetcht) and especially for the seate and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two Rivers of Tanais and Boristhenes, as Strabo reporteth, quite another way from the Countrey of Russia.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was divided into two chiefe parts: the White, and the Blacke. The White Sarmatia, was all that part that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of Liefland: as the Provinces now called Duyna, Vagha, Ustik, Vologada, Cargapolia, Novogradia, &c. whereof Novogrod velica was the Metropolite, or chiefe Citie. Blacke Sarmatia was all that Country that lyeth Southward, towards the Euxin or Black Sea: as the Dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosko, Rezan, &c. Some have thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses and Josephus call Asarmathes, Sonne to Joktan, and nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to bee nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenesse of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Joktans posteritie is described by Moses, to have beene betwixt Mescha or Masius, (an Hill of the Amonites) and Sephace, neare to the River Euphrates. Which maketh it very unlikely, that Asarmathes should plant any Colonies so farre off, in the North and North-west Countries. It is bounded Northward by the Lappes, and the North Ocean. On the South-side by the Tartars, called Chrims. Eastward they have the Naigaian Tartar, that possesseth all the Countrey on the East side of Volgha, towards the Caspian Sea. On the West and South-west border, lie Lituania, Livonia and Polonia.

Gen. 10. *Joseph. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

[III.iii.414.]

The whole Countrey being now reduced under the Government of one, contayneth these chiefe Provinces or Shires. Volodemer (which beareth the first place in the Emperours style, because their House came of the Dukes of that Countrey,) Mosko, Nisnovogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Novogrod velica (or Novogrod of the low Countrey) Rostove, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Bezan, Duyna, Corgapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Ustugha, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall Shires pertayning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countries or Provinces, which the Russe Emperours have gotten perforce added of late to their other Dominion, are these which follow, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they bee not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these hee hath under him the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by Conquest not long since. As for all his possessions in Lituania (to the number of thirtie great Townes and more,) with Narve and Dorp in Livonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Provinces are reduced all into foure Jurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourth-parts. Whereof wee are to speake in the Title or Chapter, concerning the Provinces, and their manner of Government.

The Shires of Russia.

The Provinces or Countries got by Conquest.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about foure thousand two hundred and sixtie verst, or myles. Notwithstanding, the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola unto the River of Tromschua, that runneth a thousand verst, well nigh beyond Pechinga, neere to

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limitted, by reason of the Kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that have divers Townes there, as well as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: every one of them clayming the whole of those North parts, as his owne right. The breadth (if you goe from that part of his Territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narve side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his Garrisons) is foure thousand and foure hundred verst, or thereabouts. A Verst (by their reckoning) is one thousand paces, yet lesse by one quarter then an English myle. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, hee would either hardly hold it all within one Regiment, or bee over mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Chap. 2. Of the Soyle and Climate.

THe Soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie mold, yet very much different one place from another, for they yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Country Northwards, towards the parts of Saint Nicholas & Cola, and North-east towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desart Woods by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in Winter time. So likewise along the River Volgha, betwixt the Countries of Cazan, and Astracan; where (notwithstanding the Soyle is very fruitfull) it is all unhabited, saving that upon the River Volgha on the West side, the Emperour hath some few Castles with Garrisons in them. This hapneth by meanes of the Chrim Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwell there, (living a wilde and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almost one thousand seven hundred verst from the Port of Saint Nicholas) downe towards Mosko, and so towards the South part that bordereth upon the Chrim, (which contayneth the like space of one thousand seven hundred verst, or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant

Countrey, yeelding Pasture, and Corne, with Woods and water in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth South-east from Mosko) to Novograd and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the North-west. So betwixt Mosko, and Smolensko (that lyeth South-west towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soyle. The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would marvaile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter and the Summer in Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lyeth under Snow, which falleth continually, and is sometimes of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are all frozen up, a yard or more thicke, how swift or broad soever they bee: and this continueth commonly five Moneths, viz. from the beginning of November, till towards the end of March, what time the Snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the ayre you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast up into the ayre, congealeth into Ice before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you hold a Pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in some chamber where their warme Stoves bee) your fingers will freeze fast unto it, and draw of the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a cold, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and even stifeling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Divers not onely that travell abroad, but in the very Markets, and streets of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the Streets, many Travellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Divers lose their Noses, the tippes of their Eares, and the balls of their Cheekes, their Toes, Feete, &c. Many times (when the winter is very hard and extreame) the Beares and Wolves issue by troupes out of the woods driven by

Difference of Russia in different seasons.

The Cold of Russia. [III.iii.415.] *M. Cole Minister to Sir Jerome Bowes told me of a lickorish fellow, which taking a Pewter dish of some sweet sawce from his Masters Table in the next room, licked it, and payd the skin of his tongue for that sweet taste: a sower sawce to sweet sawcinesse.*

hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and ravening all they can finde: so that the Inhabitants are faine to flee for safegard of their lives. And yet in the Summer time you shall see such a new hew and face of a Countrey, the Woods (for the most part which are all of Firre and Birch) so fresh and so sweet, the Pastures and Meadowes so greene and well growne, (and that upon the sudden) such varietie of Flowers, such noyse of Birds, (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more loud and of a more variable note then in other Countries) that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasant Countrey.

The case altered.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, seemeth to proceed from the benefit of the Snow: which all the Winter time being spred over the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the Frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolveth it into water) doth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mold, and then shineth so hotly upon it againe, that it draweth the Hearbs and Plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in cold, so the Summer inclineth to overmuch heate, specially in the moneths of June, July, and August, being much warmer then the summer ayre in England.

Effect of snow.

The Countrey throughout, is very well watred with Springs, Rivers, and Ozeraes, or Lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to bee noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lyeth a thousand myles and more every way from any Sea, yet it is served with faire Rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of sixtie, eightie, a hundred, and two hundred myles long, with breadth proportionate.

Russia well watered.

The chiefe Rivers are these, 1. Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Alder-tree, about two hundred verst above Yaruslave, and groweth so bigge by

The chiefe Rivers of Russia.

the increase of other Rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English myle and more, and so runneth into the Caspian Sea, about two thousand and eight hundred verst or myles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that divideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin Sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartars, falleth into the great Sea lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azov. By this River (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosko to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your Boate (as their manner is) over a little Isthmus or narrow slippe of land, a few versts overthwart. Which was prooved not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the River of Moskua, and so into another called Ocka, whence he drew his Boate over into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred myles long, that falleth Northward into the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the Sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptyeth into the Baltick Sea by the Towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solovetsko ninety Verst from the Port of S. Nicholas. This River below the Towne Cargapolia meeteth with the River Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the Towne Yama. So that from the Port of S. Nicholas into the Finland Sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath beene tryed by the Russes.

The seventh Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North-sea.

The eighth Ocka, that fetcheth his Head from the Borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moskua, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosko, and giveth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long River that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these are Rivers of very large streames, the least to bee compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length far more, besides divers other. The Pole at Mosko, is fiftie five degrees ten minutes. At the Port of Saint Nicholas towards the North sixty three degrees and fifty minutes.

Chap. 3. The Native Commodities of the Countrey.

FOr kinds of fruits, they have Apples, Peares, Plummes, Cheries, Red and Blacke, (but the Black wild) a Deene like a Muske Milian, but more sweet & pleasant, Cucumbers and Goords (which they call Arbouse) Raspes, Strawberries, and Hurtilberries, with many other Berries [III.iii.416.] in great quantitie in every Wood and Hedge. Their kinds of Graine are Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to Rice. Of all these Graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an over-plus quantitie, so that Wheate is sold sometime for two Alteens or tenne pence sterling the Chetfird which maketh almost three English Bushels.

Rye. Their Rye is sowed before the Winter, all their other Graine in the Spring-time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in Desart places, are served from the parts that lye more South-ward, and are forced to make Bread sometimes of a kind of Roote called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the Firre-tree. If there bee any Dearth (as they accounted this last yeere, Anno 1588. Wheat and Rye being at thirteene Alteens, or five shillings five pence sterling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practice of their Nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe. The Native Commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serve both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperour, and his people) are many and substantiall. First, Furres of all sorts. Where in the

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.

1. *Furre.*

providence of God is to bee noted, that provideth a naturall remedy for them, to helpe the naturall inconvenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climate. Their chiefe Furs are these, Blacke Fox, Sables, Lusernes, Dunne Fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniver, Bever, Wulverins, the Skin of a great Water Rat that smelleth naturally like Muske, Calaber or Gray Squirrell, Red Squirrell, Red and White Foxe. Besides the great quantitie spent within the Countrey (the people being clad all in Furs the whole Winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeares by the Merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendome to the value of foure or five hundred thousand Rubbels, as I have heard of the Merchants. The best Sable Furre groweth in the Countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Ovdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, and other places. The Blacke Fox and Red come out of Siberia, White and Dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white Wolfe, and white Beare Skin. The best Wulverin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Minever, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglites, many from Novogrod, and Perm. The Beaver of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common Furres, and most of these kinds grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

The second Commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath beene shipped in forraine Countreyes (as I have heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of fiftie thousand Pood yearely, every Pood contayning fortie pound, but now about tenne thousand Pood a yeare. 2. *Waxe.*

The third is their Honey, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary Drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other uses, some good quantitie is carried out of the Countrey. The chiefe increase of Honey is in Mordua and Cadam 3. *Honey.*

neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Severskoy, Bezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. *Tallow.* Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great weight for transportation: not only for that their Countrey hath very much good ground apt for Pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other Fasts: and partly, because their greater men use much Waxe for their Lights, the poorer and meaner sort Birch dryed in their Stoves, and cut into long shivers, which they call Luchineos. Of Tallow there hath beene shipped out of the Realme a few yeares since about one hundred thousand Pood yeerely, now not past thirty thousand or thereabouts. The best yeeld of Tallow is in the parts and Territories of Smolensko, Yaruslave, Ouglits, Novogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. *Hide.* Another principall Commoditie is their Losh and Cow-hide. Their Losh or Buffe-hide is very faire and large. Their Bull and Cow-hide (for Oxen they make none, neither yet Weather) is of a small size. There hath beene transported by Merchants strangers some yeeres, one hundred thousand Hides. Now it is decreased to thirty thousand or thereabouts. Besides great store of Goats Skins, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the Countrey. The largest kind of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostove, Wichida, Novogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the Kingdome of Cazan.

6. *Trane Oyle.* Another very great and principall Commoditie is their Trane-oyle, drawne out of the Seal-fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shew the manner of their hunting the Seale, which they make this Oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the end of Summer (before the Frost beginne) they goe downe with their Boats into the Bay of Saint Nicholas, to a Cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leave their Boats till the next Spring-tyde. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the Spring, and yet the Ice not melted

The manner of hunting the Seale-fish.

within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their Boats over the Sea Ice, they use them for Houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about seventeene or eighteene Fleete of them, of great large Boats, which divide themselves into divers companies, five or sixe Boats in a consort.

They that first find the haunt, fire a Beacon, which they carrie with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come all together and compasse the Seales round about in a Ring, that lye Sunning themselves together upon the Ice, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they invade them every man with his Club in his hand. If they hit them on the Nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and hold downe the Club with their Teeth by mayne force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes. [III.iii.417.]

The manner of the Seales is, when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumbe, to sway downe the Ice, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the Ice, that many times it taketh the Sea-water upon it, and maketh the Hunters to wade a foot or more deepe. After the slaughter, when they have killed what they can they fall to sharing every Boat his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the Skin, and the Lard or Fat with all that cleaveth to the Skin. This they take with them, leaving the bodies behind, and so goe to shoare. Where they digge Pits in the ground of a fathome and an halfe deepe, or there about, and so taking the Fat or Lard off from the Skin, they throw it into the Pit, and cast in among it hot burning stones to melt it withall. The uppermost and purest is sold and used to oyle Wooll for Cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make Sope.

7. *Ickary.* Likewise Ickary or Cavery, a great quantity is made upon the River of Volgha, out of the fish called Bel-

lougina, the Sturgeon, the Severiga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish Merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English Merchants.

8. *Hempe and flaxe.* The next is of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof there hath beene shipped (as I have heard Merchants say) at the Port of Narve a great part of one hundred ships small and great yeerely. Now not past five. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other Commodities, that were wont to bee transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting up of the Port of the Narve towards the Finland Sea, which now is in the hands and possession of the Sweaden. Likewise the stopping of the passage over-land by the way of Smolensko, and Plotsko, by reason of their Warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to bee lesse provident in mayntayning and gathering these and the like Commodities, for that they lacke Sales. Partly also for that the Merchants and Mousicks (for so they call the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heavy and intollerable exactions, that of late time have beene imposed upon them: no man accounting that which he hath to be sure his owne. And therefore regard not to lay up any thing, or to have it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleeced and spoyled, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. For the growth of Flaxe the Province of Vobsko, and the Countrey about is the chiefe and only place. For Hempe Smolenksko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. *Salt.* The Countrey besides maketh great store of Salt. Their best Salt is made at Starárouse in very great quantitie, where they have great store of Salt-wels, about two hundred and fiftie verst from the Sea. At Astracan Salt is made naturally by the Sea-water, that casteth it up into great Hils, and so it is digged downe, and carryed away by the Merchants and other that will fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperour for acknowledgement or custome three pence Russe upon every

hundred weight. Besides these two, they make Salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solovetske, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks all out of Salt-pit, save at Solovetsky, which lyeth neere to the Sea.

Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their Fiere-trees in the Countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall Commodities) they have divers other of smaller account, that are naturall and proper to that Countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is used both among themselves and the Persians and Bougharians, that fetcht it from thence for Beads, Knives, and Swordhafts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and for divers other uses. Some use the powder of it against poyson, as the Unicornes Horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them, are almost two foot of length, and weigh eleven or twelve pound a-piece.

10. *Tarre.*

11. *Ribazuba.*

In the Province of Corelia, and about the River Duyna towards the North Sea, there groweth a soft Rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturall it is apt for and so use it for Glasse-lanthornes and such like. It giveth both inwards and outwards a cleerer light then Glasse, and for this respect is better then eyther Glasse or Horne: for that it neyther breaketh like Glasse, nor yet will burne like the Lanthorne. Saltpeeter they make in many places, as at Ouglites, Yaruslave and Ustug, and some small store of Brimstone upon the River Volgha, but want skill to refine it.

12. *Slude.*

13. *Saltpeeter and Brimstone.*

Their Iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, and Ustug Thelesna. Other Myne they have none growing within the Realme.

14. *Iron.*

The strange beasts, fish, foule, &c. that breed in Russia.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the Beare, the Wolvering or wood Dogge, the Lyserne, the Beaver, the Sable, the Matron,

the blacke and dunne Foxe, the white Beare towards the Sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset, or [III.iii.418.] Minever. They have a kind of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like unto feathers, with a far broader tayle then have any other Squirrels, which they move and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like unto a wing. They skise a large space, and seeme for to flie withall, and therefore they call them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying Squirrels. Their Hares and Squirrels in Summer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the Hare changeth her coate into milke white, the Squirrell into gray, whereof commeth the Calabar.

Deare Horses. They have fallow Deere, the Roe Bucke, and Goats very great store. Their Horses are but small, but very swift and hard, they travell them unshod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace. Their Sheepe are but small, and beare course and harsh wooll. Of Fowle, they have divers of the principall kinds: First, great store of Hawkes; the Eagle, the Gerfaulcon, the Slightfaulcon, the Gos-hawke, the Tassell, the Sparhawke, &c. But the principall Hawke that breedeth in the Countrey, is counted the Gerfaulcon.

Sheepe. I haveseenesome of them in England breed twice a yeere; the Ram hath foure hornes, &c

Of other Fowles their principall kinds are the Swanne tame and wilde, (whereof they have great store) the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Feasant, but farre bigger and liveth in the Firre woods. Of Feasant and Partridge they have very great plenty. An Owle there is of a very great bignesse, more ugly to behold then the Owles of this Countrey, with a broad face, and eares much like unto a man.

Fresh-water fish. For fresh water Fish, besides the common sorts (as Carpe, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c.) they have divers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga, or Bellougina of foure or five elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgeon, the Severiga, and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgeon, but not so thicke or long. These foure kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched

in great plenty, and served thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caveary, as was said before. They have besides these that breed in the Volgha, a fish called the Ribabela, or white Salmon, which they account more delicate than they doe the red Salmon, whereof also they have exceeding great plenty in the Rivers Northward, as in Duyna the River of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or Lake neere a Towne called Perislave, not farre from the Mosko, they have a small fish which they call the fresh Herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a Sea-herring. Their chiefe Townes for fish are Yaruslave, Bealozera, Novogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large Custome to the Emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Summer, but send it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

Chap. 4. The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe Cities of Russia are, Mosko, Novograd, Rostove, Volodomer, Plesco, Smolensko, Jaruslave, Perislave, Nisnovograd, Vologda, Ustiuck, Golmigroe, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna.

Mosko.

The Citie of Mosko is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first Founder bee unknowne to the Russe. It seemeth to have taken the name from the River that runneth on the one side of the Towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his fifth Booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other profane Stories call Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, and Magog into Asia to plant Colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probability, that the Citie, or rather the River whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of Europe, bordering upon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Evan or John, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of Duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posteritie: the

Berosus, a suspected author, or rather that which now beareth his name.

rather because he was invested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the fourth, about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Eastern or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this Citie hath growne more famous, and better knowne to the World: insomuch that not only the Province, but the whole Countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscovia the Metropolite Citie. The forme of this Citie is in a manner round, with three strong walls, circuling the one within the other, and streets lying betweene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the bodie, fenced and watred with the River Moskua, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the Emperours Castle. The number of houses (as I have heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the Chrim) was 41500. in all.

Mosko fired. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the Towne (which was in the yeere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great bredth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moskua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperour for his Garrison of Souldiers, to whom he gave priviledge to drinke Mede, and Beere at the drie or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new Citie by the name of Naloi, that is, Skinke or powre in. So that now the Citie of Mosko is not much bigger then the Citie of London. The next in greatnesse, and in a manner as

Novograd. large, is the Citie Novograde: where was committed (as the Russe sayth) the memorable warre so much spoken

[III.iii.419.] of in Stories of the Scythian servants, that tooke Armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: vz. That the Boiarens or Gentlemen of Novograde and the Territorie about (which onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those Countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well performed and ended by

them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way, that their Cholopey or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from Novograde met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their Horse whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in their hands they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coine (which they call a dingoe Novogrodskoy, currant thorow all Russia) with the figure of a Horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Cities exceed the rest in greatnesse. For strength their chiefe Townes are, Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan, and Astracan, as lying upon the borders. But for situation Jaruslave farre exceeded the rest. For besides the commodities that the soyle yeeldeth of Pasture and Corne, it lieth upon the famous River Volga, and looketh over it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: whereof the Towne taketh the name. For Jaruslave in that Tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous Banke. In this Towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe King Vlademir, surnamed Jaruslave, that married the daughter of Harald King of England, by mediation of Sveno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish Storie about the yeere 1067.

Pleasant Historie.

Like lips, like lettice.

Jaruslave.

The other Townes have nothing that is greatly

memorable, save many ruines within their walls. Which sheweth the decrease of the Russe People, under this government. The streets of their Cities and Townes in stead of paving, are planked with Firre trees, plained and layd ven close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with Firre trees plained and piled one upon another. They are fastned together with dents or notches at every corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their Woods,) to keepe out the aire. Every house hath a paire of staires that lead up into the chambers out of the yard or street after the Scottish manner. This building seemeth farre better for their Countrey, then that of stone and bricke: as being colder and more dampish then their woodden houses, specially of Firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the providence of God hath given them such store, as that you may build a faire house for twentie or thirtie Rubbels, or little more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconvenience of their woodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft, and in very fearefull sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnesse of the Firre, that being once fired, burneth like a Torch, and is hardly quenched till all bee burnt up.

The manner of Russe building. Chap. 5. Of the house or stocke of the Russe Emperour. The house Beala not naturall Russe. See sup. 56. where the Tartars destroyed these Countreyes then called Bulgaria major, many fled into Hungarie: and after Bathus death, both Hungarie and this Bulgaria had better meanes to recover themselves, and perhaps either by Hungarian affinitie with their Princes, or taking a Prince from Hungarie then assisted with Germans, they began to recover of that Tartarian disease, whereof still some Symtomes remayne.

THe sur-name of the Imperiall house of Russia, is called Beala. It tooke the originall (as is supposed) from the Kings of Hungarie. Which may seeme the more probable, for that the Hungarian Kings many yeeres agoe have borne that name: as appeareth by Bonfinius and other Stories written of that Countrey. For about the yeere 1059. mention is made of one Beala that succeeded his brother Andreas, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith from whence they were fallen by Atheisme and Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called Beala

the blind, after whom succeeded divers of the same name.

That their Ancestry came not of the Russe Nation, Ivan vasilowich father to this Emperour, would many times boast, disdayning (as should seeme) to have his progenie derived from the Russe bloud. As namely to an Englishman his Gold-smith, that had received Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded to looke well to his weight. For my Russes (said he) are theeves all. Whereat the Workeman looking upon the Emperour, began to smile. The Emperour being of quicke conceit, charged him to tell him what hee smiled at. If your Majestie will pardon mee (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse said, that the Russes were all theeves, and forgat in the meane while that your selfe was a Russe. I thought so (quoth the Emperour) but thou art deceived. For I am no Russe, my Ancestors were Germanes (for so they account of the Hungarians to bee part of the Germane Nation, though indeed they come of the Hunnes, that invaded those Countries, and rested in those parts of Pannonia, now called Hungarie.)

How they aspired to the Dukedome of Volodemer [III.iii.420.] (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into Russia) and whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes, I could not learne any certainty among them. That from these beginnings of a small Dukedome (that bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did also the other Shires or Provinces of Russia) this house of Beala spred it selfe forth, and aspired by degrees to the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, is a thing well knowne, and of very late memorie. The chiefe of that House that advanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions, were the three last that raigned before this Emperour, to wit, Ivan Basileus, and Ivan father to the other that raigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke unto him the name and title of Emperour, was Basileus

The advancement of the house of Beala.

father to Ivan, and grandfather to this man. For before that time they were contented to be called great Dukes of Mosko. What hath beene done by either of these three, and how much they have added to their first estate by Conquest or otherwise, may bee seene in the Chapter of their Colonies, or Purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of Beala at this present* is in like case as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, vz. the whole Stocke and Race concluded in one, two, or some few of the Bloud. For besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no child (neither is like ever to have, for ought that may bee conjectured by the constitution of his body, and the barrennesse of his wife after so many yeeres marriage) there is but one more, vz. a child of sixe or seven yeeres old, in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posteritie of that House. As for the other brother that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse, he died of a blow given him by his father upon the head in his furie with his walking staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it driven deepe into his head. That he meant him no such mortall harme when hee gave him the blow, may appeare by his mourning and passion after his sonnes death, which never left him till it brought him to the grave. Wherein may be marked the justice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of bloud with this murder of his sonne by his owne hand, and so ended his dayes and tyrannie together, with the murdring of himselfe by extreme griefe, for this his unhappie and unnaturall fact.

**Viz. A.D. 1588. Since the Scepter hath been in divers Families, with manifold combustions.*

The Emperor unfortunatly killed his son.

The Emperours younger brother of sixe or seven yeeres old (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the Mosko, under the tuition of his mother and her kindred, of the House of the Nagaies: yet not safe (as I have heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this Emperour die without any issue. The Nurse

We have since had two which have assumed to be this Demetrius, and have obtayned the State; thereof and of their lives dispossessed as Counterfeits.

that tasted before him of certaine meat (as I have heard) died presently. That hee is naturall sonne to Joan Vasilowich, the Russe People warrant it, by the fathers qualitie that beginneth to appeare already in his tender yeeres. He is delighted (they say) to see Sheepe and other cattell killed, and to looke on their throats while they are bleeding (which commonly children are afraid to behold) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a staffe till he see them lie dead. Besides these of the male kind, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the old Emperour, and Aunt to this man, sometime Wife to Magnus Duke of Holst, Brother to the King of Denmarke, by whom she had one daughter. This woman since the death of her Husband hath beene allured againe into Russia, by some that love the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequele. For her selfe with her daughter, so soone as they were returned into Russia, were thrust into a Nunnerie, where her daughter died this last yeere while I was in the Countrey, of no naturall disease as was supposed. The mother remayneth still in the Nunnerie, where (as I have heard) she bewayleth her selfe, and curseth the time when she returned into Russia, enticed with the hope of marriage, and other faire promises in the Emperours name. Thus it standeth with the Imperiall Stocke of Russia, of the House of Beala, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conversion of the Russe estate. If it be into a government of some better temper, and milder constitution, it will be happie for the poore people that are now oppressed with intolerable servitude.

Chap. 6. Of the manner of crowning or inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities used at the Russe Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of Precheste (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle is erected a Stage, whereon standeth a Scrine that beareth upon it the Imperiall Cap and Robe of very

rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the Quier of Singers. Who so soone as the Emperour setteth foot into the Church, beginne to sing: Many yeeres may live noble Theodore Ivanowich, &c. Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the Clergie, answere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a Prayer, singing it all together with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperour mount up the Stage, where standeth a Seat ready for the Emperour. Whereupon the Patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himselfe by him upon another Seate provided for that purpose, boweth downe his head towards the ground, and sayeth this Prayer: Oh Lord God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy Prophet Samuel didst choose thy servant David, and anoynt him for King over thy People Israel, heare now our Prayers, and looke
[III.iii.421.] from thy Sanctuarie upon this thy Servant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for King over these thy holy Nations, anoint him with the oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put upon his head a Crowne of Gold and precious Stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the Seat of Justice, strengthen his arme, make subject unto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare bee in his whole heart, turne him from all errour, and shew him the salvation of thy holy and universall Church, that hee may judge thy people with Justice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally attayne everlasting life. This Prayer he speaketh with a lowe voyce, and then pronounceth a lowd: All prayse and power to God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost. The Prayer being ended, he commandeth certayne Abbots to reach the Imperiall Roabe and Cap: which is done very decently, and with great Solemnitie the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde: Peace be unto

all. And so he beginneth another Prayer to this effect: Bow your selves together with us, and pray to him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Justice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe alowd: Thou art the King of the whole World, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, bee all prayse for ever and ever. Amen. Then putting on the Roabe and the Cap, hee blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.

The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two fore-fingers. Then is said by the Patriarch another Praier, that beginneth: O most holy Virgin Mother of God, &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowd voyce: Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the Altar or Table, answere singing, Many yeeres, many yeeres, to the Noble Theodore. The same Note is taken up by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeeres to the Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These Solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishoppes, and Bishops, then the Nobilitie, and the whole Companie in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feet to the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is invested at his Coronation

runneth after this manner. Theodore Ivanowich, by the grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novograd, of the Low Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreyes, &c.

This stile contayneth in it all the Emperours Provinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they have a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely there owne people but also Strangers (that have any matter to deliver to the Emperour by Speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cavill, and sometimes quarrell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. My selfe, when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much, viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to have their Stile appeare to be of a larger Volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancellor (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the Nobilitie) with a lowd chafing voyce called still upon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by Strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gave honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serve till I commanded my Interpreter to say it all out.

THe manner of their Government is much after the Turkish fashion: which they seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities in Politike Affaires will give them leave to doe. *Chap. 7. The State or forme of their Government.*

The State and forme of their Government seemeth to apply all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open manner: as may appeare by the Sophismata, or secrets of their Government afterwards set downe, aswell for the keeping of the Nobilitie and Commons in an under proportion, and farre uneven ballance in their severall degrees, as also in their Impositions and Exactions, without any regard of Nobilitie or People: farther then it giveth the Nobilitie a kind of libertie, to exact upon the Commons and baser sort of People in all parts of the Realme wheresoever they come, specially in the [III.iii.422.] place where their Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to governe under him: Also to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe over their Lands by discent of Inheritance to whether Sonne they will: which commonly they doe after our Gavill kind, and dispose of their goods by gift or Testament without any controllment. *The Russe Government tyrannicall.* *Gavill-kind give-all-kind tenure.*

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Sovereignetie consisteth (as the making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrates, power to make Warre or League with any Forreine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of Appeale in all matters, both Civill and Criminall) they doe so wholy and absolutely pertayne to the Emperour, and his Counsell under him, as that he may be said to be both the Sovereigne Commander, and the Executioner of all these. For as touching any Law or publike Order of the Realme, it is ever determined of before any publike Assembly or Parliament be summoned. Where besides his Councell, hee hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before hand, but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friers: to make advantage of the peoples Superstitions, even against themselves, which *Absolute Sovereigntie.*

thinke all to be holy and just, that passeth with consent of their Bishops and Clergie men, whatsoever it be. For which purpose the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary favours, and Immunities to the Bishops Seas, Abbeyes and Frieries: as knowing Superstition and false Religion best to agree with a Tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to uphold and maintayne the same.

Magistracies. Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Insomuch that the very Diacks, or Clerkes in every head Towne, are for the most part assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Devotions) referreth all such matters pertayning to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wives Brother, the Lord Borris Federowich Godonoe.

He succeeded him.

Jurisdiction. Thirdly, the like is to be said of the Jurisdiction concerning matters Judiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authoritie or publike Jurisdiction that goeth by Discent, or is held by Charter, but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour, and the same practised by the Judges with such awe and restraint, as that they dare not determine upon any speciall matter, but must referre the same wholly, up to the Mosko to the Emperours Councell. To shew his Sovereigntie over the lives of his Subjects, the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich in his walkes or progresses, if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be strooke off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Ivan Vasilowich cruell.

Appeales and Pardons. Fourthly, for the Sovereigne Appeale, and giving of Pardons in Criminall Matters to such as are convicted, it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Empresse that now is, being a woman of

great Clemencie, and withall delighting to deale in publike Affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her Husband) doth behave her selfe after an absolute manner, giving out pardon (specially on her birth day and other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour. Some there have beene of late of the ancient Nobilitie, that have held divers Provinces by right of Inheritance, with an absolute Authoritie and Jurisdiction over them, to order and determine all matters within their owne Precinct without all Appeale, or controllment of the Emperour. But this was all annulled and wrung cleane from them by Ivan Vasilowich Father to this Emperour.

Ancient Nobilitie.

THeir highest Court of publike consultation for matter of State, is called the Zabore, that is, the Publike Assembly. The states and degrees of persons, that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. 1. The Emperour himselfe. 2. Some of his Nobilitie about the number of twenty being all of his Councell. 3. Certayne of the Clergie-men, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers or other to represent the Comminaltie, they have no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them then as servants or bond-slaves that are to obey, not to make Lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters before they are concluded.

Chap. 8. The manner of holding the Parliaments. The States of Parliament.

The Court of Parliament (called Zabore) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobilitie as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Clergie, to wit, the two Metropolites, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbots, and Friers as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shall beginne. Which commonly is upon some Friday, for the Religion of that day.

The order of the summons or assembling.

Friday respect.

When the day is come, the Clergie-men assemble before

at the time and place appointed, which is called the Stollie. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobilitie, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roome, [III.iii.423.] following their Patriarch, who blesseth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his fore-head, and the sides of his face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his brest. So they passe on into their Parliament House, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place not farre from him at a small square Table (that giveth roome to twelve persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch with the Metropolites and Bishops, and certayne of the principall Nobilitie of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called Dunmoy dyakey) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on benches round about the Roome, every man in his ranke after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their Assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For to propound Bils what every man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as the manner is in England) the Russe Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subjects.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The points being opened, the Patriarch with his Clergiemen have the Prerogative to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretarie. Whereto they answere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme without any Discourse: as having learned their Lesson before, that serveth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoever is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdome and experience, touching the Policies and publike Affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to judge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend upon the service of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceed.

That instead of their advise, they will ayde them with their Prayers, as their duties and vocations doe require, &c. To this or like effect having made their Answeres every man in his course, up standeth some Abbot or Frier more bold then the rest (yet appointed before-hand as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperour it would please his Majestie to command to be delivered unto them what his Majesties own judgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his Deiake.

Whereto is replyed by the said Secretarie in the Emperours name. That his Highnesse with those of his Noble Councell, upon good and sound advice have found the matters proposed to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are Religious men, and know what is right, his Majestie requireth their godly Opinions, yea, and their Censures too, for the approving or correcting of the said Propositions. And therfore desireth them again to speak their minds freely. And if they shall like to give their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.

Hereunto when the Clergie-men have given their consents (which they use to doe without any great pausing) they take their leaves with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his Seat, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Acts that thus are passed by the Zabore or Parliament, the Deiakeis or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into every Province, and head Towne of the Realme, to be published there by the Dukes and Diakeis, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended, the Emperour inviteth the Clergiemen to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart every man to his home.

Chap. 9. Of the Nobilitie, and by what meanes it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that State. The Udelney Knazey chiefe of the Nobilitie.

THe degrees of persons or Estates of Russia (besides the Sovereigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in their order. 1. The Nobility which is of foure sorts. Whereof the chiefe for Birth, Authority, and Revenue are called the Udelney Knazey, that is, The exempt or priviledged Dukes. These held sometime a severall Jurisdiction, and absolute Authoritie within their Precincts, much like unto the States or Nobles of Germany. But afterwards (reserving their Rights upon composition) they yeelded themselves to this House of Beala, when it beganne to waxe mightie, and to enlarge it selfe by overmatching their Neighbours. Onely they were bound to serve the Emperour in his Warres with a certayne number of Horse. But the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtill in his kind meaning to reduce his Government into a more strict forme, began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the end he made them not onely his Vassals, but his Kolophey, that is, his very Villaines or Bond-slaves. For so they terme and write themselves in any publike Instrument or private Petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their Authorities, Lands, Lives, and all at the Emperours pleasure as the rest do.

The meanes and practice whereby hee wrought this to effect against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast private emulations among them about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein hee used to set on the inferiours, to prefer or equall themselves to those that were accounted to be of the Nobler Houses. Where hee made his advantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiving devised matter, and accusations of secret practice and Conspiracies to bee intended against his Person and State. And so having singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off with the good liking of the rest, hee fell

at last to open practice, by forcing of the other to yeeld their Rights unto him.

2. Hee divided his subjects into two parts or factions by a generall Schisme. The one part he called the Oppressini or Select men. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry as he took to his owne part, to protect and maintayne them as his faithfull subjects. The other he called Zemskey, or the Commons. The Zemskey contayned the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his Government, and to have a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he provided that the Oppressini for number and qualitie of Valure, Money, Armour, &c. farre exceeded the other of the Zempskey side, whom he put (as it were from under his protection: so that if any of them were spoyled or killed by those of the Oppressini, (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for by way of publike Justice, or by complaint to the Emperour. [III.iii.424.] *The faction of Oppressini and Zempskey devised by the Emperour.*

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that every man knew who was a Zempskey man, and who of the Oppressini. And this libertie of the one part to spoile and kill the other without any helpe of Magistrate, or Law (that continued seven yeeres) enriched that side, and the Emperours Treasury, and wrought that withall which hee intended by this practice, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobilitie, as himselfe misliked: whereof were slaine within one weeke to the number of three hundred within the Citie of Mosko.

This mischievous practice of making a generall Schisme, and publike division among the subjects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreame doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceived of most of his Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his Wars with the Polonian and Chrim Tartar. What time he grew into a vehement suspition (conceived of the ill successe of his Affaires) that they practised Treason with

the Polonian and Chrim. Whereupon he executed some, and devised this way to be rid of the rest.

3. Having thus pulled them and seased all their Inheritance, Lands, Priviledges, &c. save some very small part which hee left to their name, hee gave them other Lands of the tenour of Pomestnoy (as they call it) that are held at the Emperours pleasure, lying far of in another Countrey, and so remooved them into other of his Provinces, where they might have neyther favour, nor authority, not being Native nor well knowne there. So that now these of the chiefe Nobility (called Udelney Knazey) are equalled with the rest: save that in the opinion and favour of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the Prerogative of their place in all their publike meetings.

Pomestnoy tenure.

Their practice to keepe downe these Houses from rising againe and recovering their dignities are these, and such like. First, many of their Heires are kept unmarried perforce, that the stocke may dye with them. Some are sent into Siberia, Cazan and Astracan, under pretence of service, and there either made away, or else fast clapped up. Some are put into Abbeyes, and sheare themselves Friers by pretence of a Vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced into it by feare, upon some pretenced crime objected against them. Where they are so guarded by some of speciall trust, and the Covent it selfe (upon whose head it standeth that they make no escape) as that they have no hope but to end their lives there. Of this kind there are many of very great Nobilitie. These and such like wayes begunne by the Emperour Ivan Vasilowich are still practised by the Godonoes, who being advanced by the Marriage of the Empresse their Kinswoman, rule both the Emperour, and his Realme (specially Borris Federowich Godonoe, Brother to the Empresse) and endeavour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and ancientest Nobilitie. Whereof divers already they have taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them and to hinder

their purpose, as Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgatkove, a man of great birth and authoritie in the Countrey. The like they have done with Peter Gollauni (whom they put into a Dungeon where hee ended his life) with Knez Vasilie Urywich Golloohen, with Andrieu Ivanowich Suskoy, accounted among them for a man of a great wisedome. So this last yeere was killed in a Monastery (whither they had thrust him) one Knez Ivan Petrowich Suskoy a man of great valour, and service in that Countrey: who about five or sixe yeeres since, bare out the siege of the Citie Uobsko, made by Stephan Batore King of Polonia, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe, and his Countrey, and disgrace to the Polonian. Also Micheta Romanowich Uncle to the Emperour by the Mothers side, was supposed to have dyed of Poyson, or some like practice.

Names of the greatest Houses of the Russe Nobilitie.

The Names of these families of greatest Nobilitie are these in their order. The first is of Knez Volodemer, which resteth at this time in one Daughter a widow, and without Children (mentioned before) sometime wife to Hartock Magnus Brother to the King of Denmarke, now closed within a Nunnerie. The second Knez Metheloskey, thrust into a Frierie, and his onely Sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third Glimskoy. But one left of his house, and hee without children save one Daughter. The fourth Suskoy, whereof there are foure Brethren young men, and unmarryed all. The fifth Hubetskoy. Of this House are foure living. The sixth Bulgaloy, now called Guletchey house, whereof are five living, but youths all. The seventh Vorallinskoy. Two left of that stocke. The eighth Odgoskey, two. The ninth Telletskoy, one. The tenth Taytove, three. These are the Names of the chiefe Families, called Udelney Knazy: that in effect have lost all now, save the very name it selfe, and favour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left. [III.iii.425.]

The second degree of Nobilitie.

The second degree of Nobilitie is of the Boiarens.

These are such as the Emperour honoureth (besides their Nobilitie) with the title of Counsellers. The revenue of these two sorts of their Nobles that riseth out of their Land assigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was sayd before) is about a thousand Marcks a yeere: besides Pension which they receive of the Emperour for their service in his Warres, to the summe of seven hundred Rubbels a yeere, and none above that summe.

Lord Borris after this Emperour.

But in this number the Lord Borris Federowich Godenoe is not to bee reckoned, that is like a Transcendent, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperours Brother in law, his Protector for direction, for Command and authoritie Emperour of Russia. His yeerely revenue in Land and Pension, amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. Hee hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in Vasma Dorogobose,) sixe thousand Rubbels a yeere. For his office of Connick, or Master of the Horse twelve thousand Rubbels or Marcks, raised out of the Conaslue Sloboday, or the liberties pertayning to that Office, which are certayne Lands and Townes neere about the Mosco. Besides, all the meadow and pasture ground on both sides the banke of the River Mosko, thirtie verst up the streame, and fortie verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fifteene thousand Rubbels. Out of the Province or Shire of Vagha, there is given him for a peculiar exempted out of the Chetfird of Posolskoy, two and thirtie thousand Rubbels, besides a rent of Furres. Out of Rezan and Sever, (another peculiar) thirtie thousand Rubbels. Out of Otfer and Turiock another exempt place eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-stoaves and Bathing-houses without the walls of Mosko, fifteene hundred Rubbels. Besides his Pomest, or Lands which hee holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth

the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobilitie.

One other there is, of the house of Glinskoy, that dispendeth in Land and Pension about fortie thousand Rubbels yeerely. Which hee is suffered to enjoy, because he hath marryed Borris his wives Sister, being himselfe very simple and almost a naturall. The ordering of him and his Lands are committed to Borris.

In the third ranke are the Voyavodey, or such Nobles as are, or have beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliver the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the Udelney knazey, nor of the Boiarens. *The third sort of Nobilitie.*

These three degrees of their Nobilitie, (to wit) the Udelney knazey, the Boiarens, and the Voiavodey, have the addition of Vich, put unto their sirname, as Borris Federowish, &c. which is a note of Honour that the rest may not usurpe. And in case it bee not added in the naming of them, they may sue the Bestchest or penaltie of dishonour upon them, that otherwise shall tearme them. *Title Vich.*

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobilitie with them, is of such as beare the name of Knazey or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those chiefe Houses, through many discents, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is to deliver their names and titles of their Dignities over to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leave them. So that the Sonnes of a Voiavodey or Generall in the field, are called Voiavodey, though they never saw the field, and the Sonnes of a Knez or Duke, are called Knazey, though they have not one groat of inheritance or livelyhood to maintayne themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plentie maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serve a meane man

for five or sixe Rubbels or Marcks a yeere, and yet they will stand highly upon their Bestchest or reputation of their Honours. And these are their severall degrees of Nobilitie.

The second degree of persons.

The second degree of persons, is of their Sina Boiarskey, or the sonnes of Gentlemen : which all are preferred, and hold that Name by their service in the Emperours warres, being Souldiers by their very stocke and birth. To which order are referred their Dyacks or Secretaries, that serve the Emperour in every head Towne, being joyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The third degree.

The last are their Commons, whom they call Mousicks. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest and basest sort of this kinde (which are held in no degree) are their Countrey people, whom they call Christianeis. Of the Sina Boiarskey (which are all Souldiers) wee are to see in the description of their Forces, and Militarie provisions. Concerning their Mousicks, what their condition and behaviour is, in the Title or Chapter Of the Common people.

Chap. 10. *Of the Government of their Provinces and Shires.*

THe whole Countrey of Russia (as was sayd before) is divided into foure parts, which they call Chetfirds, or Tetrarchies. Every Chetfird contayneth divers Shires, and is annexed to a severall Office, whereof it takes the name. The first Chetfird or Tetrarchie, beareth

[III.iii.426.] *The foure Chetfirds.*

the name of Pososkoy Chetfird, or the Jurisdiction of the office of Ambassages, and at this time is under the chiefe Secretarie and officer of the Ambassages, called Andreas Schalcalove. The standing fee or stipend that hee receiveth yeerely of the Emperour for this service, is one hundred Rubbels or Marcks.

The second is called the Roseradney Chetfird, because it is proper to the Roserade or high Constable. At this time it pertayneth by vertue of Office to Basilie Shalcalove, Brother to the Chancellour, but it is executed

by one Zapon Abramove. His pension is an hundred Rubbels yeerely.

The third is the Chetfird of Pomestnoy, as pertayning to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands given by the Emperour for service to his Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, giveth out and taketh in all Assurances for them. The officer at this time is called Eleazar Wellusgine. His stipend is five hundred Rubbels a yeere.

The fourth is called Cassavskoy Dworets, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the jurisdiction of the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, with the other Townes lying upon the Volgha, now ordered by one Druzhine Pentelove, a man of very speciall account among them, for his wisedome and promptnesse in matters of policie. His pension is one hundred and fiftie Rubbels a yeere.

From these Chetfirds or Tetrarchies is exempted the Emperours inheritance or Vochin (as they call it) for that it pertayned from ancient time to the House of Beala, which is the sirname of the Imperiall bloud. This standeth of sixe and thirtie Townes with their bounds or Territories. Besides divers peculiar Jurisdictions. which are likewise deducted out of those Chetfirds, as the Shire of Vagha (belonging to the Lord Borrise Federowich Godonoe) and such like.

These are the chiefe Governours or Officers of the Provinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperour whither soever hee goeth, and carrying their Offices about with them, which for the most part they hold at Mosko, as the Emperours chiefe seate.

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

The parts and practice of these foure Offices, is to receive all Complaints and Actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their severall Chetfirds and Quarters, and to informe them to the Emperours Councell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are under them, in their sayd Provinces, for all matters given in

charge by the Emperour and his Councell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of every particular Province of these foure Chetfirds, there is appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobilitie, which are resident in the head Townes of the sayd Provinces. Whereof every one hath joyned with him in Commission a Dyack or Secretarie to assist him or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all civill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose they have under them certayne Officers, as Gubnoy Starets or Coroners, who besides the tryall of selfe Murders, are to attach Fellons: and the Soudiæ or under Justices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Countrey people of their owne Wards or Bayliwickes: but so that in case either partie dissent, they may appeale, and goe further to the Duke and Dyack that reside within the head Towne. From whom also they may remoove the matter to the higher Court at Mosko, of the Emperours Councell, where lye all appeales. They have under them also Sotskoy Starets, that is Aldermen, or Bayliffes of the Hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as Theft, Murder, Treason, &c. they have authoritie to apprehend, to examine and to imprison the malefactor, and so having received perfect evidence and information of the cause, they are to send it ready drawne and orderly digested up to the Mosko, to the Officer of the Chetfird, whereunto that Province is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Councell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to doe execution upon the partie offending, is more then their Commission will allow them to doe.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike service to be done

within that Province, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes and impositions for the Emperor, mustering of Souldiers, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Councell) all these and such like pertayne to their charge.

Dukes and Dyacks: many of them unjust oppressors and Spunges pressed againe

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at every yeeres end, except upon some speciall liking or sute the time bee prorogued for a yeere or two more. They are men of themselves of no credit, nor favour with the people where they governe, being neither borne, nor brought up among them, nor yet having inheritance of their owne there, or else where. Onely of the Emperour they have for that service an hundred Marcks a yeere, hee that hath most, some fiftie, some but thirtie. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry upon them lightly every yeere, they racke and spoyle them without due regard of Justice or Conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the chiefe Officers of the Chetfirds, to the end they may spoyle them againe, and have a better bootie when they call them to account: which commonly they doe at [III iii.427.] the end of their service, making an advantage of their injustice and oppression over the poore people. There are few of them but they come to the Pudkey or Whip when their time is ended, which themselves for the most part doe make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves with all the spoyle they can for the time of their Government, that they may have for both turnes, as well for the Emperour and Lord of the Chetfird, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to governe abroad, are men of this qualitie: save that in the foure border Townes that are of greatest importance, are set men of more speciall valour and trust, two in every Towne. Whereof one is ever of the Emperours privie Counsell. These

foure border Townes are Smolensko, Vobsko, Novogrod, and Cazan, whereof three lie towards the Polonian and Sweden, one bordereth farre off upon the Chrim Tartar. These have larger commission then the other Dukes of the Provinces that I spake of before, and may doe execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoofull for the Common-wealth: for incident occasions that may happen upon the borders that are farre off, and may not stay for direction, about every occurrent and particular matter from the Emperour and his Counsell. They are changed every yeere (except as before) and have for their stipend 700. Rubbels a yeere he that hath most: some have but 400. Many of these places that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Countrey is managed at this time, by the Godonoes and their Clients.

The Citie of Mosko (that is the Emperours Seat) is governed altogether by the Emperours Counsell. All matters there both civill and criminall, are heard and determined in the severall Courts, held by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeere long.

The government of Mosko. Onely for their ordinary matters (as Buildings, Reparations, keeping of their Streets decent and cleane, Collections, levying of Taxes, Impositions and such like) are appointed, two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the Zempskey house. If any Townes-man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him to have him examined upon the Pudkey, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen, and Secretaries that order the whole Citie, there are Starusts or Aldermen for every severall Companie. The Alderman hath his Sotskey or Constable, and the Constable hath certaine Decetskeis or Decurions under him, which have the oversight of ten housholds a piece, whereby every disorder is sooner spyed, and the common service hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens poore and rich are reduced into Companies.

The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks and Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperour himselfe, the Starust by the Gentlemen and Dyacks, the Sotskoy by the Starust or Alderman, and the Decetskoyes by the Constables.

This manner of government of their Provinces and Townes, if it were as well set for the giving of justice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to prevent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subjection, it might seeme in that kind to be no bad nor unpolitike way, for the contayning of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of Russia. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would marvell, how the Nobilitie and People should suffer themselves to be brought under it, while they had any meanes to avoide and repulse it: or being so strengthned as it is at this present, how the Emperours themselves can be content to practise the same, with so open injustice and oppression of their Subjects, being themselves of a Christian profession. By this it appeareth how hard a matter it were to alter the state of the Russe Government, as now it standeth.

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Chap. 11. *Of the Emperours Counsel.*

THe Emperours of Russia give the name of Counsellour to divers of their chiefe Nobilitie, rather for honours sake, then for any use they make of them about their matters of State. These are called Boiarens without any addition, and may be called, Counsellours at large. For they are seldome or never called to any publike consultation. They which are of his speciall and privie Counsell indeed (whom he useth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertayning to the State) have the addition of Dumnoy, and are named Dumnoy boiaren, or Lords of the Counsell, their Office or Sitting Boarstua dumna.

The number and names of the Councellours of State.

Their names at this present are these in their order. First, Knez Feoder Joanowich Methisloskey. 2. Knez

Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy. 3. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy Scopin. (These three are accounted to be of greater birth than wisedome, taken in (as may seeme) for that end, rather to furnish the place with their honours and presence, then with their advice or counsell.) 4. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy, thought to be more wise then the other of his name. 5. Knez Feoder Michailowich. 6. Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 7. Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 8. Knez Andriew Gregoriwich Curakine. 9. Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine. 10. Knez Feoder Ivanowich Forestine. 11. Bodan Ivanowich Sabarove. 12. Knez Ivan Vasilowich. 13. Knez Feoder Demetriwich Shestinove. 14. Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconiove. 15. Ivan Buterlyney. 16. Demetrie Ivanowich Godonoe. 17. Borrise Federowich Godonoe, brother to the Empresse. 18. Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. 19. [III.iii.428.] Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe. 20. Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. 21. Feoder Sheremitove. 22. Andriew Petrowich Cleshenina. 23. Ignatio Petrowich Tatislove. 24. Romain Michailowich Peva. 25. Demenshoy Ivanowich Cheremissen. 26. Romain Vasilowich Alferiove. 27. Andriew Shalcalove. 28. Vasilie Shalcalove. 29. Eleazar Wellusgin. 30. Drezheen Penteleove. 31. Zapon Abramove.

Foure Secretaries. The foure last of these are called Dumnoy deiakey or Lord-Secretaries. These are all of the Emperours privie Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are advised and determined upon by Borris Federowich Godonoe brother to the Empresse, with some five or sixe more whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to give counsell, and doe so demeane themselves. The matters occurrent which are of State done within the Realme, are informed them at their sittings by the Lords of the foure Chetfirds, or Tetrarchies. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Government of their Provinces. Who bring in all

such Letters as they receive from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Citie and Castles pertayning to their severall Quarter or Chetfird, with other advertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of every severall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsell-chamber, and informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many private Causes, informed by way of supplication in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertayne and determine, as the Cause or meanes can procure favour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertayne by common course of Law. Their ordinary dayes for their sitting are, Mondayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes. Their time of meeting is commonly seven of the clocke in the morning. If there bee any extraordinary occasion that requireth consultation on some other day, they have warning by the Clerke of the Counsell, called Dorofey Bushew, who receiveth order from the Roserad, or High Constable of the Realme, to call them together at the time appointed.

Chap. 12. Of the Emperors Customs and other Revenues.

The Offices of Receit.

FOr the receiving of Customes, and other Rents belonging to the Crowne, there are appointed divers Under-officers, which deliver over the same into the head Treasurie. The first is, the Office of Dwoertsova or Steward of the houshold. The second is, the Office of the Chetfirds, which I comprehend under one, though it be divided into foure severall parts, as was said before. The third is called, Bulsha Prechode, or the great Income.

The Steward Receiver of the Crowne-land Rents.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiveth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne-land, which they call, Vochin. The Vochin or Crown-land contayneth in it sixe and thirtie Townes with the Territories or Hundreds belonging unto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeelde the greatest Rents are these: Alexandrisca, Corelska, Otfer,

Slobodey, Danielska, Moisalskoy, Chara, Sámetska, Strararouse, Bransove, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some Rent money, some other Rent duties (called Obrokey) as certaine Chetfirds or measures of Graine, Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swannes, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours provision certaine acres of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his use: having for it an allowance of certaine acres of ground for their owne proper use.

This provision for the houshold, specially of Graine served in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance served out in livery, or for the Emperours honour, called Schalovaney: for which use there is bestowed very much, both in Graine and other Victuall. This surplus of provision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours Treasurie.

In the time of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this overplus of Graine, and other incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasurie not past 60000. Rubbels yeerely, but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe, to 230000. Rubbels a yeere. And this by the meanes of the Empresse, and her kindred, (specially Borris Fedorowich Godonoe) that account it all their owne that runneth into the Emperors Treasure. Much of this surplusage that riseth out of the Rent provision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his houshold Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purveying abroad.

The Office of Chetfird.

The second Office of Receit, called the Chetfirds, (being divided into foure severall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which besides the ordering and government of the Shires contayned within their severall Chetfirds, have this also as a part of their Office,

to receive the Tagla and Podat belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure Chetfirds or Quarters. The Tagla is a yeerly Rent or Imposition raised upon every Wite or measure of Graine, that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The Wite contayneth sixtie Chetfirds. Every Chetfird is three Bushels English, or little lesse. The Podat is an ordinary Rent of money imposed upon every Soake; or Hundred within the whole Realme. *Tagla and Podat.*

This Tagla and Podat bring in yeerely to the Offices of the Chetfirds a great summe of money: as may appeare by [III.iii.429.] the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Province of Vobsko pay yeerely for Tagla and Podat about 18000. Rubbels. Novogrod 35000. Rubbels. Torshocke and Otfer 8000. Rubbels. Razan 30000. Rubbels. Morum 12000. Rubbels. Colmigroe and Duyna 8000. Rubbels. Vologda 12000. Rubbels. Cazan 18000. Rubbels. Ustiug 30000 Rubbels. Rostove 50000. Rubbels. The Citie of Mosko 40000. Rubbels. Sibierskoy 20000. Rubbels. Castrome 12000 Rubbels. The totall amounteth to 400000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere, which is brought in yeerely the first of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeere. *Yeere begins with September.*

The third (that is called the Bulsha Prechod, or great Income) receiveth all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees and other duties which rise out of divers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of Bulsha Prechod. The Townes of most trade, that doe yeeld greatest Custome, are these here set downe. Mosko, Smolensko, Vobsko, Novogrod Velica, Strararouse, Torshocke, Otfer, Yaruslave, Castrome, Nesna Novogrod, Cazan, Vologda. This Custome out of the great Townes is therefore more certaine, and easie to bee reckoned, because it is set and rated precisely what they shall pay for the Custome of the yeere. Which needs must bee *The Office of Bulsha Prechod or great Income.*

payd into the said Office, though they receive not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours advantage.

The Emperors Custome. The Custome at Mosko for every yeere, is 12000. Rubbels. The Custome of Smolensko 8000. Vobsko 12000. Rubbels. Novogrod velica 6000. Rubbels. Strararouse by Salt and other commodities 18000. Rubbels. Torshock 800. Rubbels. Otfer 700. Rubbels. Yaruslave 1200. Rubbels. Castrome 1800. Rubbels. Nesna Novogrod 7000. Rubbels. Cazan 11000. Rubbels. Vologda 2000. Rubbels. The Custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities to and fro, falleth out for the yeere.

The whole receit of the Bulsha Prechod or great Income. This may bee said for certaine, that the three Tables of Receits belonging to this Office of Bulsha Prechod, when they receive least, account for thus much, vz. The first table, 160000. Rubbels. The second table, 90000. Rubbels. The third 70000. Rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of Bulsha Prechod, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, and maketh the summe of 340000. Rubbles a yeere. Besides this Custome out of the Townes of trade, there is received by this Office of Bulsha Prechod, the yeerely Rent of the common Bath-stoves, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertayne to the Emperour. Which (though it be uncertaine for the just summe, yet because it is certaine; and an ordinary matter, that the Russe will bathe himselfe as well within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasurie.

Rents out of the Judiciall Offices. Mulcts or fines. There is besides, a certaine Mulct or Penaltie that groweth to the Emperour out of every Judgement or Sentence, that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all Civill matters. This Penaltie or Mulct is twentie Dingoes or Pence upon every Rubbel or Marke, and so ten in the hundred. Which is payd by the partie that is convict by Law. He hath besides for every name

contayned in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, five Alteens. An Alteene is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken forth. Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser Seale, where it payeth as much more to the Emperours use. This riseth commonly to three thousand Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts. Farther also out of the Office of Roisbonia, where all felonies are tryed, is received for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of Bulsha Prechod, or Great income. Besides the overplus or remainder that is saved out of the Land-rents allotted to divers other Offices: as namely, to the Office called Roserade, which hath Lands and Rents assigned unto it to pay the yeerely salaries of the Souldiers or Horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace, when they rest at home not employed in any service, is commonly cut off and payd them by halfes, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the Roserade Office that is layd into the Emperours treasurie, commeth for the most part every yeere to 250000. Rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the Strelletskoy Offices which hath proper Lands for the payment of the Strelsey men or Gunners, as well those at Mosko, that are of the Emperours Guard (12000. in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Towns and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of Prechase, Shisivoy Nemshoy, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintayne the forraine mercenary Souldiers, as Poles, Sweadens, Dutches, Scots, &c. So out of the Office of Pusharskoy, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the provision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeeres end, that runneth into the Treasurie. All these bring into the Office of Bulsha Prechod that which remayneth in their hand at the

yeeres end. Whence it is delivered into the Emperours Treasurie. So that the whole summe that groweth to this Office of Bulsha Prechod, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts.

[III.iii.430.] All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure Chetfirds, and the Bulsha Prechod deliver in their receipts to the head treasurie, that lyeth within the Emperours house or Castle at the Mosko. Where lye all his Moneys, Jewels, Crownes, Scepters, Plate, and such like, the Chests, Hutches, and Bags being signed by the Emperours themselves with their owne seale. Though at this time the L. Borris Federowich Godonoe, his seale and over-sight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The under Officer at this time is one Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe, Cousin germane to the said Borris, who hath two Clerkes allowed to serve under him in the Office.

The Emperors treasure house within his Castle of Mosko.

The sum of the Emperors rent money.

The sum that groweth to the Emperours Treasury in money onely, for every yeere.

1. Out of the Stewards Office above the expence of his house 23000. Rubbels.
2. Out of the foure Chetfirds for Soake and Head-money, 400000. Rubbels.
3. Out of the Bulsha Precod Office, or great Income, for Custome and other Rents, 800000. Rubbels.

Sum 1430000. Rubbels cleere, besides all charges for his house and ordinary salleries of his Souldiers otherwise discharged.

But besides this revenue that is paid all in money to the Emperors treasurie, he receiveth yeerely in Furres, and other duties to a great value out of Siberia, Pechora, Permia, and other places, which are sold or bartred away for other forraine commodities to the Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Georgian and Bougharian Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome.

What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot bee set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall as the commoditie may be got) it may be ghessed by that which was gathered the last yeere out of Siberia for the Emperours Custome, vz. 466. Timber of Sables, five Timber of Martrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may be added their seazures, and confiscations upon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe, besides other their extraordinary Impositions, and exactions done upon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessitie, or use of the Prince, or Commonwealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of policie. To this purpose this byword was used by the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich: That his people were like to his beard. The oftner shaven, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeere at the least: to keepe them from being over-laden with their wooll.

MEanes serving to which purpose were to prevent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done upon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Provinces: but to suffer them to goe on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselves full. Then to call them to the Praveush (or whip) for their behaviour, and to beat out of them all, or the most part of the bootie, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they have wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperours Treasurie, but never any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or evident soever the injurie be. To this end the needie Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Provinces, serve the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a yeere: where in respect of their owne, and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longer time, without all feare of innovation. For comming still fresh upon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like

Understand these politike courses of the times when the Author writ. Gods chastisement hath since beene heavy to sweep such ills from among them.

Tiberius the Emperours Flies, that came new still upon an old sore. To whom he was wont to compare his Prætors, and other Provinciall Officers.

2. Yet they did make of these Officers (that have robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorious then the rest: the Emperour thus seeming to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferring the fault to his ill Officers. As among divers other, was done by the late Emperor Ivan Vasilowich to a Diacke in one of his Provinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose readie drest full of mony. The man was brought to the Market-place in Mosko. The Emperour himselfe present made an Oration. These, good people, are they that would eate you up like bread, &c. Then asked he his Polachies or Executioners, who could cut up a Goose, and commanded one of them first to cut off his legs about the midst of the shin, then the armes above his elbowes (asking him still if Goose-flesh were good meat) in the end to chop off his head: that hee might have the right fashion of a Goose readie dressed.

3. They make an open shew of want, when any great Taxe or Imposition is towards. As was done by this Emperour Theodore Ivanowich, by the advice of some about him at the beginning of his raigne: when being left very rich (as was thought) by his father, he sold most of his Plate, and stamped some into Coyne: that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a Taxation.

4. They suffer their subjects to give freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many doe, specially in their last Wills) and to lay up their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or proviso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe to have the money of the [III.iii.431.] Realme better stored together, and more readie for their

hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is done without any noyse: the Friers being content rather to part from somewhat (as the increase groweth) then to lose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end Ivan Vasilowich late Emperor used a very strange practise, that few Princes would have done in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his Kingdome to one Velica Knez Simeon, the Emperours sonne of Cazan: as though hee meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings to a quiet private life. Towards the end of the yeere, he caused this new King to call in all Charters granted to Bishoprickes, and Monasteries, which they had enjoyed many hundred yeeres before. Which were all cancelled. This done (as in dislike of the fact & of the mis-government of the new King) hee resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in favour to the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reserving and annexing to the Crowne so much of their lands, as himselfe thought good. *A strange practice to get money.*

By this practice he wrung from the Bishoprickes and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money. From some fortie, from some fiftie, from some an hundred thousand Rubbels. And this as well for the increase of his Treasury, as to abate the ill opinion of his hard government, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted: that being hated of his subjects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet should venture such a practice to set another in his saddle, that might have rid away with his horse, while himselfe walked by on foot.

5. They send their Messengers into the Provinces or Shires, where the speciall commodities of their Countrey grow, as Furres, Wax, Hony, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse sometime one whole commoditie, sometime two or more, taking them at small prices what themselves

list, and selling them againe at an excessive rate to their owne Merchants, and to Merchants strangers. If they refuse to buy them, then to force them unto it. The like is done when any commoditie either native or forraine (as Cloth of Gold, Broad-cloth, etc.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and received into his treasury happeneth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualtie. Which is forced upon the Merchants to be bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will or no. This last yeere of 1589. was engrossed all the Wax of the Countrey: so that none might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

6. To take up and engrosse in like sort sometime forraine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his Realme by Turkish Merchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and other. And then to force his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

7. They make a Monopoly for the time of such commodities as are paid him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time none must sell of the same kinde of commoditie, till the Emperours be all sold. By this meanes he maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other provision of victuall (as before was said) about 200000. Rubbels or Markes a yeere. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay, &c. 30000. Rubbels, or thereabouts.

8. In every great Towne of his Realme hee hath a Caback or other drinking house, where is sold Aquavitæ (which they call Russe Wine) Mead, Beere, &c. Out of these hee receiveth Rent that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld 800. some 900. some a 1000. some 2000. or 3000. Rubbels a yeere. Wherein besides the base and dishonourable meanes to encrease his treasury, many foule faults are committed. The poore Labouring man, and Artificer, many times spendeth all from his wife and children. Some use to lay in twentie, thirtie, fortie Rubbels, or more into the

Caback, and vow themselves to the pot, till all that be spent. And this (as he will say) for the honour of Hospodare, or the Emperour. You shall have many there that have drunke all away to the very skin, and so walke naked (whom they call Naga.) While they are in the Caback, none may call them forth whatsoever cause there be, because he hindereth the Emperours revenue.

9. Some of his Boiarens, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he useth upon trust) that have houses in the Mosko, faine themselves robbed: Then they send for the Zemskey men, or Aldermen of the Citie, and command them to finde out the robbery: In default of not finding it, prave or cease the Citie for their misgovernment in 8000. 9000. or 10000. Rubbels at a time. This is many times practised.

10. In these exactions to shew their Soveraigntie, sometime they have beene used very plaine, and yet strange cavillations. As was that of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into Permia for certaine loads of Cedar wood, wherof he knew that none grew in that Countrey. The inhabitants returned answer they could finde none there. Whereupon hee seazed their Countrey in 12000. Rubbels, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citie of Mosko to provide for him a Colpack, or measure full of live Fleas for a medicine. They returned answere that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon hee praved, or beat out of their shins 7000. Rubbels for a Mulct. By like cavillation hee extorted for his Nobilitie 30000. Rubbels, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if [III.iii.432.] their hunting and murthering of Hares had beene the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) Praved presently againe upon the Mousicks, or common people of the Countrey.

Chap. 13. Of the state of the Commonnaltie, or vulgar sort of the people in the Countrey of Russia.

THe condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee understood by that which already hath beene sayd concerning the manner of their Government, and the state of the Nobilitie, with the ordering of their Provinces, and chiefe Townes of the Land. And first touching their libertie how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor have any suffrage nor place in their Zabore, or high Court of Parliament, where their Lawes and publike Orders are concluded upon. Againe into what servile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles, and Gentlemen of the Countrey (who themselves also are but servile, specially of late yeeres) it may further appeare by their owne acknowledgments in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe Officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves Kolophey, that is, their Villaines, or Bond-slaves: as they of the Nobilitie doe unto the Emperour. This may truely bee sayd of them, that there is no servant nor bond-slave more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, and that universally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobilitie chiefe Officers and Souldiers. So that when a poore Mousick meeteth with any of them upon the high way, hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth unto his Idoll.

The servile and miserable estate of the Russe people.

Miserie of those times, manners and men.

Secondly, concerning the Lands, goods, and other possessions of the Commons, they answer the Name and lye Common indeed, without any fence against the rapine and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers, and Souldiers. Besides the Taxes, Customes, Seazures, and other publike exactions done upon them by the Emperour, they are so racked and pulled by the Nobles, Officers, and Messengers, sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affayres, specially in the Yam-

mes (as they call them) and thorow faire Townes, that you shall have many Villages and Townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all unhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame usage, and exactions done upon them. So that in the way towards Mosko, betwixt Vologda and Yaruslaveley (which is two nineties after their reckoning, little more then an hundred miles English,) there are in sight fiftie Darieunes or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as is sayd by those that have better travelled the Countrey then my selfe had time, or occasion to doe.

The great oppression over the poore Commons, made them to have no courage in following their Trades: for the more they have, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their lives also. And if they have any thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conveying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it under the ground, and in Woods, as men are wont to doe where they are in feare of forraigne invasion. Insomuch that many times you shall see them afraid to bee knowne to any Boiaren or Gentleman, of such commodities as they have to sell. I have seene them sometimes when they have layd open their Commodities for a liking (as their principall Furres and such like) to looke still behinde them, and towards every doore: as men in some feare, that looked to bee set upon, and surprised by some Enemie. Whereof asking the cause, I found it to bee this, that they have doubted least some Nobleman or Sinaboiarskey of the Emperour had beene in company, and so layed a trayne for them to pray upon their Commodities perforce.

This made the people (though otherwise hardened to beare any toyle) to give themselves much to Idlenesse and Drinking: as passing for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the Commodities of Russia (as was sayd before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hides,

Flax, Hempe, &c. grow and goe abroad, in farre lesse plentie then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of their gettings, are discouraged from their labours. Yet this one thing is much to bee noted, that in all this oppression there were three brethren Merchants, of late that traded together with one Stocke in common, that were found to bee worth 300000. Rubbels in money, besides Lands, Cattels, and other Commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings farre off from the eye of the Court, viz. in Wichida, one thousand miles from Mosko and more. The same are sayd by those that knew them, to have set on worke all the yeere long ten thousand men in making of Salt, carriages by Cart, and Boat, hewing of Wood and such like: besides five thousand Bondslaves at the least, to inhabite and till their Land. They had also their Physitians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of Doutches and others, belonging unto them. They are sayd to have payed to the Emperour for Custome to the summe of three and twentie thousand Rubbels a yeere, (for which cause they were suffered to enjoy their Trade) besides the maintayning of certayne Garrisons on the borders of Siberia, which were neare unto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to use their purse, till such time as they had got ground in Siberia, and made it habitable, by burning and cutting downe Woods, from Wichida to Perm, above one thousand verst, and then tooke it all away from them perforce. But this in the end being envyed and disdayned, as a matter not standing with their policie, to have any so great, specially a Mousick, the Emperour began first to pull from them by pieces, sometimes twentie thousand Rubbels at a time, sometime more: till in the end their Sonnes that now are, are well eased of their Stocke, and have but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours treasurie. Their names were Jacove, Gregorie, and Simon, the Sonnes of Onyka.

Rich Russian Merchants.

[III.iii.433.]

For the qualitie of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to bee in them some aptnesse to receive any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any learning, or literall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all military practice: that they may bee fitter for the servile condition, wherein now they are, and have neither reason, nor valour to attempt innovation. For this purpose also they are kept from travelling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other Countries abroad. You shall seldome see a Russe a traveller, except hee bee with some Embassadour, or that hee make an escape out of his Countrey. Which hardly he can doe, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death, if hee bee taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to read, and that very few of them. Neither doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any civill Countrie, for the same cause, farther then necessitie of uttering their commodities, and taking in of forreine doth enforce them to doe.

Russes not permitted to travell.

And therefore this yeere 1589. they consulted about the removing of all Merchants strangers to the border Townes, to abide and have their residencie there, and to bee more wary in admitting other strangers heereafter into the Inland parts of the Realme. For the same purpose also they are kept within the bounds of their degree by the Lawes of their Countrey: so that the sonne of a Mousick, Artificer, or Husbandman, is ever a Mousick, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except, having learned to write and reade, hee attayne to the preferment of a Priest, or Dyack. Their Language is all one with the Slavonian, which is thought to have beene derived from the Russe Tongue, rather then the Russe from the Slavonian. For the People called Sclavi, are knowne to have had their beginning out of Sarmatia, and

The jealousie of the Emperour concerning his state.

Sclavonia and the Language.

to have tearmed themselves of their Conquest Sclavos, (that is) Famous or Glorious, of the word Sclava, which in the Russe and Slavonian Tongue signifieth as much as Glorie, or Fame. Though afterwards being subdued and trod upon by divers Nations, the Italians, their Neighbours, have turned the word to a contrary signification, and terme every Servant or Peasant by the name of Sclave, as did the Romanes by the Getes and Syrians, for the same reason. The Russe Character or Letter is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, apparell, and such like, it is to be noted in a severall Chapter of their private behaviour. This order that bindeth every man to keepe his ranke, and severall degree, wherein his fore-fathers lived before him, is more meet to keepe the Subjects in a servile subjection, and so apt for this and like Commonwealths, then to advance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent qualitie in Nobilitie or Commons: as having no further reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeavours, and employ themselves to advance their estate, but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall qualitie.

Chap. 14. Of their publike Justice, and manner of proceeding in Civill, and Criminall matters.

Courts of Civill Justice three.

THeir Courts of Civill Justice for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subject unto the other by way of appeale. The lowest Court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the Subjects) is the Office of the Gubnoy Starust, that signifieth an Alderman, and of the Sotskoy Starust, or Bayliffe of the Soake or Hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Provinces. These may end matters among their neighbours within their Soake, or severall Hundred, where they are appointed under the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to whom the parties may remove their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said Gubnoy, or Sotskoy Starust.

The second is kept in the head Townes of every Pro-

A.D. 1589.

vince or Shire, by the said Dukes and Dyacks, that are Deputies to the foure Lords of the Chetfirds (as before was said.) From these Courts they may appeale, and remove their Suits to the chiefe Court, that is kept at the Mosko, where are resident the Officers of the foure Chetfirds. These are the chiefe Justices or Judges, every of them in all Civill matters that grow within their severall Chetfird or Quarter, and may be either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferiour Courts of the Shires by way of appeale.

The Dukes and Dyacks Court.

The high Court of Mosko.

Their commencing, and proceeding in Civill actions is on this manner. First, the Plaintife putteth up his Supplication, wherein he declareth the effect of his Cause, or wrong done unto him. Whereupon is granted unto him a Wepis, or Warrant, which he delivereth to the Præstave, or Sergeant, to doe the arrest upon the partie whom hee meaneth to implead. Who upon the arrest, is to put in Sureties to answere the day appointed, or else standeth at the Sergeants devotion, to be kept safe by such meanes as he thinketh good.

Their manner of proceeding in Civill matters.

[III.iii.434.]

The Sergeants are many, and excell for their hard and cruell dealing towards their prisoners; commonly they clap Irons upon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out of them some larger fees. Though it be but for sixe pence, you shall see them goe with Chaines on their legs armes, and necke. When they come before the Judge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter after the contents of his Supplication. As for Attorneys, Counsellors, Procurators, and Advocates, to plead their Cause for them, they have no such order, but every man is to tell his owne tale, and plead for himselfe as well as he can.

If they have any witnesse or other evidence, they produce it before the Judge. If they have none, or if the trueth of the Cause cannot so well bee discerned by the plea, or evidence on both parts: then the Judge asketh either partie (which hee thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether hee will kisse the Crosse, upon that

Ending of controversies by kissing the Crosse.

which he avoucheth, or denyeth. Hee that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Judge) is accounted cleare, and carrieth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court, or Office, but the partie is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging upon a naile, or else lying at the Idols feet, ready to be delivered to the partie, as soone as he hath kissed the Crosse before the said Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse (called Creustina chelovania) is as their corporall Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictorie matter, then they draw Lots. The better Lot is supposed to have the right, and beareth away the matter. So the partie convicted is adjudged to pay the debt or penaltie whatsoever, and withall to pay the Emperours fees, which is twentie pence upon every Marke, as before hath beene noted.

Judgement by lot.

When the matter is thus ended, the partie convicted is delivered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant out of the Office, to carrie him to the Praveush or Righter of Justice, if presently he pay not the money, or content not the partie. This Praveush or Righter, is a place neere to the Office: where such as have sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adjudged, are beaten with great cudgels on the shinnes, and calves of their legs. Every fore-noone from eight to eleven, they are set on the Praveush, and beate in this sort till the money bee payd. The after-noone and night time, they are kept in chaines by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient Sureties for their appearance at the Praveush at the houre appointed. You shall see fortie or fiftie stand together on the Praveush all on a rew, and their shinnes thus becudgelled, and bebasted every morning with a piteous crye. If after a yeeres standing on the Praveush, the partie will not, or lacke wherewithall to satisfie his creditor, it is lawfull for him to sell his wife, and children, either

Shin-beating.

Terrible terms.

outright, or for a certaine terme of yeeres. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his bond-slaves, for yeeres, or for ever, according as the value of the debt requireth.

Such kind of Suits as lacke direct evidence, or stand upon conjectures and circumstances to be weighed by the Judge, draw of great length, and yeeld great advantage to the Judge, and Officers. If the Suit be upon a Bond, or Bill, they have for the most part good and speedy justice. Their Bonds or Bills are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour. I Ivan Vasileo have borrowed of Alphonasse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbels of going money of Mosko, from the Kreshenea (or hallowing of the water) untill the Saburney Voscreshenea (or Counsell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest unpayed after that day, then hee shall give interest upon the said money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, vz. for every five the sixt Rubbell. Upon this there are Witnesses, Micheta Sydroveskoy, &c. Subscribed. This Bill have I written Gabriel Jacovelesni, in the yeere 7096. The Witnesses, and Debter (if hee can write) endorse their names on the backeside of the Bill. Other signing, or sealing have they none.

The forme of Russe Bills or Bonds.

When any is taken for a matter of Crime (as Treason, Murder, Theft, and such like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diack, that are for the Province where the partie is attached, by whom hee is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinowes, or whitleather (called the Pudkey) as big as a mans finger, which giveth a sore lash, and entreth into the flesh; or by tying to a Spit and rosting at the fire; sometimes by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a paire of hot Tongs, or cutting their flesh under the nayles, and such like.

Proceeding in Criminall matters.

Pudkey whipping.

Rosting.

The examination thus taken with all the proofes, and evidences that can bee alleaged against the partie, it is sent up to the Mosko, to the Lord of the Chetfird or Fourth part, under whom the Province is, and by him

is presented to the Counsell-table, to be read and sèntenced there, where onely Judgement is given in matter of life and death, and that by evidence upon information, though they never saw nor heard the partie who is kept still in prison where the fact was committed, and never sent up to the place where hee is tryed. If they finde the partie
[III.iii.435.] guilty, they give Sentence of death according to the qualitie of the fact: which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diack to bee put in execution. The Prisoner is carried to the place of execution with his hands bound, and a Waxe candle burning held betwixt his fingers.

Executions. Their Capitall punishments are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting under the Ice, setting on a stake, and such like. But for the most part, the Prisoners that are condemned in Summer, are kept for the Winter, to be knockt in the head, and put under the Ice. This is to bee understood of common persons. For theft, and murder, If they bee committed upon a poore Mousick by one of Nobilitie are not lightly punished, nor yet is hee called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their Kolophey, or Bond-slaves. If by some Sinaboiarskey, or Gentleman Souldier, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure hee shall bee imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact be very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted upon them.

If a man kill his owne servant, little or nothing is said unto him, for the same reason: because hee is accounted to be his Kolophey, or Bond-slave, and so to have right over his very head. The most is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the partie bee rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse,
Rituall (not right-all) Booke. then against the injustice. They have no written Law, save onely a small Booke that contayneth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such

other Judiciall formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them to give Sentence upon right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, that is, the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates and Officers.

Chap. 15. *Their forces for the warres, with the chiefe Officers and salaries.*

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboiarskey, or the Sonnes of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For every Souldier in Russia is a Gentleman, and none are Gentlemen but onely the Souldiers, that take it by discent from their Ancestors: so that the sonne of a Gentleman (which is borne a Souldier) is ever a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, and professeth nothing else but military matters. When they are of yeeres able to beare Armes, they come to the Office of Roserade, or Great Constable, and there present themselves: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine Lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part of the same that their fathers enjoyed. For the Lands assigned to maintayne the Armie, are ever certaine, annexed to this Office without improving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour have sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the Land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and have nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the Land be divided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that Countrey: When a Souldier that hath many children, shall have sometimes but one entertayned in the Emperours pay. So that the rest having nothing, are forced to live by unjust and wicked shifts, that tend to the hurt and oppression of the Mousicke, or common sort of people. This inconvenience groweth by maintayning his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his Souldiers in continuall pay, is this: First, he hath of his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Guard of his person, to the number of 15000. Horsemen, with

The onely Gentlemen.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Emperours Guard.

their Captaines and other Officers, that are alwaies in a readinesse.

Degrees of Horsemen. 1. Prætoriani, or such as attend the Emperors person, 15000.

Of these fifteene thousand Horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called, Dworaney Bulshey, or the companie of head Pensioners, that have, some 100. some 80. Rubbels a yeere, and none under 70. The second sort are called, Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners: these have 60. or 50. Rubbels by the yeere, none under 40. The third and lowest sort are, the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the lowe Pensioners: their salarie is 30. Rubbels a yeere, for him that hath most; some have but 25. some 20. none under 12. Whereof the halfe part is payd them at the Mosko, the other halfe in the field by the General, when they have any warres, and are employed in service. When they receive their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. Rubb. by the yeere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to every one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him 20. Rubbels or Markes by the yeere. Besides these 15000. Horsemen, that are of better choise (as being the Emperours owne Guard when himselfe goeth to the warres, not unlike the Roman Souldiers called Pretoriani) are 110. men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and have their names registred, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. Horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the warres of the Russe manner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they have yeerely allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, and their Companies, to the summe of 40000. Rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field every yeere on the borders towards the Chrim Tartar, (except they bee appointed for some other service) whether there bee warres with

the Tartàrs, or not. This might seeme peradventure somewhat dangerous for some State, to have so great [III.iii.436.] forces under the command of Noblemen, to assemble every yeere to one certaine place. But the matter is so used, as that no danger can grow to the Emperour, or his State by this meanes. First, Because these Noblemen are many, to wit, 110. in all, and changed by the Emperour so oft as hee thinketh good. Secondly, Because they have their livings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small Revenue, and receive this yeerely pay of 40000 Rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe to the Souldiers that are under them. Thirdly, Because for the most part they are about the Emperors person, being of his Counsell, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, They are rather as Pay-masters, then Captaines to their Companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe. So the whole number of Horsemen that are ever in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he have need of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then hee entertayneth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giveth charge to his Noblemen, that hold Lands of him, to bring into the field every man a proportionable number of his servants (called Kolophey, such as till his Lands) with their furniture, according to the just number that hee intendeth to make. Which, the service being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their servile occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called Strelsey. Whereof 5000. are to attend about the Citie of Mosko, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called Stremaney, Strelsey, or Gunners at the Stirrop) about his owne person at the

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison Townes, till there be occasion to have them in the field, and receive for their salarie or stipend every man seven Rubbels a yeere, besides twelve measures, a piece of Rye, and Oats. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimscoy) they have at this time 4300. of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are under the Polonians) about 4000. whereof 3500. are abroad in his Garrisons: of Dutches and Scots, about 150: of Greekes, Turkes, Danes, and Sweadens, all in one band, 100. or thereabouts. But these they use only upon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar Souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but onely for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweaden: thinking it best policy so to use their service upon the contrary border.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyavody Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant generall under the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobilitie of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour or practice in Martiall matters, being thought to serve that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him save the countenance of his Nobilitie, to bee liked of by the Souldiers for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very warie, that these two, to wit, Nobilitie and Power, meet not both in one, specially if they see wisedome withall, or aptnesse for policie.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders.
1. *The Voiavod or Generall.*

Their great Voiavod or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure, Knez Feoder Ivanowich Methisloskey, Knez Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great Nobilitie, but of very simple qualitie otherwise: though in Glinskoy (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make up this defect in the Voiavod

or Generall, there is some other joyned with him as Lieutenant generall, of farre lesse Nobilitie, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most used in their warres, is one Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine, an antient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great service (as they say) against the Tartar, and Polonian. Next under the Voiavod and his Lieutenant generall, are foure other, that have the marshalling of the whole Armie divided among them, and may be called the Marshals of the field.

2. *Lieutenant generall.*

3. *Marshals of the field, foure.*

Every man hath his quarter, or fourth part under him: whereof the first is called, the Prava Polskoy, or Right wing. The second is, the Levoy Polskoy, or Left wing. The third is, Rusnoy Polskoy, or The broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad upon any sudden exploit, or to make a rescue or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth, Storeshovoy Polskoy, or The warding band. Every one of these foure Marshals have two other under them (eight in all) that twice every weeke at the least must muster and traine their severall wings or bands, and hold and give justice for all faults and disorders committed in the Campe.

4. *Marshals Deputies* 8.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the hundred and ten (which I spake of before) that receive and deliver the pay to the Souldiers. Under these eight are divers other Captaines, as the Gul avoy, Captaines of thousands, five hundreds, and hundreds. The Petyde Setskoy, or Captaines of fifties; and the Decetskies, or Captaines of tennes.

5. *Coronels Under-captaines.*

Besides the Voiavoda, or Generall of the Armie, (spoken of before) they have two other that beare the name of Voiavoda: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordnance (called Naradna Voiavoda) who hath divers Under-officers, necessary for that service. The other is called, the Voiavoda Gulavoy, or the Walking

6. *Masters of the Artillerie.*

[III.iii.437.]

The walking Captayne.

Captayne, that hath allowed him 1000. good Horsemen of principall choice, to range and spye abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captaynes, and men of charge must once every day resort to the Bulsha Voiavoda, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him if there be any requisite matter pertayning to their Office.

Chap. 16. Of their mustering, and levying of forces, manner of Armour, and provision of victuall for the Warres.

WHen Wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly every yeere with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden), the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their Summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to be proclaymed in the head Townes of every Shire: that all the Sinaboiarskey, or Sonnes of Gentlemen make their repayre to such a border where the Service is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselves to such and such Captaynes. When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certayne Officers that have Commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or High Constable, as Clerkes of the Bands.

Their order for mustering.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very severely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofefull for the present service. When the Souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands, and Companies, under their severall Captaynes of tens, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into four Polskeis or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) under their foure great Leaders, which also have the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was said before.)

The Horsemans Furniture.

Concerning their Armour they are but slightly appointed. The common Horse-man hath nothing else

but his Bow in his Case under his right arme, and his Quiver and Sword hanging on the left side: except some few that beare a Case of Dagges, or a Javeling, or short Staffe along their Horse side. The under Captaynes will have commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a shirt of Mail, or such like. The Generall with the other chiefe Captaynes and men of Nobility, will have their Horse very richly furnished, their Saddles of Cloth of Gold, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Gold, and Silke frindge, bestudded with Pearle and Precious Stones, themselves in very faire Armour, which they call Bullatnoy, made of faire shining Steele, yet covered commonly with Cloth of Gold, and edged round about with Armine Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head of a very great price, his Sword, Bow, and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another Helmet, and his Shestapera, or Horse-mans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoot forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

Shooting forward and backward.

The Strelsey or Footman hath nothing but his Peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his Peece is not made Caleever wise, but with a plaine and strait stocke (somewhat like a Fowling-peece) the Barrell is rudely and unartificially made, very heavie, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet. As for their provision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captayne, or Souldier, neyther provideth any for them except peradventure some Corne for their Money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe to serve his turne for foure moneths, and if need require to give order for more to bee brought unto him to the Campe from his Tenant that tilleth his Land, or some other place. One great helpe they have, that for Lodging and Dyet every Russe is prepared to bee a Souldier before-hand. Though the chiefe Captaynes and others of account carry Tents with them after the fashion of ours with some better provision of

The footmans Furniture.

Provision of victuall.

Provisions.

victuall then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dryed Bread (which they call Sucharie) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a Ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate raw in stead of Bread. Their Meate is Bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch manner. If the Russe Souldier were as hardie to execute an Enterprize, as he is hard to beare out toyle and travell, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the Warres, as he is indifferent for his Lodging and Dyet, hee would farre exceed the Souldiers of our parts. Whereas now he is farre meaner of courage and execution in any Warlike service. Which commeth partly of his servile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which hee hath no great hope of whatsoever service or execution he doe.

Honos alit artes.

Chap. 17. *Of their marching, charging, and other Martiall Discipline.*

THe Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valour of his Souldiers, or good ordering of his Forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the fore Polskey or Legions, (whereinto their Armie is divided) keepe themselves severall under their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrie, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the Image of Saint George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe Horse-men, have every man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which hee striketh when hee giveth the charge, or onset.

George-ensigne.

Horse-mens Drummes.

[III.iii.438.] They have Drummes besides of a huge bignesse, which they carrie with them upon a board layd on foure Horses, that are sparred together with Chaines, every Drumme having eight strikers, or Drummers, besides Trumpets and Shawmes, which they sound after a wild manner, much different from ours. When they give any charge or make any invasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as loude as they can, which with the sound

The horsemans manner of charging.

of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrowes, then dealing with their Swords, which they use in a bravery to shake, and brandish over their heads, before they come to strokes.

The footmans charge.

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great invasion be made upon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set with in the running or moving Castle (called Beza, or Gulay gorod) which is carried about with them by the Voiavoda gulavoy (or the walking Generall) whom I spake of before. This walking or moving Castle is so framed, that it may be set up in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seven miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behind and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and have roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to use their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope-holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their Peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is carryed with the Armie wheresoever it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layed on Carts sparred together, and drawne by Horse that are not seene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage as with a shelfe or pent-house. When it is brought to the place where it is to bee used (which is devised and chosen out before by the walking Voiavod) it is planted so much as the present use requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or Instrument: because the Timber is so framed to claspe together one piece within an other: as is easily understood by those that know the manner of the Russe building.

The walking Castle.

In this Castle standeth their shot well fenced for advantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordnance, nor other weapon into the field with him, save his Sword, and Bow and Arrowes. They have also within it divers field Peeces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of Peeces for the field they carrie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they goe better furnished with all kind of Munition, and other necessarie provisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of Munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie House at Mosko, where are of all sorts of great Ordnance, all Brass Peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

Store of Munition.

The Russe Souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practice of his Wars, and namely, at the siege of Vobsko, about eight yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian King Stepan Batore, with his whole Armie of 100000. men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaynes and Souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to have ever the worse of the Polonian, and Sweden.

If any behave himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall piece of service, the Emperour sendeth him a piece of Gold, stamped with the Image of Saint George on Horseback. Which they hang on their sleeves, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive, for any service they doe.

Reward for valour.

Chap. 18. *Of their Colonies, and maintayning of their conquests or purchases by force.*

THe Russe Emperours of late yeeres have very much enlarged their Dominions and Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of Mosko, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the Citie, and Dukedome of Novograd on the West, and North-west side: which was no small

enlargement of their Dominion, and strengthning to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Ivan great Grand-father to Theodore now Emperour, about the yeere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach upon the Countreyes of Lituania, and Livonia, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him upon some part of those Countreyes, was pursued and performed by his Sonne Basileus, who first wan the Citie and Dukedome of Plesko, afterwards the Citie and Dukedome of Smolensko, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging unto them, about the yeere 1514. These Victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians in the time of Alexander their Duke, hee atchieved rather by advantage of civill Dissentions and Treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his Sonne Ivan Vasilowich, about eight or nine yeeres past, upon composition with the Polonian King Stepan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the advantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had given him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne State at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time hath left him on that side his Countrey, the Cities of Smolensko, Vitobsko, Cheringo, and Beala gorod in Lituania. In Livonia, not a Towne, nor one foot of ground. *Lituania.*

When Basileus first conquered those Countreyes, he [III.iii.439.] suffered the Natives to keepe their Possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, under the Government of his Russe Captaynes. But by their Conspiracies and Attempts not long after, hee was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming upon them the second time, hee killed and carryed away with him, three parts of foure, which hee gave or sold to the Tartars that served him in those Wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might over-match the rest, with certayne Garrisons of strength besides, wherein notwithstanding this over-sight was committed, for that (taking away with

him the Up-land, or Countrey people that should have tilled the ground, and might easily have beene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driven afterwards many yeeres together to victual the Countrey (especially the great Towne) out of his owne Countrey of Russia, the soyle lying there in the meanewhile waste, and untilled.

Narve. The like fell out at the Port of Narve in Liefland, where his Sonne Ivan Vasilowich devised to build a Towne, and a Castle on the other side the River (called Ivangorod) to keepe the Towne and Countrey in subjection. The Castle hee caused to bee so built, and *The Devill it was.* fortified, that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But having left the Natives all within their owne Countrey, without abating their number or strength, the Towne and Castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of Sweden.

On the South-east side they have got the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about thirty five, the other about thirty three yeeres agoe. North-ward out of the Countrey of Siberia, he hath layed unto his Realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the River of Obba, about 1000. miles space: so that he is bold to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia.

Permia and Pechora. The Countreyes likewise of Permia, and Pechora, are a divers People and Language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Chap. 19. *Of the Tartars and other borderers to the countrey of Russia, with whom they have most to doe in war and peace.*

THeir Neighbours, with whom they have greatest dealings and intercourse, both in Peace and Warre, are first the Tartar: Secondly, the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or Posteritie of Laches: which the Latines after their manner of writing call Polanos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians and Swedens are better knowne to these parts of Europe, then are the Tartars that are farther off from us (as being of Asia) and divided into many Tribes, different both in name, and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Cham) that lyeth South, and South-east-ward from Russia, and doth most annoy the Countrey by often Invasions, commonly once every yeere, sometimes entring very farre within the In-land parts.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

The Chrim Tartar.

In the yeere 1571. he came as farre as the Citie of Mosko, with an Armie of 200000. men, without any battell, or resistance at all, for that the Russe Emperour (then Ivan Vasilowich) leading forth his Armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but as it was thought of very purpose, as not daring to adventure the field, by reason that he doubted his Nobilitie, and chiefe Captaynes, of a meaning to betray him to the Tartar.

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeere 1571.

The Citie he tooke not, but fired the Suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which is all of Wood without any Stone, Bricke, or Lime, save certayne out Roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the Citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable Spectacle: besides the huge and mightie flame of the Citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the Gates farthest from the Enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, and so pressing everie man

to prevent another, wedged themselves so fast within the Gate, and streets neere unto it, as that three Rankes walked one upon the others head, the uppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire and the presse, the number of 80000. people, or more.

The Chrim thus having fired the Citie, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all of a light flame, returned with his Armie, and sent to the Russe Emperour a Knife (as was sayd) to sticke himselfe withall: obrayding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring either to meete his Enemie in the field, nor to trust his Friends or Subjects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell, betwixt the Russe and the Chrim, is for the right of certayne border parts claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleadgeth, that besides Astracan and Cazan, (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole Countrey from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe, pertayneth to his right. [III.iii.440.] Which seemeth to have beene true by the report of the Russes themselves, that tell of a certayne homage that was done by the Russe Emperour every yeere, to the great Chrim or Cham, the Russe Emperour standing on foote and feeding the Chrims Horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with Oates out of his owne Cap, in stead of a Boll or Manger, and that within the Castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus Grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobilitie (called Ivan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with his Ransome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a Tribute of Furres: which afterwards also was denyed to bee payed by this Emperours Father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar. See the first booke of Bathay and of the Tartars Conquests.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the Russe defending his Countrey, and that which hee hath wonne, the Chrim Tartar invading him once or twice every yeere, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftener in Harvest.

What time if the Great Cham or Chrim come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short and sudden roades into the Countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wilde Geese flie, invading and retiring where they see advantage.

The manner of the Tartars fight, and Armour.

Their common practice (being very populous) is to make divers Armies, and so drawing the Russe to one, or two places of the frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of Fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the Russe manner, (spoken of before) save that they are all Horse-men, and carrie nothing else but a Bow, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a falcon Sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horse-men, and use to shoote as readily backward as forward. Some will have a hors-mans staffe like to a bore Speare, besides their other weapons. The common Souldier, hath no other Armour then his ordinary Apparell, viz. a blacke Sheepes skinne with the wooll-side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a Cap of the same. But their Morseys or Noblemen imitate the Turke, both in Apparell and Armour. When they are to passe over a River with their Armie, they tye three or foure Horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their Horse: so sitting on the Poles they drive their Horse over. At handie strokes (when they come to joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardie and bloudie, by continuall practice of Warre: as men knowing no Arts of Peace, nor any civill practice.

Apparell.

Mirzahs or Morseis.

The subtiltie of the Tartar.

Yet their subtiltie is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to rob their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to devise Stratagems upon the sudden, for their better advantage. As in their warre against Beala

the fourth King of Hungarie, whom they invaded with five hundred thousand men, and obtayned against him a great victorie. Where among other, having slaine his Chancellor, called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the Kings privie Seale. Whereupon they devised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings name, to the Cities and Townes next about the place, where the Field was fought: with charge that in no case they should convay themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leave the Countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an Enemie, as was the Tartar Nation, tearming themselves in all reproachfull manner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recover that losse, with the access of a notable victory, if the savage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose having written their Letters in the Polish Character, by certayne young men whom they tooke in the Field, and signed them with the Kings Seale, they dispatched them foorth to all the Quarters of Hungarie, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians, that were now flying away with their goods, Wives, and Children, upon the rumour of the Kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit Letters, stayed at home. And so were made a prey, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendrie: promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they use all manner of hostilitie and crueltie. This they doe upon a rule they have, viz. That Justice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto (having once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the Enemie into

it if they can. But the Russe being well acquainted with their practise, is more warie of them. When they come a Roving with some small number, they set on Horse-backe counterfeit shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great showte, crying all out together, Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe us, God helpe us. They contemne death so much, as that they choose rather to dye, then to yeeld to their Enemie, and are seene when they are slaine to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe Souldier if hee begin once to retire putteth all his safetie in his speedie flight. And if once he be taken by his enemie, hee neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to dye. The Turke commonly when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them up, as it were to bee tyed: hoping to save his life, by offering himselfe Bond-slave.

Tartars resolution.

[III.iii.441.]

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres, is to get store of Captives, specially young Boyes and Girles, whom they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets made like Bakers panniers, to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre, or to bee sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some Tree, and so leave him dead: The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the Captives and other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they have certayne bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receive and keepe the Captives and the other prey.

Captives.

The Russe borders (being used to their invasions, lightly every yeere in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, save swine onely, which

the Tartar will not touch, nor drive away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, & will eate no Swines-flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse as much as doth the Turke in his Alcaron, viz. That he came of the Angell Gabriel, and the Virgin Marie, that hee was a great Prophet, and shall bee the Judge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: having felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azov and Caffa, with some other Townes about the Euxine, or Blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Chrim Tartar. So that now the Emperour of the Chrims for the most part is chosen some one of the Nobilitie whom the Turke doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the Chrim Tartar giveth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle, which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

The Tartars Religion.

Herein they differ from the Turkish Religion, for that they have certayne Idoll puppets made of Silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as Janusses, or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certayne Religious women, which they have among them for that and like uses. They have besides, the Image of their King or great Cham of an huge bignesse, which they erect at everie stage, when the Armie marcheth: and this every one must bend or bow unto as hee passeth by it, bee he Tartar, or Stranger. They are much given to Witchcraft and ominous conjectures, upon every accident which they heare or see.

Idols.

Sorcerie.

In making of Marriages, they have no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Only with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house and accompanie with her, yet he accounteth her not for his Wife, till hee have a Child by her. Then he beginneth to take a

Marriage.

dowrie of her friends of Horse, Sheepe, Kine, &c. If shee be barren, after a certayne time hee turneth her home againe.

Under the Emperour they have certayne Dukes, whom they call Morseis or Dyvoymorseis: that rule over a certayne number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any use of them to serve in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, every man with his two Horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have his Horse eate. For their chiefe victuall is Horse-flesh, which they eate without Bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar bee taken by a Russe, hee shall be sure lightly to finde a Horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bow. *The Tartar Nobilitie.* *The Tartar dyet.*

This last yeere when I was at the Mosko, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Chrims that now is (whose Father was Emperour before) accompanied with three hundred Tartars, and his two Wives, whereof one was his Brothers widow. Where being entertayned in very good sort after the Russe manner, hee had sent unto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat Horses, ready slayed in a Sled. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marvell) though they serve all as Horsemen in the warres, and eate all of Horse-flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosko to bee exchanged for other commodities, thirtie or fortie thousand Tartar Horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great herds of Kine, and flockes of blacke Sheepe, rather for the Skinnes and Milke (which they carry with them in great bottles) then for the use of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some use they have of Rice, Figges, and other fruits. They

drinke Milke or warme Bloud, and for the most part card them both together. They use sometimes as they travell by the way, to let their Horse bloud in a veyne, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his body.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but have walking Houses which the Latines call Veii, built upon wheeles like a Shepherds Cottage. These they draw with them whithersoever they goe, driving their Cattell with them. And when they come to their [III.iii.442.] Stage or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streets, and of a large Towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire but an Agora, or Towne of wood, that mooveth with him whithersoever hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building used in other Countries, they say they are unwholsome and unpleasant.

Moveable Citie and Court.

They begin to moove their Houses and Cattell in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so driving on till they have grased all up to the furthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by ten or twelve miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung up againe, to serve for their Cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian Sea, to the Russe frontiers, they have a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they have no use at all, and therefore preferre Brasse and Steele before other metals, specially Bullate, which they use for Swords, Knives, and other necessaries. As for Gold and Silver they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which giveth them great advantage against all their neighbours, ever invading, and never being invaded.

For Person and Complexion, they have broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne hayred upon the upper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light and nimble Bodied, with short Legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their Childhood, seldome going a foot about any businesse. Their Speach is very sudden and loude, speaking as if it were out of a deepe hollow throat. When they Sing you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great Bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is Shooting, wherein they trayne up their Children from their very infancie, not suffering them to eate, till they have shot neere the marke within a certain scantling.

Tartars persons described.

Speach.

Song.

Shooting.

There are divers other Tartars that border upon Russia, as the Nagaies, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in Name more then in Regiment, or other condition, from the Chrim Tartar, except the Chircasses, that border South-west towards Lituania, and are farre more civill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them have subjected themselves to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but very savage and cruell above all the rest. The Cheremissin Tartar, that lyeth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugavoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly Countrey. These have much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy Peace of them, under pretence of giving a yeerely pension of Russe Commodities, to their Morseis or Dyvoymorseis, that are chiefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serve them in their warres, under certayne conditions. They are sayd to bee just and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people,

Divers kindes of Tartars.

The Chircasce the civillest Tartars.

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest.

The Cheremissen Tartar.

whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very unwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Mordwit Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the Morduite Tartar, that hath many selfe fashions, and strange kindes of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worship for God, that living thing, that hee first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it bee Horse, Dog, Cat, or whatsoever else it bee. When his friend dyeth, hee killeth his best Horse, and having flayed off the skinne, he carryeth it on high upon a long pole, before the Corps to the place of Buriall. This he doth (as the Russe sayth) that his friend may have a good horse to carrie him to Heaven: but it is likelier to declare his love towards his dead friend, in that hee will have to dye with him the best thing that hee hath.

Shalcan.

Next to the Kingdome of Astracan, that is the furthest part South-eastward of the Russe Dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the Countrey of Media: whither the Russe Merchants trade for raw Silkes, Syndon, Saphyon, Skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media

Derbent.

where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the Inhabitants say) and Zamachie, where the staple is kept for raw Silkes. Their manner is, in the Spring time to revive the Silke-wormes (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sunne, and (to hasten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bagges, and so to hang them under their Childrens armes. As for the Worme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrimson) that maketh coloured Silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachie for raw Silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also in Persia, and Bougharia, downe the River Volgha, and through

the Caspian Sea, is permitted as well to the English, as to the Russe Merchants, by the Emperours last Grant at my being there. Which hee accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might prove indeed very beneficiall to our English Merchants, if the Trade were well and orderly used.

[III.iii.443.] *Tartars generall Rules.*

The whole Nation of the Tartars are utterly voide of all Learning, and without written Law. Yet certayne rules they have which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort. First, to obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they command about the publike Service. Secondly, Except for the public behoofe, every man to bee free and out of Controlement. Thirdly, No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Countrey to bee as a Common. Fourthly, To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of Meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their Affaires. Fiftly, To weare any base Attire, and to patch their Cloathes, whether there bee any need or not: that when there is need, it bee no shame to weare a patcht Coate. Sixtly, To take or steale from any Stranger whatsoever they can get, as being Enemies to all men, save to such as will subject themselves to them. Seventhly, Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to bee true in word and deed. Eightly, To suffer no Stranger to come within the Realme, if any doe, the same to bee Bond-slave to him that first taketh him, except such Merchants and other, as have the Tartar Bull or Pasport about them.

Chap. 20. *Of the Permians, Samoits, and Lappes.*

The Permians.

THe Permians and Samoits that lye from Russia, North and North-east are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly be ghessed by the fashion of their Countenance, as having all broad and flat faces, as the Tartars have, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the Russe.

They live by Hunting and trading with their Furres, as doth also the Samoyt, that dwelleth more towards the North Sea. The Samoyt hath his name (as the Russe saith) of Eating himselfe: as if in times past, they lived as the Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kinde of raw flesh, whatsoever it bee, even the very Carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselves will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselves, as though they were Indiginæ, or people bred upon that very soyle, that never changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations have done. They are subject at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Samoits.

The Samoits Religion.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like.

Slata Baba of the Golden Hag.

As for the Storie of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I have read in some Maps, and descriptions of these Countries, to bee an Idoll after the forme of an old Woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giveth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe and event of things, I found it to bee but a very fable. Onely in the Province of Obdoria upon the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the great River Obba, there is a Rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged Woman with a Child in her armes, (as the Rocke by the North cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoits use much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for Fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceive, and practice their Sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good, or bad speed of their Journeyes, Fishings, Huntings, and such like.

The Samoits habite and behaviour.

They are clad in Seale-skinnes, with the hayrie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their Breeches and Netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all Blacke hayred, naturally beardlesse. And

therefore the Men are hardly discerned from the Women by their lookes: save that the Women weare a locke of hayre downe along both their eares. They live in a manner a wilde and a savage life, roving still from one place of the Countrey to another, without any propertie of House or Land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in every Companie, is their Papa or Priest.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lyeth the Countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the furthest point Northward, (towards the North cape) to the furthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Cape-grace) about three hundred and fortie five verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox, by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that Countrey) is ninetie miles or thereabouts. The whole Countrey in a manner is either Lakes or Mountaines, which towards the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of hard and craggie Rocke, but the inland parts are well furnished with Woods, that grow on the hill sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feed onely upon Fish and Fowle. They are subject to the Emperour of Russia, and the two Kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact Tribute and Custome of them (as was sayd before) but the Emperour of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first tearmed Lappes, of their briefe and short speach. The Russe divideth the whole Nation of the Lappes into two sorts. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes: because they bee of the Danish Religion. For the Danes and Noruegians, they account for one people. The other that have no Religion at all, but live as bruite and Heathenish people, without God in the world, they call Dikoy Lopary, or the wilde Lappes.

The Lappes.

No Bread.

Wilde Lappes.

The whole Nation is utterly unlearned, having not so

[III.iii.444.] much as the use of any Alphabet, or Letter among them.

Witches. For practice of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, they passe all Nations in the World. Though for the inchanting of ships that sayle along their Coast (as I have heard it reported) and their giving of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certayne knots upon a Rope (somewhat like to the Tale of Æolus his wind-bag) is a very Fable, devised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie Saylers for comming neere their Coast. Their Weapons are the Long-bow, and Hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neernesse at the Marke, by reason of their continuall practice (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild-fowle. Their manner is in Summer time to come downe in great companies to

Wardhuyse. the Sea-side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the Bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Cod, Salmon, and Butfish, which they sell to the Russes, Danes, and Noruegians, and now of late to the English-men that trade thither with Cloth, which they exchange with the Lappes and Corelians, for their Fish, Oyle, and Furres, whereof also they have

Cola. some store. They hold their Mart at Cola, on Saint Peters day, what time the Captayne of Wardhuyse (that is Resiant there for the King of Denmarke) must be present, or at least send his Deputie to set prices upon their Stock-fish, Trane-oyle, Furres, and other Commodities: as also the Russe Emperours Customer, or Tribute taker, to receive his Custome, which is ever payed before any thing can be bought, or sold. When their fishing is done, their manner is to draw their Carbasses, or Boats on shoare; and there to leave them with the Keele turned upwards, till the next Spring-tyde. Their travell too and

Sleds drawne with Deere. fro is upon Sleds, drawne by the Olen Deere: which they use to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Iland called Kilden (of a very good Soyle compared with other parts of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the use of their Sled.

Chap. 21. Of their Ecclesiasticall state, with their Church Offices.

COncerning the Government of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greeke: as being a part of that Church, and never acknowledging the Jurisdiction of the Latine Church, usurped by the Pope. That I may keepe a better measure in describing their Ceremonies, then they in the using them (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly: First, what Ecclesiasticall Degrees, or Offices they have with the Jurisdiction, and practice of them. Secondly, what Doctrine they hold in matter of Religion. Thirdly, what Lyturgie, or forme of Service they use in their Churches, with the manner of their administring the Sacraments. Fourthly, what other strange Ceremonies, and Superstitious Devotions are used among them.

The Church Officers.

Their Offices, or Degrees of Church-men, are as many in number, and the same in a manner both in name and degree, that were in the Westerne Churches. First, they have their Patriarch, then their Metropolites, their Archbishops, their Vladikey, or Bishops, their Protopapes or Archpriests, their Deacons, Friers, Monkes, Nunnes, and Eremites.

The Patriarch.

Patriarch of Sio, or Chio.

Their Patriarch, or chiefe Directer in matter of Religion untill this last yeere, was of the Citie of Constantinople (whom they called the Patriarch of Sio) because being driven by the Turke out of Constantinople (the Seate of his Empire) he removed to the Ile Sio, sometimes called Chio, and there placed his Patriarchiall Sea. So that the Emperours, and Clergie of Russia, were wont yeerely to send Gifts thither, and to acknowledge a Spirituall kind of homage, and subjection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they have held (as it seemeth) ever since they professed the Christian Religion. Which how long it hath been I could not wel learne, for that they have no Story or Monument of Antiquitie (that I could heare of) to shew what hath beene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church, or Common-wealth matters. Onely I heare a report among them, that about three hundred

yeers since, there was a Mariage betwixt the Emperour of Constantinople, and the Kings Daughter of that Countrey: who at the first denyed to joyne his Daughter in Mariage with the Greeke Emperour, because he was of the Christian religion. Which agreeth well with that I find in the Story of Laonicus Chalcacondylas concerning Turkish Affaires in his fourth Booke: where hee speaketh of such a Mariage betwixt John the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings Daughter of Sarmatia. And this argueth out of their owne report, that at that time they had not received the Christian Religion: as also that they were converted to the Faith, and withall perverted at the very same time, receiving the Doctrine of the Gospell, corrupted with Superstitions even at the first when they tooke it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many Superstitions, and foule Errours, both in Doctrine and Discipline: as may appeare by the Story of Nicephorus Gregoras, in his eighth and ninth Bookes. But as touching the time of their Conversion to the Christian Faith, I suppose rather that it is mistaken by the Russe, for that which I find in the Polonian Story, the second Booke the third Chapter: where is said that about the yeere 990. Vlodomirus Duke of Russia, married one Anne Sister to Basilius, and Constantinus Brothers, and Emperours of Constantinople. Whereupon the Russe received the Faith and Profession of Christ. Which though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the Russe Report, yet it falleth out all to one reckoning, touching this point, viz. [III.iii.445.] in what truth and sinceritie of Doctrine the Russe received the first stampe of Religion: for asmuch as the Greeke Church at that time also was many wayes infected with errour and superstition.

The translation of the Patriarchicall sea from Constantinople or Sio, to Mosko.

At my being there, the yeere 1588. came unto the Mosko the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio (called Hieronimo being banished as some sayd) by the Turke, as some other reported by the Greeke Clergie deprived. The Emperour being given altogether to superstitious

devotions, gave him great entertaynment. Before his comming to Mosko, hee had beene in Italy with the Pope, as was reported there by some of his company. His arrand was to consult with the Emperour concerning these points. First, about a League to passe betwixt him and the King of Spaine, as the meetest Prince to joyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the Russe and the Persian. Likewise from the Georgians to the Emperour of Russia, to joyne league together, for the invading of the Turke on all sides of his Dominion: taking the advantage of the simple qualitie of the Turke that now is. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassadour of Almayne, sent at the same time to solicite an invasion upon the parts of Polonia, that lye towards Rusland, and to borrow money of the Russe Emperour, to pursue the warre for his Brother Maximilian, against the Swedens sonne, now King of Poland. But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the Russe and the Spaniard, (which was in some forwardnesse at my coming to Mosko, and already one appointed for Ambassage into Spaine) was marred by meanes of the overthrow given to the Spanish King by her Majestie, the Queene of England, this last yeere. Which made the Russe Emperour and his Councell, to give a sadder countenance to the English Ambassadour at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policie, as was this conjunction supposed to be betwixt them and the Spanish.

His second purpose (whereto the first served as an introduction) was in revenge of the Turke and the Greeke Clergie, that had thrust him from his seate, to treate with them about the reducing of the Russe Church under the Pope of Rome. Wherein it may seeme that comming lately from Rome, hee was set on by the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine: and namely the time of the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, by one Anthony his Legate. But

thought this belike a farre better meane to obtayne his purpose by treatie and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treatie, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from Constantinople or Scio, to the Citie of Mosko. Which was so well liked, and entertayned by the Emperour (as a matter of high Religion and policie) that no other treatie (specially of forraigne Ambassages) could bee heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reason wherewith the Patriarch perswaded the translating of his Sea to the Citie of Mosko, were these in effect. First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was under the Turke, that is enemie to the Faith. And therefore to bee remooved into some other Countrey of Christian profession. Secondly, because the Russe Church was the onely naturall daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subject to the Turke, and fallen away from the right profession. Wherein the subtill Greeke to make the better market of his broken ware, advanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to have the Patriarchs Seat translated into the chiefe Citie, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his Successour, hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertayned wholly to himselfe.

The Patriarchship of Constantinople translated to Mosko.

So the Emperour and his Councell, with the principall of his Clergie, being assembled at the Mosko, it was determined that the Metropolite of Mosko, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and have the same full Authoritie and Jurisdiction that pertayned before to the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio. And that it might bee done with more order and solemnitie, the five and twentieth of Januarie, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch accompanied with the Russe Clergie, went to the great Church of Precheste, or our Ladie, within the Emperours Castle (having first wandred thorow the whole

Citie in'manner of a Procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where hee made an Oration, and delivered his resignation in an Instrument of writing, and so layed downe his Patriarchicall staffe. Which was presently received by the Metropolite of Mosko, and divers other ceremonies used about the Inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the Citie, who were commanded to forbeare their workes, and to attend this solemnitie. The great Patriarch that day was honoured with rich Presents sent him from the Emperour and Empresse, of Plate, cloath of Gold, Furres, &c. carryed with great pompe thorow the streets of Mosko, and at his departing received many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobilitie, and Clergie. Thus the Patriarchship of Constantinople, or Sio, (which hath continued since the Councell of Nice) is now translated to Mosko, or they made beleeve that they have a Patriarch with the same right and Authoritie that the other had. Wherein the subtill Greeke hath made good advantage of their Superstition, and is now gone away with a rich bootie into Poland, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not unlike to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and Russe Church, if the Russe hold [III.iii.446.] his Patriarchship that hee hath so well payed for, and the Greekes Elect another withall, as * likely they will, whether this man were banished by the Turke, or deprived by order of his owne Clergie. Which might happen to give advantage to the Pope, and to bring over the Russe Church to the Sea of Rome, (to which end peradventure hee devised this Stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of Russia know well enough, by the example of other Christian Princes, what inconvenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subjecting themselves to the Romish Sea. To which end the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, was very inquisitive of the Popes authoritie over the

**As they doe and ever since have done.*

Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to Rome, to behold the order and behaviour of his Court.

With this Patriarch Hieronymo, was driven out at the same time by the great Turke, one Demetrio Archbishop of Larissa: who is now in England, and pretendeth the same cause of their banishment by the Turke, (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeere. Which how unlikely it is, may appeare by these Circumstances. First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect betwixt the Pope and the Turke, as that hee should banish a Subject for not obeying the Pope's ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequel for the alteration of Times within his owne Countries. Secondly, for that hee maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a just and precise account from the Incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge otherwise then I noted before. Thirdly, for that the sayd Patriarch is now at Naples in Italy, where it may be ghessed he would not have gone within the Popes reach, and so neere to his nose, if hee had beene banished for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

Kalender pretence.

This office of Patriarchship now translated to Mosko, beareth a superiour Authoritie over all the Churches, not onely of Russia, and other the Emperours Dominions, but thorow out all the Churches of Christendome, that were before under the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio: or at least the Russe Patriarch imagineth himselfe to have the same authoritie. Hee hath under him as his proper Diocesse the Province of Mosko, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the Mosko.

The Patriarchs Jurisdiction.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one Metropolite, that was called the Metropolite of Mosko. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch, they have two Metropolites, the one of Novogrod velica, the other of Rostove. Their office is to receive of the Patriarch such Ecclesiasticall orders, as hee

Two Metropolites.

thinketh good, and to deliver the charge of them over to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.

Their Archbishops are foure: of Smolenso, Cazon, Vobsko, and Vologda. The parts of their office is all one with the Metropolites: save that they have an under Jurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metropolites, & Superiors to the Bishops. The next are the Vladikeis or Bishops, that are but sixe in all: of Crutitska, of Rezan, of Otfer and Torshock, of Collomenska, of Volodemer, of Susdalla. These have every one a very large Diocesse: as dividing the rest of the whole Countrey among them. *Foure Archbishops.* *Sixe Bishops.*

The matters pertayning to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same in a manner that are used by the Clergie in other parts of Christendome. For besides their authoritie over the Clergie, and ordering such matters as are meere Ecclesiasticall, their jurisdiction extendeth to all Testamentarie causes, matters of Marriage, and Divorcements, some Pleas of injuries, &c. To which purpose also they have their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call Boiaren Vladitskey) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts and execute their Jurisdiction. Which besides their other oppressions over the common people, raigne over the Priests: as the Dukes and Dyacks doe over the poore people, within their Precincts. As for the Archbishop or Bishop himselfe, hee beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must doe it by intreatie with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these Boiarskey, or Gentlemen officials are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe or his Councell, and are to give account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can intreat at his admission to have the choice of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great favour. But to speake it as it is, *Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction.* *Their Gentlemen commissaries.*

the Clergie of Russia, aswell concerning their Lands and revenues, as their Authoritie and Jurisdiction, are altogether ordered and over-ruled by the Emperour and his Councell, and have so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them. They have also their Assistants or severall Counsels (as they call them) of certayne Priests that are of that Diocesse, residing within their Cathedrall Cities, to the number of foure and twentie a piece. These advise with them, about the speciall and necessarie matters belonging to their charge.

The Church revenues. Concerning their Rents and Revenues to maintayne their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarchs yeerely rents out of his Lands (besides other fees) is about 3000. Rubbels or Marcks. The Metropolites and Archbishops, about 2500. The Bishops, some 1000. some 800. some 500. &c. They have had some of them (as I have heard say) ten or twelve thousand Rubbels a yeere: as had the Metropolite of Novogrod.

[III.iii.447.] Their Habit or Apparell (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus after their solemnest manner) is a Mitre on their heads after the Popish fashion, set with Pearle and Precious Stone, a Coape on their backes, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroydered with Pearle, and a Crosiers Staffe in their hands, layed over all with Plate of Silver double gilt, with a Crosse or Sheepherds Crooke at the upper end of it. Their ordinary habit otherwise when they ride or goe abroad, is a Hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backes, and standeth out like a Bon-grace before. Their upper Garment (which they call Reis) is a Gowne or Mantell of blacke Damaske, with many Lists or Gards of white Sattin layed upon it, every Gard about two fingers broad, and their Crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselves follow after, blessing the people with their two fore-fingers, with a marvellous grace.

The Election of Bishops. The Election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertayneth wholy to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen ever out of the Monasteries: so that there is

no Bishop, Archbishop, nor Metropolite, but hath beene a Monke, or Frier before. And by that reason they are, and must all bee unmarried men, for their Vow of Chastitie when they were first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is invested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many Ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish Inauguration. They have also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

The learning and exercise of the Russe Clergie.

As for preaching the Word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are under them, they neither use it, nor have any skill of it: the whole Clergie being utterly unlearned both for other knowledge, and in the Word of God. Onely their manner is twice every yeere, viz. the first of September (which is the first day of their yeere) and on Saint John Baptists day, to make an ordinary speech to the people, every Metropolite, Arch-bishop, and Bishop, in his Cathedrall Church, to this or like effect: That if any bee in malice towards his Neighbour, hee shall leave off his malice: if any have thought of Treason or Rebellion against his Prince, hee beware of such practice: if hee have not kept his Fasts, and Vowes, nor done his other Duties to the holy Church, hee shall amend that fault, &c. And this is a matter of forme with them, uttered in as many words, and no more, in a manner, then I have heere set downe. Yet the matter is done with that Grace and Solemnitie, in a Pulpit of purpose set up for this one Act, as if hee were to discourse at large of the whole substance of Divinitie. At the Mosko the Emperour himselfe is ever present at this Solemne Exhortation.

As themselves are void of all manner of Learning, so are they wary to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to have their ignorance and ungodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they have perswaded the Emperors, that it would breed Innovation, and sow danger to their State, to have any novelty of Learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and understanding, helped by Learning and

liberall Education, can hardly indure a tyrannicall Government. Some yeeres past in the other Emperours time, there came a Presse and Letters out of Polonia, to the Citie of Mosko, where a Printing House was set up, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, and the Presse and Letters quite burnt up, as was thought by the procurement of the Clergie-men.

Priests. Their Priests (whom they call Papaes) are made by the Bishops, without any great tryall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or Ceremonies in their admission: save that their heads are shorne (not shaven, for that they like not) about an hand breadth or more in the crowne, and that place anointed with Oyle by the Bishop: who in his admission putteth upon the Priest, first his Surplesse, and then setteth a white Crosse on his brest of Silke, or some other matter, which he is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giveth him authoritie to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men utterly unlearned, which is no marvell, for as much as their Makers, the Bishops themselves (as before was said) are cleere of that qualitie, and make no farther use at all of any kind of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselves, save to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function is to say the Lyturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keepe and decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies usuall in their Churches. Their number is great because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion for dividing them into competent numbers of Housholds, and people for a just Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an unequall partition of the people, and Parishes, there followeth a want and unequalitie of stipend for a sufficient Ministery.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first

time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priest-hood, and his living withall. The reason they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothy 1.3.2. not well understood, thinking that to bee spoken of divers Wives successively, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If hee will needs marrie againe after his first wife is dead, he is no longer called Papa, but Rospapa, or Priest quondam. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wives, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation among the women of the Parish. *The Russe Priests can marry but once.* [III.iii.448.]

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of Corne, or ought else: but he must stand at the devotion of the people of his Parish, and make up the Incommes towards his maintenance, so well as hee can, by Offerings, Shrifts, Mariages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the dead and the living (which they call Molitua.) For besides their publike Service within their Churches, their manner is for every private man to have a Prayer said for him by the Priest, upon any occasion of businesse whatsoever, whether he ride, goe, saile, plough, or whatsoever else he doth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at randome, being some of their ordinary and usuall Church-prayers. And this is thought to bee more holy, and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne. They have a custome, besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is, Patrone to their Church once every yeere. What time all their Neighbours of their Countrey and Parishes about, come in to have Prayers said to that Saint for themselves, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines. This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeere, more or lesse, as the Patrone or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe Anniversary for the Priest, to hire divers of his Neighbour Priests to helpe him: as having more dishes to dresse for the Saint, then he can well turne his hand unto. They

use besides to visit their Parishioners houses, with Holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and so having sprinkled, and becensed the goodman and his Wife, with the rest of their houshold, and houshold-stuffe, they receive some Devotion or lesse, as the man is of abilitie. This and the rest layd altogether, may make up for the Priest towards his mayntenance, about thirty or forty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Bishop of the Diocesse.

The Priests maintenance.

Their Priests attyre.

The Papa or Priest is knowne by his long Tufts of Haire, hanging downe by his Eares, his Gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his Habit, hee is apparelled like the common sort. When he sayth the Lyturgie or Service, within the Church, hee hath on him his Surplesse, and sometimes his Coape, if the day bee more Solemne. They have besides their Papaes or Priests, their Churnapapaes (as they call them) that is, Black Priests: that may keepe their Benefices, though they be admitted Friers withall within some Monasterie. They seeme to be the very same that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Under the Priest, is a Deacon in every Church, that doth nothing but the Office of a Parish Clerke. As for their Protopapaes, or Arch-priests, and their Arch-deacons (that are next in election to be their Protopopas) they serve onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Friers.

Of Friers they have an infinite rabble farre greater then in any other Countrey, where Popery is professed. Every Citie, and good part of the Countrey, swarmeth full of them. For they have wrought (as the Popish Friers did by their Superstition and Hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then other, there standeth a Friery or a Monastery dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the Superstition of the Countrey, but because the Friers life is the safest from the Oppressions, and Exactions, that fall upon the Commons.

Which causeth many to put on the Friers Weed, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are divers that are forced to shire themselves Friers, upon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the chiefe Nobility. Divers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Friers to avoyde some punishment, that they had deserved by the Lawes of the Realme. For if hee get a Monastery over his head, and there put on a Coole before hee bee attached, it is a protection to him for ever against any Law, for what crime soever: except it be for Treason. But this Proviso goeth withall, that no man commeth there, (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be received) but he giveth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring 1000. Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted under three or foure hundred.

Their manner of shiring Friers.

The manner of their Admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his Secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth upon him next to his skinne, a white flannell shirt, with a long Garment over it downe to the ground, girded unto him with a broad Leather Belt. His upper-most Garment is a Weed of Garras, or Say, for colour and fashion much like to the upper Weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is his crowne shorne a hand breadth, or more close to the very skinne, and these, or like words pronounced by the Abbot, whiles hee clippeth his haire: As these haires are clipped of, and taken from thy head: so now we take thee, and separate thee cleane from the World, and worldly things, &c. This done, hee anointeth his crowne with Oyle, and putteth on his Coole: and so taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall Chastitie, and Abstinence from flesh.

Besides, their Lands (that are very great) they are the greatest Merchants in the whole Countrey, and deale for all manner of Commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands, one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeere. There is one Abbey called Troits, that hath [III.iii.449·]

in Lands and Fees, the summe of 100000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere. It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about, with great Ordnance planted on the wall, and contayneth within it a large breadth of ground, and great varietie of building. There are of Friers within it, (besides their Officers, and other Servants) about seven hundred. The Empresse that now is, hath many Vowes to Saint Sergius, that is Patrone there: to intreate him to make her fruitfull, as having no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly every yeere shee goeth on Pilgrimage to him from the Mosko, on foot, about eighty English miles, with five or sixe thousand women attending upon her, all in blue Liveries, and foure thousand Souldiers for her Guard. But Saint Sergius hath not yet heard her Prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and facultie that way.

The Friers Learning. What Learning there is among their Friers, may be knowne by their Bishops, that are the choice men out of all their Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the Citie of Vologda, where (to try his skill) I offered him a Russe Testament, and turned him to the first Chapter of Saint Matthews Gospell. Where hee beganne to reade in very good order. I asked him first what part of Scripture it was, that he had read? he answered, that he could not well tell. How many Evangelists there were in the New Testament? He said he knew not. How many Apostles there were? He thought there were twelve. How he should be saved? Whereunto he answered me with a piece of Russe Doctrine, that he knew not whether he should be saved, or no: but if God would Poshallovate him, or gratifie him so much, as to save him, so it was, he would bee glad of it: if not, what remedy. I asked him, why hee shoare himselfe a Frier? Hee answered, because he would eate his Bread with peace. This is the Learning of the Friers of Russia, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be ghessed by the ignorance of this man, what is in the rest.

They have also many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widowes, and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them unmarryed, from continuing the bloud or stocke, which if he would have extinguished. To speake of the life of their Friers, and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie, and uncleannesse of that Cloyster-brood. The Russe himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all Superstition) speaketh so fouly of it, that it must needs gaine silence of any modest man. *Nunneries.*

Besides these, they have certayne Eremites, (whom they call Holy men) that are like to those Gymnosophists, for their life and behaviour: though farre unlike for their Knowledge, and Learning. They use to goe starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long, and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an Iron coller, or chaine about their neckes, or midst, even in the very extremitie of Winter. These they take as Prophets, and men of great Holinesse, giving them a liberty to speake what they list, without any controlment, though it bee of the very highest himselfe. So that if hee reproove any openly, in what sort soever, they answere nothing, but that it is Po græcum, that is, for their sinnes. And if any of them take some piece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to give where he list, hee thinketh himselfe much beloved of God, and much beholding to the holy Man, for taking it in that sort. *Eremites.* *Strange hardinesse.*

Of this kind there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold Profession, to goe naked in Russia, specially in Winter. Among other at this time, they have one at Mosko, that walketh naked about the streets, and inveigheth commonly against the State, and Government, especially against the Godonoes, that are thought at this time to be great Oppressors of that Commonwealth. Another there was, that dyed not many yeeres agoe (whom they called Basileo) that would take upon him to reprove the old Emperour, for all his crueltie, *Basileo the Eremite.*

and oppressions, done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours House in Mosko, and have canonized him for a Saint. Many Miracles he doth there (for so the Friers make the people to beleeve) and many offerings are made unto him, not only by the people, but by the chiefe Nobilitie, and the Emperour, and Empresse themselves, which visit that Church with great Devotion. But this last yeere, at my being at Mosko, this Saint had ill lucke in working his Miracles.

Lame Miracle. For a lame man that had his limmes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (beeing then fallen out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when hee came home at night. And that he had intended this matter sixe yeeres before. Now hee is put into a Monastery, and there rayleth upon the Friers, that hired him to have this counterfeit Miracle practised upon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight slaine with in his Church by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his Bels (that were tingling before all day and night long as in triumph of the Miracles wrought by Basileo their Saint) to ring somewhat softlier, and hath wrought no little discredit to this Miracle-worker. There was another of great

Nichola the Eremite. account at Plesko, (called Nichola of Plesko) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to sacke the Towne, upon suspition of their revolting and Rebel-

[III.iii.450.] lion against him. The Emperour, after he had saluted the Eremite, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man to requite the Emperour, sent him a piece of raw Flesh, being then their Lent time. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tell him, that he marvelled that the Holy man would offer him flesh to eate in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holy Church. And doth Evasko (which is as much to say, as Jacke) thinke (quoth Nicola) that it is unlawfull to eate a piece of beasts flesh in Lent and not to eate up so much mans

flesh, as he hath done already. So threatning the Emperour with a prophecy of some hard adventure to come upon him, except he left murdring of his people, and departed the Towne: he saved a great many mens lives at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as Pasquils, to note their great mens faults, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude libertie, which they take upon them, after a counterfeit manner, by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being over-bold in speaking against his government.

Chap. 22. Of their Lyturgie, or form of Church-service, and their manner of administring the Sacraments. Their morning Service.

THeir morning Service they call, Zautrana, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order. The Priest entreth into the Church with his Deacon following him. And when he is come to the middle of the Church, he beginneth to say with a loude voyce: Blaslavey Vladika (that is) Blesse us heavenly Pastor: meaning of Christ. Then hee addeth, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinitie: and Aspodypomelui, or, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us: repeated three times. This done, he marcheth on towards the Chancell, or Sanctum Sanctorum, (as they use to call it) and so entreth into the Scharsvey Dwere, or the Heavenly Doore: which no man may enter into, but the Priest onely. Where standing at the Altar, or Table (set neere to the upper wall of the Chancell) he sayeth the Lords Prayer, and then againe Aspody pomelui, or, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. pronounced twelve times. Then praised be the Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Whereto the Deacons, and People say, Amen. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, O come let us worship, and fall downe before the Lord, &c. and therewithall himselfe, with the

Deacons, and People, all turne themselves towards their Idols, or Images, that hang on the wall, and crossing themselves, bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, he readeth the Ten Commandements, and Athanasius Creed, out of the Service Booke.

Legend. This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the Heavenly Doore, or Chancell, readeth a piece of a Legend, out of a written Booke, (for they have it not in Print) of some Saints life, miracles, &c. This is divided into many parts, for every day in the yeere, and is read by them with a plaine singing note, not unlike to the Popish tune, when they sung their Gospels.. After all this (which reacheth to an houre and an halfe, or two houres of length) he addeth certaine set Collects, or Prayers upon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Service. All this while stand burning before *Candles.* their Idols, a great many of Waxe candles, (whereof some are of the bignesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enjoyned by penance, upon the people of the Parish.

Compline. About nine of the clocke in the morning, they have another Service, called Obeidna, (or Compline) much after the order of the Popish Service, that bare that name. If it be some High or Festivall day, they furnish their Service beside, with Blessed bee the Lord God of Israel, &c. and Wee praise thee, O God, &c. sung with a more solemne and curious note.

Their evening Service. Their evening Service, is called Vecherna, where the Priest beginneth with Blaslavey Vladika, as he did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appointed for the Vecherna. Which being read, he singeth, My soule doeth magnifie the Lord, &c. And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voice, sing, Aspody pomelui, or Lord have mercy upon us, thirty times together. Whereunto the Boyes that are in the Church, answere all with one voice, rolling it up so fast, as their lips can goe: Verii, Verii, Verii, Verii, or, Praise, Praise, Praise, &c. thirty times together, with a very strange noise. Then is read by the

Priest, and upon the Holidayes sung, the first Psalme: Blessed is the man, &c. And in the end of it, is added, Alleluia, repeated ten times. The next in order is some part of the Gospell read by the Priest, which hee endeth with Alleluia repeated three times. And so having said a Collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day, hee endeth his evening Service. All this while the Priest standeth above at the Altar, or high Table, within the Chancell or Sanctum Sanctorum, whence hee never moveth all the Service time. The Deacon, or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chancell by the Scharsvey Dwere, or Heavenly Doore: for within they may not be seene all the Service time, though otherwise their Office is to sweepe and keepe it, and to set up the Waxe candles before their Idols. The people stand together the whole Service time in the body of the Church, and some in the Church Porch, for Piew, or Seat they have none within their Churches.

The manner of the Russe Baptisme.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner. The child is brought unto the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne) if it bee the child of some Nobleman, it is brought with great pompe in a rich Sled or Wagon, with Chaires and Cushions of cloth of Gold, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth ready to receive the child within the Church Porch, with his Tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare unto them, that they have brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the Witnesses (that are two or three) in a certaine set forme out of his Booke, what their dutie is in bringing up the child after he is baptised, vz. That he must be taught to know God, and Christ the Saviour. And because God is of great majestie, and wee must not presume to come unto him without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suit to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints [III.iii.451.]

are the best, and chiefe Mediators, &c. This done, he commandeth the Devill in the name of God after a conjuring manner, to come out of the water: and so after certaine Prayers he plungeth the child thrise over head and eares. For this they hold to bee a point necessary, that no part of the child be undipped in the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme uttered by the Priest, when he dippeth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospell, and used by us, vz. In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, by the holy Ghost, (as I have heard that they did) following certaine Heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be untrue, as well by report of them that have beene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of Lyturgie it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

Oyle and Salt. When the childe is baptised, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together upon the forehead, and both sides of his face, and then upon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger over the childs lips (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall certaine Prayers to this effect: that God will make him a good Christian, &c. all this is done in the Church Porch. Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, and meet to be received within the Church Doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going *Presented.* before, and there he is presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a Cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended unto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they use to make the water luke warme. *Cutting off haire.* After Baptisme the manner is to cut off the haire from the childs head, and having wrapped it within a piece of Waxe to lay it up as a Relique or Monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best and perfectest forme. As they doe all other parts of their Religion received (as they

say) by tradition from the best Church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Proselyte, or Convert, either of an Infidell, or of a forreine Christian, by rebaptising him after the Russe manner. When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptised. And yet they perswade very few of them to redeeme their life so: because of the naturall hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his falshood, and injustice. The yeere after Mosko was fired by the Chrim Tartar, there was taken a Divoymorsey, one of the chiefe in that exploit with three hundred Tartars more: who had all their lives offered them if they would be baptised after the Russe manner. Which they refused all to doe, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the River Mosko (that runneth through the Citie) they were all baptised after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knock on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose. Of Lieflanders that are captives, there are many that take on them this second Russe Baptisme to get more libertie, and somewhat besides towards their living, which the Emperour ordinarily useth to give them.

Proselyte-paines.

Tartars choose to die rather then turne Christians.

Rebaptising.

Of Englishmen since they frequented the Countrey there was never any found, that so much forgot God, his Faith, and Countrey, as that he would be content to be baptised Russe, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other meanes whatsoever: save onely Richard Relph, that following before an ungodly trade, by keeping a Caback (against the order of the Countrey) and being put off from that trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he had, entred himselfe this last yeere into the Russe Profession: and so was rebaptised, living now asmuch as Idolater, as before he was a Rioter, and unthrifty person.

Such as thus receive the Russe Baptisme, are first carried into some Monasterie to bee instructed there in the doc-

trine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they use these ceremonies. First, they put him into a new and fresh sute of apparell, made after the Russe fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Summer) a Garland upon his head. Then they anoint his head with Oyle, and put a Waxe candle light into his hand: and so pray over him foure times a day, the space of seven dayes. All this while he is to abstaine from flesh, and white meats. The seven dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stove, and so the eight day hee is brought into the Church, where he is taught by the Friers how to behave himselfe in presence of their Idols, by ducking downe, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe Religion.

[III.iii.452.] *The administring of the Lords Supper.* The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they receive but once a yeere, in their great Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and never above. The manner of their communicating, is thus. *Confession.* First, they confesse themselves of all their sinnes to the Priest (whom they call) their ghostly Father. Then they come to the Church, and are called up to the Communion Table, that standeth like an Altar, a little removed from the upper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner. Heere first they are asked of the Priest, whether they bee cleane or no, that is, whether they have never a sinne behind that they left unconfessed. If they answer, No, they are taken to the Table. Where the Priest beginneth with certayne usuall Prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like Penitentiaries or Mourners. When these prayers are ended, the Priest taketh a Spoone and filleth it full of claret Wine. Then *Communion in both kinds.* hee putteth into it a small piece of Bread, and tempereth them both together: and so delivereth them in the spoone to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the usuall words of the Sacrament. Eate this, &c. Drinke this, &c. both at one time without any pause.

After that hee delivereth them againe Bread by it selfe,

and then Wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent Bloud more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing the Communicants unfold their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion table, and so returne to their places againe. Where having sayd certayne other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to bee merrie, and to cheere up themselves for the seven dayes next following. Which being ended, hee enjoyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they use to observe with very great devotion, eating nothing else but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, and some other Herbe or Root, with water or quasse Mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what Ceremonies they have added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily bee noted.

Chap. 23. *Of the Doctrine of the Russe Church, & what errors it holdeth.*

1. *Their disallowing of certaine parts of the Canonical Scriptures.*

THeir chiefest errours in matter of Faith I finde to bee these. First, concerning the Word of God it selfe they will not read publikely certayne Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, as the bookes of Moses: specially the foure last, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, and Deuteronomie, which they say are all made disauthentique, and put out of use by the comming of Christ: as not able to discerne the difference betwixt the Morall and the Ceremoniall Law. The bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the same reason: because they were but directers unto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Jewes. Onely the Booke of Psalmes they have in great estimation, and sing and say them daily in their Churches. Of the New Testament they allow and reade all, except the Revelation: which therefore they reade not (though they allow it) because they understand it not, neither have the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the Prophecies con-

tayned within it, concerning especially the Apóstacie of the Antichristian Church, as have the Westerne Churches. Notwithstanding, they have had their Antichrists of the Greeke Church, and may finde their owne falling off, and the punishments for it by the Turkish invasion in the Prophecies of that Booke.

2. *Traditions equall to the holy Scripture.*

Secondly, (which is the fountayne of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they hold with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equall authoritie with the written Word of God. Wherein they preferre themselves before other Churches: affirming that they have the true and right Traditions, delivered by the Apostles to the Greeke Church, and so unto them.

3. *The Church to have soveraigne authoritie in interpreting the Scriptures.*

Thirdly, that the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the rest) having a soveraigne Authoritie to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation, as sound and authentique.

4. *The holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.*

Fourthly, concerning the Divine nature and the three Persons, in the one substance of God, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. *Christ not sole Mediator of intercession Saint Nicolas his 300. Angels.*

Fiftly, about the office of Christ, they hold many foule errours, and the same almost as doth the Popish Church: namely, that hee is the sole Mediatour of redemption, but not of intercession. Their chiefe reason (if they bee talked withall) for defence of this errour, is that unapt and foolish comparison, betwixt God, and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must bee sued unto by Mediatours about him; wherein they give speciall preferment to some above others, as to the blessed Virgin whom they call Procheste, or undefiled, and Saint Nicolas, whom they call Scora pomosnick, or the Speedy helper, and say, that hee hath three hundred Angels of the chiefest appointed by God to attend upon him. This hath brought them to an horrible excesse of Idolatrie, after the grossest and prophanest manner, giving unto their Images all religious worship of Prayer, Thankesgiving, Offerings and Adora-

Images.

tion, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doe to the Picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, and so offend not God: forgetting the Commandement of God, that forbiddeth to make the Image or likenesse of any thing, for any Religious worship, or use whatsoever. Their Church walls are verie full of them, richly hanged and set foorth with Pearle and Stone, upon the smooth Table. Though some also they have embossed, that sticke from the board almost an inch outwards. They call them Chudovodites, or their Miracle workers: and when they provide them to set up in their Churches, in no case they may say, that they have bought the image, but Exchanged money for it. [III.iii.453.]

Sixtly, for the meanes of Justification, they agree with the Papists, that it is not by Faith onely apprehending Christ, but by their Workes also. And that Opus operatum, or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fasts, Vowes, and Offerings to Saints, Almes deeds, Crossings and such like, and carrie their numbring Beads about with them continually, as well the Emperour and his Nobilitie, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other publike places, specially at any set or solemne meeting as in their Fasts, law Courts, common Consultations, entertaynment of Ambassadours, and such like. *6. Justification by workes.*

Seventhly, they say with the Papists, that no man can bee assured of his salvation, till the sentence be passed at the day of Judgement. *7. Salvation uncertaine.*

Eightly, they use auricular Confession, and thinke they are purged by the very action from so many sinnes, as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest. *8. Auricular confession.*

Ninthly, they hold three Sacraments, of Baptisme, the Lords Supper, and the last Anoiling or Unction. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Unction, they hold it not so necessarie to salvation as they doe Baptisme, *9. Three Sacraments.*

but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

10. *All damned that die without Baptisme.* Tenthly, they thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

11. *Anabaptisme.* Eleventh, they rebaptise as many Christians (not being of the Greeke Church) as they convert to their Russe profession: because they are divided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

12. *Difference of meates.* Twelfth, they make a difference of Meates and Drinkes, accounting the use of one to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their set Fasts they forbeare to eate flesh, and white meates (as wee call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they observe so strictly, and with such blinde devotion, as that they will rather die, then eate one bit of Flesh, Egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreame sicknesse.

13. *Marriage for some persons unlawfull.* Thirteenth, they hold Marriage to bee unlawfull for all the Clergie men, except the Priests onely, and for them also after the first Wife, as was sayd before. Neither doe they well allow of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now used against the Emperours onely Brother, a childe of sixe yeeres old: who therefore is not Prayed for in their Churches, (as their manner is otherwise for the Princes bloud) because hee was borne of the sixt marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was given to the Priests by the Emperour himselfe, by procurement of the Godones: who make him beleeve, that it is a good policie to turne away the liking of the people from the next successour.

Many other false opinions they have in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold, partly by meanes of their traditions (which they have received from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they have in the Polonian tongue, (that is all one with theirs some few words excepted) yet few of them reade them with that godly care which they ought to doe: neither have they (if they would) Bookes sufficient of

the old and new Testament for the common people, but of their Lyturgie onely, or Booke of common service, whereof there are great numbers. Which notwithstanding it is not to bee doubted, but that having the Word of God in some sort (though without the ordinarie meanes to attaine to a true sense and understanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare by that which a Russe at Mosko sayd in secret to one of my Servants, speaking against their Images and other superstitions: That God had given unto England light to day, and might give it to morrow (if hee pleased) to them.

Inquisition. As for any Inquisition or proceeding against men for matter of Religion, I could heare of none: save a few yeeres since against one man and his wife, who were kept in a close Prison the space of eight and twentie yeeres, till they were over-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nayles, colour of countenance, and such like, and in the end were burned at Mosko, in a small House set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth in matter of Religion: though the people were made to beleeve by the Priests and Friers, that they held some great and damnable Heresie.

Chap. 24. Of the manner of solemnizing their Marriages.

THe manner of making and solemnizing their Marriages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though hee never saw the woman before) is not permitted to have any sight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother or some other ancient woman of his kinne [III.iii.454.] or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents as by the parties themselves, for without the knowledge and consent of the Parents, the contract is not lawfull) the Fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, have a meeting and conference about the dowrie, which is commonly very large after the abilitie of the parents: so that you shall have a Market man (as they call

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them) give a thousand Rubbels, or more with his Daughter.

The manner of indowment for Wives.

As for the man it is never required of him, nor standeth with their custome to make any joynter in recompence of the dowrie. But in case hee have a Child by his Wife, shee enjoyeth a third deale after his decease. If he have two Children by her or more, she is to have a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, save onely her dowrie: if the husband leave so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the dowrie, they signe Bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowrie, as the performing of the Marriage by a certayne day. If the woman were never married before, her Father and friends are bound besides to assure her a Maiden. Which breedeth many brabbles and quarrels at Law, if the man take any conceit concerning the behaviour and honestie of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send tokens the one to the other, the Woman first, then afterwards the Man, but yet see not one another till the Marriage bee solemnized. On the Eve before the marriage day, the Bride is carryed in a Collimago, or Coach, or in a Sled (if it bee winter) to the Bridegroomes house, with her marriage Apparell and Bed-stead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is ever provided by the Bride, and is commonly verie faire, with much cost bestowed upon it. Heere she is accompanied all that night by her Mother and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the Bridegroome himselfe.

Ceremonies in Marriages.

When the time is come to have the marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put upon her a kinde of Hood, made of fine Knit-worke or Lawne, that covereth her head, and all her body downe to the middle. And so accompanied with her friends, and the Bridegroome with his, they goe to Church all on Horsebacke, though the Church be neare hand, and themselves but of very meane

degree. The words of contract and other ceremonies in solemnizing the Marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are used with us: with a Ring also given to the Bride. Which being put on, and the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is delivered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feet, knocking her Head upon his Shooe, in token of her subjection and obedience. And the Bridegroome againe, casteth the lappe of his Gowne or upper garment over the Bride, in token of his dutie to protect and cherish her. *Ring.*

Then the Bridegroome and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, commeth first the Father and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselves downe low to the Bridegroome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the Bride, in token of affinitie and love ever after betwixt the two kindreds. And withall, the Father of the Bridegroome offereth to the Priest a loafe of Bread, who delivereth it straight againe to the Father and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that hee deliver the dowrie wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold love ever after, one kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the Loafe into pieces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table. *Loafe.*

These ceremonies being ended, the Bridegroome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together with their friends after them towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Mead and Russe Wine. Whereof the Bridegroome taketh first a Charke, or little cup full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her Hood or Vale below, and putting the Cup to her mouth underneath *Mead.*

it (for being seene of the Bridegroome) pledgeth him againe. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroome goeth not home to his owne, but to his Fathers house, and shee likewise to hers, where either entertayne their friends apart. At the entring into the *Corne.* House, they use to fling Corne out of the windowes upon the Bridegroome, and Bride, in token of plentie and fruitfulnesse to bee with them ever after.

When the Evening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her Vayle or cover still over her head. All *Silence.* that night she may not speake one word (for that charge shee receiveth by tradition from her Mother, and other Matrons her friends) that the Bridegroome must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she bee heard to speake, save certaine few words at the Table in a set forme, with great manners and reverence to the Bridegroome. If shee behave herselfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credit and life ever after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bridegroome himselfe.

[III.iii.455.] After the third day, they depart to their owne, and make a Feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their festivall, the Bridegroome hath the honour to be called Moloday Knez, or young Duke, and the Bride Moloday Knezay, or young Dutchesse.

In living with their wives, they shew themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: using them as servants, rather then wives. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They have this foule abuse, contrary to good order, and the Word of God it selfe, that upon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoever, the man may goe into a Monasterie and shire himselfe a Frier, by pretence of devotion: and so leave his wife to shift for her selfe so well as shee can.

Chap. 25. Of the other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

The signe of the Crosse how it crosseth out other devotions.

THe other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set up in their high wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in every doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads & breasts with great devotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture. Which were lesse offence, if they gave not withall that religious reverence and worship unto it, which is due to God onely, and used the dumbe shew, and signing of it instead of thanksgiving, and of all other duties which they owe unto God. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a Crosse on the top; and so bowing themselves towards the Crosse, signe themselves withall on their foreheads and breasts. And this is their thanksgiving to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, Aspody Pomeluy, or Lord have mercie upon us. When they sit downe to meat, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiving to God, is the crossing of their foreheads and brests. Except it be some few that adde peradventure a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to give an oath for the deciding of any controversie at Law, they doe it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, whose name onely is to bee used in such triall of Justice. When they enter into any house (where ever there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the Crosse, and bow themselves to it. When they begin any worke, bee it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the Crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God, for good speed of their businesse. And thus they serve God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: notwithstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes in comparison of themselves (and so they will say) because they bow not themselves when they meet with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe manner is.

Holy-water. They have Holy-water in like use and estimation, as the Popish Church hath. But heerein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hollow their Holy-water stockes, and tubs full of water, but all the Rivers of the Countrey once every yeere. At Mosko it is done with great pompe and solemnitie: the Emperour himselfe being present at it with all his Nobilitie, marching through the streets towards the River of Moskua, in manner of Procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of Precheste (or our Lady) the other of Saint Michael fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after the rest of the Deacons, and the Priests of Mosko, two and two in a ranke, with Coaps on their backes, and their Idols at their brests, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their necks. Next the Priests come their Bishops in their Pontificalibus: then the Friers, Monkes, and Abbots: and after the Patriarches in very rich attire, with a Ball or Sphere on the top of his Myter, to signifie his universalitie over that Church. Last commeth the Emperour with all his Nobilitie. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more. When they are come to the River, a great hole is made in the Ice, where the Market is kept of a road and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the presse. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers and conjureth the Devill to come out of the water: and so casting in Salt, and censing it with Frankincense, maketh the whole River to become Holy-water. The morning before, all the people of Mosko use to make crosses of chaulke over every doore and window of their houses; least the Devill being conjured out of the water, should flye into their houses.

Hallowing of Rivers.

When the Ceremonies are ended you shal see the black Guard of the Emperors house, & then the rest of the Towne, with their pailes and buckets to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other uses. You shall also see the women dip in their children over head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some

naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if he should but dip it into the water. When the men have done, they bring their horse to the River to drinke of the sanctified water, and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for the solemne action of hallowing their Rivers, is that we call Twelfth-day. The like is done by other Bishops in all parts of the Realme.

Drinking of Holy-water.

Their manner is also to give it to their sicke in their greatest extremitie: thinking that it will either recover them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their unreasonable superstition, as did the Lord Borris his onely sonne, at my being at the Mosko: whom he killed (as was said by the Physitians) by powring into him cold Holy-water, and presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint Basileo, in the cold of Winter in an extremitie of sicknesse.

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Cruell blindnesse of superstition.

They have an Image of Christ, which they call Neruchi, (which signifieth as much as Made without hands) for so their Priests, and superstition withall perswadeth them it was. This in their Processions they carry about with them on high upon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reverence to it as to a great mysterie.

Brewing with Holy-water.

At every brewing their manner is likewise to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest within the Church: which being hollowed by him, is powred into the brewing, and so giveth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first fruits of their Corne in Harvest.

Palm-sunday.

They have another Ceremony on Palm-sunday, of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the Mosko, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying Hosanna, and spreading their upper garments under his horse feet. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good service of that day two hundred Rubbels of standing pension. Another pageant they have much like to this, the weeke before the Nativitie of Christ: when every

Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Oven. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire are made with rosen, and gun-powder, by the Chaldeans (as they call them) that run about the Towne all the twelve dayes, disguised in their players coats, and make much good sport for the honor of the Bishops pageant. At the Mosko, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empresse never faile to be at it, though it be but the same matter plaid every yeere, without any new invention at all.

Fasts. Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yeere, (the one because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other because he suffered on the Friday) they have foure great Fasts or Lents every yeere. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Midsummer. The third, in Harvest time. The fourth, about Hallontide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere superstition. In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they eat nothing but bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neither meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shriving and fasting only. They have *Vigils.* also three Vigils, or Wakes in their great Lent, which they call Stoiania and the last Friday their great Vigil, as they call it. What time the whole Parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine a clocke in the Evening, till sixe in the morning, all the while standing, save when they fall downe and knocke their heads to their Idols, which must bee an hundred and seventie times just through the whole night.

Burialls. About their burialls also, they have many superstitious and prophane Ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corps, a letter to Saint Nicolas: whom they make their chiefe mediatour, and as it were the porter of heaven gates, as the Papists doe their Peter.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the

ground so hard frozen, as that no spade nor pick-axe can enter their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the Towne, which they call Bohsedom, that is, Gods house: where the dead bodies are pyled up together, like billets on a woodstacke, as hard with the frost as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come, and resolveth the frost: what time everie man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

Months minds.

They have besides their yeeres and moneths mindes for their friends departed. What time they have prayers said over the grave by the Priest: who hath a peny ordinary for his paines. When any dieth, they have ordinary women mourners, that come to lament for the dead partie: and stand howling over the body after a prophane and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the body into the back-side,) asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die. They bury their dead, as the party used to goe, with coat, hose, bootes, hat, and the rest of his apparell.

Many other vaine and superstitious Ceremonies they have, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge, and practice of Christian Religion, having exchanged the Word of God for their vaine Traditions, and brought all to externall and ridiculous Ceremonies, without any regard of Spirit and Truth, which God requireth in his true worship.

Chap. 26. Of the Emperours domesticke, or private behavior.

THe Emperours private behaviour, so much as may be, or is meet to bee knowne, is after this manner. Hee riseth commonly about foure a clock in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in commeth his ghostly Father, or Priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, Otetz Duhouna, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesseth him, laying it first on his forehead, then upon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then

offereth him the end of it to kisse. This done, the Clerke of the Crosse (called Chresby Deyack Profery) bringeth [III.iii.457.] into his Chamber, a painted Image, representing the Saint for that day; for every day with them hath his severall Saint, as it were the Patrone for that day. This hee placeth among the rest of his Image Gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and Waxe-candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with Pearle and Precious Stone. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the Russe manner; first, on the fore-head, then on both sides of his brest, with Aspody Pomeluy; Pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena gresnick Syhodestua: which is as much to say, as, Helpe me, O Lord my God, Lord comfort me, defend and keepe me a Sinner from doing evill, &c. This he directeth towards the Image, or Saint for that day, whom hee nameth in his Prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call Precheste) Saint Nicholas, or some other, to whom he beareth most devotion, bowing himselfe prostrate unto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

His private Prayer.

Then commeth againe the Ghostly Father or Chamber Priest, with a Silver Bowle full of Holy-water, which they call in Russe, Sweta Voda, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand: and so all to besprinkleth first the Image Gods, and then the Emperour. This Holy-water is brought fresh every day from the Monasteries, farre and neere sent to the Emperour from the Abbot or Prior, in the name of the Saint, that is Patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These Devotions being ended, he sendeth into the Empresse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawses goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle Roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empresse lyeth a-part from him, and keepeth not one chamber, nor Table with the Emperour ordinarily, save

upon the Eve of their Lents, or common Fasts: what time she is his ordinary Ghest at Bed and Boord. After their meeting in the morning, they goe together to their private Church or Chappell, where is said or sung a morning Service (called Zautrana) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church hee returneth home, and sitteth him downe in a great chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobilitie, such as are in favour about the Court. If he have to say to any of them, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

The Emperour giveth presence every morning.

About nine in the morning, he goeth to another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests, and Choristers, the high Service (called Obeadna, or Complin) which commonly lasteth two houres: the Emperour in the meane-time talking commonly with some of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captaynes, which have to say to him, or he to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their Councel-house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe untill it be Dinner time.

The Emperors Service at his Table.

He is served at his Table on this manner. First, every Dish (as it is delivered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of the high Steward, or his Deputie. And so is received by the Gentlemen-wayters (called Shilshey) and by them carryed up to the Emperours Table, the high Steward or his Deputie going before. There it is received by the Sewer (called Erastnoy) who giveth a taste of every Dish to the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his Dishes for his ordinary Service, is about seventy: dressed somewhat grosly, with much Garlike, and Salt, much after the Dutch manner. When hee exceedeth upon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassadour, hee hath many more Dishes. The Service is sent up by two Dishes at a time, or three at the most, that he may eate it warme, first the baked, then the Roast meats, and last the Broths. In his dining chamber is another Table: where

sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his Ghostly Father, or Chapleine. On the one side of the chamber standeth a Cubboord, or Table of Plate, very faire and rich, with a great Cisterne of Copper by it, full of Ice and Snow, wherein stand the Pots that serve for that meale. The Taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all Dinner time, and delivereth it unto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many Dishes out of the Service after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great favour and honour.

After dinner he layeth him down to rest, where commonly he taketh three houres sleep, except he employ one of the houres to bathing, or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after Dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the Russes. After his sleep, he goeth to Even-song (called Vechurna) and thence returning, for the most part recreateth himselfe with the Empresse till Supper time with Jesters and Dwarfes, men and women, that tumble before him, and sing many Songs after the Russe manner. This is his common recreation betwixt meales that he most delights in. One other speciall

Beare bayting. recreation, is the fight with wild Beares, which are caught in Pits or Nets, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a Circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can: for there is no way to flye out. When the Beare is turned loose, he commeth upon him with open mouth: if at the first push he misse his ayme, so that the Beare come within him, hee is in

[III.iii.458.] great danger. But the wilde Beare being very scarce, hath this quality, that giveth advantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assayleth a man, to rise up right on his two hinder-legs, and so to come roaring with open-mouth upon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very brest of him betwixt his fore-legs (as

commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of their Boare-speare at the side of his foot, and so keeping the Pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blow. But many times these Hunters come short, and are either slaine, or miserably torne with the Teeth and Talents of the fierce Beast. If the partie quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore: where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of Hospodare. And this is his Reward for adventuring his life, for the Emperours pleasure. To maintayne this pastime, the Emperour hath certayne Huntsmen that are appointed for that purpose to take the wild Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the holy dayes. Sometimes hee spendeth his time in looking upon his Gold-smithes and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his Supper. When it draweth towards Bed-time, his Priest saith certayne Prayers: and then the Emperour blesseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his Bed.

Emperour Theodore described.

The Emperour that now is (called Theodore Ivanowich) is for his person of a meane stature, some-what low and grosse, of a sallow complexion, and inclining to the Dropsie, Hawke-nosed, unsteady in his pase, by reason of some weaknesse of his limmes, heavy and unactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slow witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of Policie, very Superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his private Devotions at home, he goeth every weeke commonly on Pilgrimage, to some Monasterie or other that is neerest hand. He is of thirtie foure yeeres old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of six yeeres.

Pilgrimage.

Chap. 27. Of the Emperors private, or houshold Officers.

Master of the Horse.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperours houshold, are these which follow. The first, is the Office of the Boiaren Conesheva, or Master of the Horse. Which contayneth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Over-seer of the Horse, and not Magister Equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that Service, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is Borris Federowich Godonoe, Brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for Service in his Warres (besides other for his ordinary uses) he hath to the number of 10000. which are kept about Mosko.

The Lord Steward.

The Lord Treasurer.

Comptroller.

Chamberlaine.

Tasters.

Harbengers.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe. The third, is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his Moneyes, Jewels, Plate, &c. now called Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth, his Comptroller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift, his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt, his Tasters, now Theodore Alexandrowich, and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seventh, his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and divers other Gentlemen that do the Office under them. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefest account.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

The Guard.

Of Gentlemen, beside that wait about his Chamber, and Person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens Sonnes. His ordinary Guard is two thousand Hagbutters, ready with their Peeces charged, and their Match lighted, with other necessary Furniture, continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the Court or Yard where the Emperour is abiding. In night time there lodgeth next to his Bed-chamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge six other of like account, for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the third chamber lye certayne young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey, that take their turne by forties every night. There are

Groomes besides that watch in their course, and lye at every gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick. *Groomes.*

The Hag-butters, or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours Lodging, or Bed-chamber, by course two hundred and fiftie every night, and two hundred and fiftie more in the Court-yard, and about the Treasure-house. His Court or house at the Mosko, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordnance planted upon the wall, and contayneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure, and trustie to the Emperour.

Chap. 28. *Of the private behaviour, or qualitie of the Russe people.*

THe private behaviour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that which hath beene sayd, concerning the publike State and usage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habit of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their Beards, to have them long and broad. But for the most part they are very unweldy, and unactive withall. Which may bee thought to come partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in Winter, and partly of their Dyet that standeth most of Roots, Onions, Garlike, Cabbage, and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they use to eate alone, and with their other meates. *Constitution of their bodies.* [III.iii.459.]

Their Dyet is rather much, then curious. At their Meales they beginne commonly with a Chark, or small cup of Aqua-vitæ (which they call Russe Wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their Meales, taking it in largely, and all together with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after Dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and have varietie of Dishes, the first are their *Their Dyet.* *Drinking and kissing.* *Sleeping.*

baked meates (for roast meats they use little) and then their Broaths or Pottage. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them every day in the Weeke. Their common Drinke is Mead, the poorer sort use water, and a thin Drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as wee say) but water turned out of his wits, with a little Bran measshed with it.

Bath-stoves. This Dyet would breed in them many Diseases, but that they use Bath-stoves, or Hot-houses in stead of all Physicke, commonly twice or thrice every Weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate their Peaches, which are made like the Germane Bath-stoves, and their Potlads like Ovens, that so warme the House, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their Houses, and of extreame cold without, together with their Dyet, maketh them of a darke and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heat: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the Hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and using of their Bath-stoves and Peaches.

Extremities. The Russe because that he is used to both these extremities of heate and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bath-stoves all on a froth, and fuming as hote almost as a Pigge at a Spit, and presently to leape into the River starke naked, or to powre cold water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women to mend the bad hue of their skinnes, use to paint their faces with white and redde colours, so visibly that every man may perceive it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their Husbands: who make their Wives and Daughters an ordinary allowance

Women-dawbers.

to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of foule women to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attyre is on this fashion. First, a Taffia, or little night cap on his head, that covereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of Silke and Gold Thread, and set with Pearle and Precious Stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then he suffereth his haire to grow and hang down upon his shoulders, covering his face as ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the Taffia he weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a Tiara, or long Bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babylonian Hat. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a Coller set with Pearle and Precious Stone, about three or foure-fingers broad. Next over his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because hee strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer-time, while hee is within the house) is a Shepon, or light Garment of Silke made downe to the knees, buttoned before; and then a Caftan or a close Coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian Girdle, whereat he hangs his Knives and Spoone. This commonly is of Cloth of Gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Over that he weareth a loose Garment of some rich Silke, furred and faced about with some Gold Lace, called a Ferris. Another over that of Chamblet, or like Stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeved and hanging low, and the Cape commonly brooched, and set all with Pearle. When he goeth abroad, he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) another Garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, save that it is made without a Coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine Cloth, or Camels haire. His Buskins (which hee weareth in

The Noblemans attyre.

stead of Hose, with Linnen Folles under them in stead of Boot-hose) are made of a Persian Leather called Saphian, Embroydered with Pearle. His upper stocks commonly are of Cloth of Gold. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on Horse-backe, though it bee but to the next doore: which is the manner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparell. The Boiarskey, or Gentlemans attyre is of the same fashion, but differeth in Stuffe: and yet he will have his Caftan or Under-coat sometimes of Cloth of Gold, the rest of Cloth or Silke.

The Noblewomans attire. The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a Caull of some soft Silke (which is commonly called Red) and over it a Fruntlet, called Obrosa, of white colour. Over that her Cap (made after the Coife-fashion of Cloth of Gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich Furre, and set with Pearle and Stone. Though they have of late begun to disdaine Embroydering with Pearle about their Caps, because the Diacks, and some Merchants Wives have taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare Eare-
[III.iii.460.] rings (which they call Sargee) of two Inches or more compasse, the matter of Gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like Precious Stone. In Sommer they goe often with Kerchiefs or fine white Lawne, or Cambricke, fastned under the chinne, with two long Tassels pendent. The Kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich Pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white Hats with coloured bands (called Stapa Zempskoy.) About their neckes they weare Collers of three or foure-fingers broad, set with rich Pearle and Precious Stone. Their upper Garment is a loose Gowne called Oposhen, commonly of Scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great Gold Buttons, or at least Silver and gilt, nigh as bigge as a Wal-nut. Which hath hanging over it fastned under the Cap, a large broad Cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the midst of their backes.

Next under the Oposken or upper Garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or halfe sleeve up to the elbowes, commonly of Cloth of Gold: and under that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foot. On the hand wrests they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of Pearle and Precious Stone. They goe all in Buskins of White, Yellow, Blue, or some other coloured Leather, embroydered with Pearle. This is the attyre of the Noble-woman of Russia, when shee maketh the best shew of herselfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the Stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Mousicks or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mousick and his Wife they goe poorely clad. The man with his Odnoratkey, or loose Gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a Lace before, of course white or blue cloth, with some Shube or long Wast-coat of Furre, or of Sheep-skinne under it, and his furred Cap, and Buskins. The poorer sort of them have their Odnoratkey, or upper Garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their Winter Habit. In the Sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and Buskins on their legs. The women goeth in a red or blue Gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme Shube of Furre under it in the Winter time. But in the Sommer, nothing but two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare Caps of some coloured Stuffe, many of Velvet, or of Cloth of Gold: but for the most part Kerchiefes. Without Earings of Silver or some other Metall, and her Crosse about her neck, you shall see no Russe woman, be shee Wife, or Maide.

Their wits and capacities.

As touching their behaviour, and qualitie, otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations have to trayne up their wits in good Nurture, and Learning. Which they might

borrow of the Polonians, and other their Neighbours, but that they refuse it of a very selfe-pride, as accounting their owne fashions to be farre the best. Partly also (as I said before) for that their manner of bringing up (void of all good Learning, and Civill behaviour) is thought by their Governours most agreeable to that State, and their manner of Government. This causeth the Emperours to bee very wary for excluding of all Peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very minds of his people. For as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt with all by their chiefe Magistrates, and other Superiours, so are they as cruell one against another, specially over their inferiours, and such as are under them. So that the basest and wretchedest Christianoe (as they call him) that stoopeth and croucheth like a Dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh up the dust that lyeth at his feet, is an intollerable Tyrant, where hee hath the advantage. By this meanes the whole Countrey is filled with Rapine, and Murder. They make no account of the life of a man. You shall have a man robbed sometime in the very streets of their Townes, if he goe late in the Evening; and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangenesse of the Murders, and other cruelties committed among them, that would scarsly be beleeved to be done among men, specially such as professe themselves Christians.

Crueltie of the Russe people.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite: that are so pinched with Famine and extreame need, as that they begge after a violent and desperate manner, with Give me and cut me, Give me and kill me: and such like Phrases. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the Crueltie or Intemperance that is used in that Countrey. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrey overfloweth with all sinne of that kind. And no marvell, as having no Law to

Intemperancy.

restraine Whoredomes, Adulteries, and like uncleannesse of life.

As for the truth of his word, as some say, the Russe neither beleeveth any thing that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to bee beleeved. These qualities make them very odious to all their Neighbours, specially to the Tartars, that account themselves to be honest and just, in comparison of the Russe. It is supposed by some that doe well consider of the State of both Countries, that the offence they take at the Russe Government, and their manner of behaviour hath beene a great cause to keepe the Tartar still Heathenish, and to mislike as he doth of the Christian profession.

END OF VOLUME XII.

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